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AND AFTER



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NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



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THE TRIPLE ENTENTE AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

THE most striking feature of King Edward's reign lies, no doubt, in the remarkable change which has taken place in Great Britain's foreign policy. In consequence of that change the international political position and importance of this country have greatly altered. Foreign statesmen used to think that London lay outside the main currents of international policy. Bismarck declared that England was no longer an active factor in the affairs of continental Europe, and that he left her out of account in his political calculations. His immediate successors and some non-German statesmen showed by their actions that they shared Bismarck's opinion. England was pretty generally thought to be of secondary importance on the chess-board of European diplomacy. The London embassies were sinecures where second-rate diplomats grew grey in attending to routine work.

Since 1901 Great Britain's political influence has mightily increased, and London occupies now a position in the political world comparable with that which Berlin occupied at the time when Bismarck was at the zenith of his power. Since 1901 London has risen from political obscurity to pre-eminence. It has become the meeting-place of

monarchs, and it is as much the political centre of Europe and the diplomatic capital of the world as it was in the time of Chatham and of Pitt. History, which used to be made at Vienna, at St. Petersburg, or at Constantinople, is now being made at London. The London embassy has become the most important embassy of foreign States.

To the majority of Englishmen international politics are 'foreign affairs.' In the words of Lord Beaconsfield, 'the very phrase "Foreign Affairs" makes an Englishman convinced that they are subjects with which he has no concern.' Englishmen grow up nourished on party politics, and party politics continue to be their daily bread to the end of their lives. Foreign politics lie out of the beaten track of party politics, and therefore do not attract the general attention which they deserve. Besides, owing to our party system, which brings successful orators and political wire-pullers to the front, and which gives the highest positions in the Government, not to administrative and executive ability, but to debating skill and party influence, our statesmen are, as a rule, eminent party politicians who have neither felt the need nor had the leisure to study foreign affairs with the thoroughness which is required for diplomacy, at the same time the highest of arts and a science of experience. Consequently the equipment of our statesmen for dealing with foreign questions often consists only in a small stock of estimable sentiments and elementary commonplaces which they mistake for the principles of practical statesmanship, and they are apt to treat complicated foreign problems with two or three formulas which they use rather with consistency than with selective discrimination. Frederick the Great wrote in his Memoirs and Napoleon said at St. Helena that Englishmen seemed to lack understanding for the realities of foreign policy. This lack of understanding, which is to be found in most democracies, is still noticeable. Hence the great changes which have taken place in Great Britain's foreign policy and international position during the King's reign have made a far greater impression abroad than in this country. Only a few Englishmen are aware how insecure the position of Great Britain used to be and how greatly it has improved since the foreign policy of inertia and of aimless drift has been changed for that policy which has been crowned by the Reval meeting.

Let us cast a retrospective glance at the circumstances which led to the adoption of the policy of *ententes*; let us take stock of the achievements of that policy, and let us then review the political situation in Europe and in Asia, and take note of the possibilities and demands of the future.

Up to 1901 Great Britain stood practically alone in the world. Our isolation was rather enforced than voluntary, and as powerful hostile coalitions directed against this country were always possible, and sometimes actually threatening, there was nothing splendid

about our isolation, notwithstanding Lord Goschen's celebrated phrase.

The important Powers on the Continent are divided into two groups: the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance. Before Russia's defeat in Asia both groups were generally thought to be equally strong. The balance of power was so nicely adjusted that the risk of war seemed too great to both combinations. Peace was secure on the Continent as long as the Continent was divided into two armed camps of equal strength, and England had no reason to fear continental aggression as long as the two antagonistic combinations were absorbed in watching one another.

Up to 1901 our relations with the Powers of the Dual Alliance were very unsatisfactory. Russia, following her traditional policy in Asia, advanced with sap and mine sometimes from the one side, sometimes from the other, upon our position in India. Great Britain met with more or less disguised Russian opposition, intrigue and hostility in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Thibet, China, in the Yellow Sea and in the Persian Gulf. Every few years a threatened Russian advance upon India threw the City into a panic. We were in a latent state of war with Russia. Our relations with France were not much better. Largely owing to the skilful policy of a third Power, there was constant friction between France and England in Siam, Egypt, West Africa and Newfoundland, and once or twice we were on the brink of war with that country. The naval forces of France were concentrated in Toulon and Bizerta, and threatened demonstratively Malta and our route to the East *via* the Suez Canal. Our largest fleet had to be kept in the Mediterranean in constant readiness for war. Under these circumstances it was only natural that the sympathies of Great Britain went towards the Triple Alliance.

Whilst Great Britain was inclined to support the Triple Alliance against the Dual Alliance, the Powers of the Triple Alliance were not by any means inclined reciprocally to support Great Britain against France and Russia. An Anglo-Russian or an Anglo-French war, which would have weakened the Dual Alliance, was evidently advantageous to the three central-European Powers, especially to the leading one, the more so if it was long drawn out and exhaustive to both combatants. Why, then, should they exert themselves in England's favour? However, not only could Great Britain not rely upon the active support of the Triple Alliance against France and Russia, but she had to reckon with its possible hostility. Numerous attempts were made by Germany to arrive at a working understanding with France and Russia in extra-European affairs, and to merge the two European alliances into a single one for action over sea. France and Russia were assured that French, German, and Russian interests were identical. French and German ships and Russian and German ships were frequently seen side by side. The German Government

was unwise enough to explain in the Reichstag in very plain terms that the famous Kruger telegram had been sent in order to ascertain whether, under the pretext of defending the independence of the Transvaal Republic, an anti-British coalition embracing the Powers of the Dual Alliance and of the Triple Alliance might be formed, and that the attempt had failed because France had placed herself on England's side. The joint action of the united French, German and Russian fleets against Japan, which deprived Japan of the fruits of her victory over China, was a practical demonstration of the community of interests and of the solidarity of the two groups of Powers in trans-maritime affairs and clearly foreshadowed the possibility of similar co-operation against Great Britain. It is said that another attempt to form a pan-European coalition against Great Britain was made at the time of the South African War, and that the attempt failed in consequence of the personal attitude of the Czar. British statesmen had to reckon with the fact that a better pretext for common action, a change of statesmen in France or Russia, or merely greater skill on the part of the most active Continental statesman, might create a pan-European coalition against Great Britain. The international anti-British press campaign during the South African War had shown that such a coalition would be very popular. Besides, a partition of the British Empire would have been a more tempting enterprise than a partition of Poland. During a number of years Great Britain was constantly threatened with the danger of having to fight in 'splendid isolation' against the combined naval and military forces of practically all Europe. The British Empire could be attacked in many parts and in unexpected ways. British statesmen had, for instance, to be prepared for an expedition against India in which Russian weight of numbers would be reinforced by German intelligence, thoroughness, and foresight. The position of Great Britain and her Colonies was, owing to our unskilful diplomacy and consequent isolation, one of constant tension and of extreme insecurity. Chance, not the ability of our statesmen, preserved us from a war with all Europe.

Through the conclusion of the Triple *Entente* with France and Russia these dangers have passed. We need no longer simultaneously look after the defence of Central Asia and the Persian Gulf, after the defence of Central Africa, the Mediterranean, and the North Sea. We have been able to concentrate our naval forces in home waters. Our naval budgets would be much heavier were we compelled still to assert our naval supremacy at the same time in the Mediterranean and in the North Sea. Our *ententes* have enabled us to save many millions on our naval expenditure. They have enabled us to save many more millions on barren Asiatic and African expeditions designed to checkmate the advance of France and Russia. Our *ententes* have saved to the City and to our industries many millions which might have been lost in political panics, and they have given to our business

men a feeling of confidence in the maintenance of peace which has induced them to enter upon fresh business.

The security of Great Britain from European attack rests upon the preservation of the balance of power on the Continent. History shows that each nation which became supreme in Europe—Spain under Philip the Second, France under Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth and Napoleon the First—came into collision with this country. The reason for this phenomenon is obvious. A free English nation residing in an island citadel gives the greatest encouragement to revolt to subject nations on the Continent, and is therefore an ever-present danger to rulers such as Philip the Second, Louis the Fourteenth, and Napoleon the First. Great Britain's security is bound up with the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and we must defend that balance of power as determinedly as did our greatest rulers and statesmen—Queen Elizabeth, Cromwell, Marlborough, Chatham, Pitt.

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904 had left Russia militarily, financially, and morally exhausted. The country was in revolt, all bonds of discipline had been dissolved, the army had become dispirited and unreliable, there was mutiny in the fleet. Besides, the stores and men required by Russia in a European war were in farthest Asia, the railway service had broken down, a large number of Russian field-guns was worn out, the stock of ammunition in the Russian magazines had been depleted and was insufficient for a European campaign. Russia was disarmed. Towards the end of the war Russia could not have given any effective assistance to France had the latter been attacked. The balance of power in Europe had temporarily disappeared. The danger arose that Germany might feel tempted to make use of her opportunity by taking another slice of France and make the re-establishment of the balance of power impossible. The Morocco crisis, which broke out immediately after Russia's great defeat, showed that Germany had at all events the desire to profit from the breakdown of the balance of power. Very likely England's support saved France from a disastrous war. The unmistakable threat uttered by Professor Schiemann, a friend of the Emperor, and by others, that in case of an Anglo-German war, even if France would remain neutral, Germany would indemnify herself for the loss of her fleet at the expense of France, showed that France stood in danger of a German attack. That danger is perhaps not yet past.

The geographical position of Germany is a peculiar one. The most important strategical and commercial positions in Central Europe are in the hands of Germany's small neighbours. Denmark has excellent harbours and dominates the entrance to the Baltic. The possession of Denmark would supply the German navy with adequate harbour space, and would make the more vulnerable half of the German sea-coast, the Baltic coast, secure from a naval attack by a Western Power. Holland is a powerful artificial fortress through

her canals and inundations, and she also has very valuable harbours. Through Rotterdam and Antwerp—the latter, though situated in Belgium, is dominated by the Dutch shore which lies in front of it—flows the main stream of European commerce and the most valuable part of Germany's foreign trade. The possession of Rotterdam and Antwerp would be invaluable to Germany's industries and merchant marine. Switzerland is a mighty natural fortress. It would supply an admirable position for the defence of Germany, and would enable her to dominate Italy and Austria. Germany must feel strongly tempted to acquire one or several of these small countries, two of which formed part of the ancient German Empire of which modern Germany is the heir. Their possession would greatly increase Germany's power and wealth, and might give her the mastery of Europe.

If the balance of power in Europe is to be preserved, the independence of Denmark, Holland and Switzerland must be defended at all costs. While the defence of Denmark and of the Belgo-Dutch shore devolves in the first instance upon the British fleet, the defence of the Belgo-Dutch mainland and of Switzerland can be undertaken only by a powerful army, and devolves therefore upon France. France is the natural defender of Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland against the Powers of the Triple Alliance; but she cannot defend the small neutral States if she stands alone. Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland have been the cause and scene of some of the greatest wars in the past. History may repeat itself in the future.

The foregoing makes it plain that Great Britain must, for the sake of self-preservation, support France, and it may almost be said that the system of the *ententes* had to be instituted in order to protect France until Russia, her ally, has been nursed back to health and vigour. Great Britain must not only protect France during the critical period of Russia's convalescence, but she must also keep a watchful eye on Germany's small neighbours, especially as it is rumoured that Germany has made some very interesting secret arrangements with one of the three.

Population determines fighting strength in continental countries, and in population the superiority of Germany over France is very striking. France has a population of 39,000,000. Germany has a population of 63,000,000. While the population of France increases by only 60,000 per year, the population of Germany increases by no less than 900,000 per year, or fifteen times faster than that of France. If Germany should acquire Holland or Switzerland, she would not only add several millions to her population, but she would at the same time be able to turn the defences of France.

The French have made most elaborate preparations to meet a German invasion. The French frontier is closed by a number of strong fortresses which are linked together by a chain of huge detached forts. In that line of fortifications, which stretches from Belfort to

Sedan, there are two gaps, comparable to the opening of huge drag-nets, which form veritable army traps. Germany would, no doubt, in case of war, find it very desirable to avoid this powerful fortified position, and would like to take the French armies by the flank. It is usually assumed in this country that the German armies would march through Belgium upon Paris, which lies only 110 miles from the nearest point on the Belgian frontier, while it is separated by a distance of 160 miles from the nearest point on the German frontier. The assumption that Germany would penetrate through Belgium and march upon Paris in order to take advantage of the short cut is probably erroneous. An advance through Belgium would expose the German army and its line of communication with the arsenals and magazines at home to a flank attack from the sea. Germany need, perhaps, not seriously consider the possibility of such an attack if it was made only by 100,000 English troops, but as these might conceivably be supported by 200,000 or 300,000 Russians landed on the Belgian coast from English transports, an advance upon Paris *via* Belgium might prove a very risky undertaking. It seems, therefore, more likely that Germany, if she wishes to avoid the army traps on the French frontier, will try to invade France by the more indirect, but safer and more commodious, route upon Paris *via* Switzerland and the Franche Comté—the route which was chosen by the Germans in 1814. This route has the advantage that an army advancing upon it cuts off the capital from the south of France, the wealthiest part of the country, and thus deprives the centre of much of its power of resistance.

It is true that Switzerland forms a powerful natural fortress, but, unfortunately for France, the rugged mountains and the fortifications of Switzerland on the Gotthard and the Furka, near St. Moritz, on the Rhone, &c., do not face Germany, but Italy and France. Towards Germany Switzerland is an open country, with large undulating plains and gently sloping hills. An invasion of Switzerland in the corner of Basle is almost as easy as a march through Surrey or Kent. Besides, most of the wealthy towns of Switzerland, such as Basle, Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Lausanne, and the industrial districts of the country, with the majority of the population, lie in the easily invadable part. Under those circumstances Switzerland would find it exceedingly difficult to protect herself against a German violation of her frontiers. The utmost which, I am told, the Swiss officers hope to accomplish would be to detain a German invading army for a short time. Unless support from France should come forward immediately, the Swiss army would either have to capitulate or to retire into the vast fortified position at the Gotthard. It is asserted that the Swiss have lately made military service much more arduous and costly in view of the possibility of a Franco-German war. The Morocco affair may have given them a warning.

After the end of the Napoleonic wars Switzerland and Holland

were made independent and neutral States, and their neutrality and inviolability were guaranteed by the allied Powers of Europe. This was done in order to confine France, who then was the great disturber of peace in Europe, within her boundaries by erecting on her frontier two international fortresses which, though they were not garrisoned by an international military force drawn from the united Powers of Europe, were meant to be defended by the united Powers of Europe against France in case of war. Up to the Franco-German War of 1870-71 Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland saw in France their more powerful and more dangerous neighbour, and in Germany their natural protector against a French attack. Consequently they inclined towards Germany. Now Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland begin to see in Germany their more powerful and more dangerous neighbour, and to look towards France as their natural protector in case of a possible violation of territory by Germany. They have begun to incline towards France. Perhaps the time will come when another European Congress will endeavour to redress the disturbed balance of power in Europe by attaching Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium in some form or other to France in order to create a counterpoise to Germany. Even then Germany would preserve her numerical superiority over France, for the joint population of France, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium is only 55,000,000, or 8,000,000 less than that of Germany.

Perhaps it would be safer to convert the Anglo-French *Entente* into a carefully limited public treaty of alliance approved of by the Parliament and people of both countries. Such an alliance would have the advantage of giving to each of the two Powers greater confidence in the loyal support of the other, and would enable the military and naval authorities to agree upon a plan of co-operation in case of war. Besides, third Powers, who at present may doubt the binding force of the *entente* and the good faith of one or the other party, may act upon the belief that the Anglo-French *Entente* is not to be taken seriously. Possibly a treaty of alliance, which gives a clear warning to all concerned, will be a better guarantee of the peace of Europe than a somewhat vague understanding called an *entente*.

If Great Britain desires to see the balance of power re-established on the Continent in order to be able to withdraw herself from continental politics, with which she has only an indirect concern, she must, before all, endeavour to strengthen Russia, France's ally, until France and Russia combined are again considered strong enough to act as a counterpoise to the Powers of the Triple Alliance. This consideration and the fact that an Anglo-French *Entente* could not possibly endure if England should remain opposed or hostile to France's ally led to a complete reversal of England's policy towards Russia and of Russia's policy towards England at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, and Russian and British diplomats deserve the highest

praise for the skill with which they have effected a reconciliation and *rapprochement* between the two Powers notwithstanding the century-old hostility and distrust which have prevailed between them. The improvement in Anglo-Russian relations and the subsequent *entente* found its formal expression in the Anglo-Russian agreements regarding Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet which were signed on the 31st of August 1907, and the *entente* was sealed by the recent meeting of the two monarchs at Reval.

The change in Anglo-Russian relations has already borne fruit. Russia might have created considerable difficulties for Great Britain in Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet, and she might have added to our recent troubles in India, had she been so minded, as she undoubtedly would have done in similar circumstances a few years ago. During the last two years there has not been a single complaint about Russian emissaries in Asia. It must be acknowledged that Russia has behaved with the greatest correctness and loyalty towards this country.

Many well-meaning Englishmen opposed the Anglo-Russian *entente*, the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreements, and the King's visit to Reval because they were dissatisfied with the internal state of Russia and the character of its government, and because the present Duma, though it is an elected assembly, is not a truly democratic representative of the Russian people. They therefore demanded that we should have nothing to do with Russia and her rulers, and that we should break off all diplomatic intercourse with her until Russia had reformed herself, forgetting that the Anglo-Russian *entente* is not a sentimental union but merely a business arrangement between two governments. They also demanded, as do many Russian idealists, full self-government for the Russian people, overlooking the fact that all progress and all reform must needs be gradual. Those who wish Russia to pass at once from absolutism to a full self-government aim, perhaps without knowing it themselves, not at reform but at revolution.

According to the last Russian census, of 1897, 72 per cent. of the Russians over nine years old—that is, about two-thirds of the population over school age—were unable to read and write. Apparently less than 10 per cent. of Russia's citizens are newspaper readers. Therefore a representative democratic Duma could be representative only of illiteracy and ignorance. How could such an assembly govern the largest country in the world, a country inhabited by twenty different nationalities, by Christians, Mahommedans, and Buddhists? Besides, the Russian people does not demand popular government and democratic institutions, for the excellent reason that the very words 'democracy' and 'constitution' are words without meaning to 90 per cent. of the inhabitants. It must also not be forgotten that it is not so very long since the Russians emerged from barbarism, and that civilisation in Russia, as in Germany, has

made the greatest progress under the strongest rulers, such as Peter the Great and Catherine the Second. As the Russians are not yet advanced enough to govern themselves, they must be governed. The Russian Duma is not unlike the Prussian Diet, in which also practically the whole of the working classes are unrepresented. Russia's greatest need is not a democratic government—which, though theoretically it might be excellent, would create anarchy and civil war—but administrative reform. The Russian people do not demand democratic institutions, about which they know nothing, but lower taxes, higher salaries and wages, a better administration of justice, &c. Russia has probably as much popular government as is good for her for the time being, and she has made substantial progress towards democracy. The direction of affairs is no longer in the hands of an absolute and irresponsible caste. Ministers have to lay their legislative and financial proposals before the Duma, in which there are many intelligent, patriotic, and independent men, and the measures they recommend are scrutinised and amended, passed or rejected, by them. The Government's Navy Bill was thrown out. Russia is developing on the model of Prusso-Germany, instead of on the model of the United States, which is apparently unsuitable for the country. She must be allowed to find her way to the light in her own way.

The King concluded his toast at Reval with the remarkable words : ' I drink to the health of your Majesties, to that of the Empress Marie Feodorovna, and the members of the Imperial family, and, *above all, to the welfare and prosperity of your great Empire.*' These words contain an admonition and a programme. Englishmen who wish to assist the Russian people will do so more effectually by promoting Russia's welfare and prosperity than by endeavouring to press upon the country representative institutions which are unsuitable for Russia because the people are not yet ripe for them, and which would therefore only hamper the progress of the people instead of increasing their happiness. Besides, Englishmen will benefit themselves also by promoting the welfare and prosperity of the Russian Empire.

The most necessary reforms in Russia are the improvement of her administration, the reform of taxation, and the extension of education. These and various other reforms will cost much money. Therefore Russia must before all develop her vast agricultural, mineral, and industrial resources in order to obtain the funds which are required for good government and reform. Russia has magnificent resources. Her territory is twice as large as that of the United States, and, like the United States, she can grow, raise, and produce almost everything needed by her people. Cotton, silk, tobacco, wine, rice, and other tropical and sub-tropical products are raised in South Russia, the Transcaspian and Transcaucasian provinces, and in Turkestan—it is not generally known that a part of Russia several times larger than Germany lies on the same latitude as Italy—and

precious stones, gold, iron, platinum, zinc, copper, naphtha, and various other minerals occur in many places. Russia possesses the sources of varied and boundless wealth.

At present agriculture is Russia's principal industry. Russia has a very fruitful soil, a large agricultural population, and she has excellent natural means of transport in her rivers and lakes; but poverty and ignorance among the masses, lack of enterprise and of capital on the part of her business men, and short-sightedness and neglect on the part of the administration, have hitherto impeded the development of her agriculture. The soil is merely scratched by light wooden ploughs, the most primitive form of agriculture prevails, manuring is practically unknown to nine-tenths of her peasants, and there are hardly any roads for transporting agricultural produce to the rivers and railways. Though Russia has much coal and iron, her industries are quite undeveloped. Her industrial backwardness may be gauged from the fact that with a territory and a population twice as large as those of the United States, Russia produces only one-tenth of the quantity of iron produced in the United States, and that she raises only one-twentieth of the quantity of coal raised in the American Republic. In other words, America raises ~~per head~~ of population twenty times more iron and forty times more coal than Russia. Agriculturally and industrially, Russia is a mediæval country.

Many Russians in high official position assert that the latent wealth of Russia is greater than that of the United States, and if they are right the first task of the Russian Government should be to develop Russia's potential wealth. Wishing to reserve the whole of the national wealth to her own people, Russia has so far on the whole discouraged and stifled foreign enterprise, though M. de Witte tried to introduce foreign capital. Russia has as yet neither enough capital nor enough experience to open up the country rapidly. Therefore she will be wise if she calls foreign experience and foreign capital to her assistance. If Russia throws the country wide open to foreign enterprise and to foreign capital, and if she treats liberally and even generously those who, wishing to help themselves, will most vigorously promote Russia's prosperity, the poverty and dissatisfaction of the masses and the penury of the Russian exchequer will soon come to an end. Russia suffers from financial anæmia and, as she may prove an Eldorado to British contractors, engineers, and investors, her financial anæmia may easily be overcome by their aid.

Russia's difficulties spring chiefly from her poverty. Economic power gives social power and military power. If the Government makes Russia rich, the people will be contented. Englishmen and Russians can co-operate in developing the country, and in promoting not only its welfare and prosperity, but also its happiness. Though Russia may find it difficult to borrow money for military and naval purposes and for building strategical railways, she will find no

difficulty in attracting vast sums of money into the country for commercial and industrial development. She will be wise if she abstains from borrowing for unproductive purposes, for her continued borrowings must lead in the end to national bankruptcy.

Russia's finances are in a sad state, and all her creditors know it ; but her financial position has recently considerably improved. However, the Government cannot claim any merit for the improvement which has taken place. Wheat, rye, meat, and timber have risen considerably in price. Hence she will find it easier to raise the necessary taxes and to pay her foreign creditors. The potential wealth of the Russian State, as distinguished from that of the Russian people, is very great. Her immense State domain is quite inadequately exploited. Her State railways are run either at no profit or at a loss. If Russia becomes a rich agricultural and industrial State, the State domains and railways will rise to a fabulous value. The Russian State will then be the richest State in the world.

The Anglo-Russian trade may be greatly increased, and it ought to increase *pari passu* with the increase of Russia's population and production. Russia exports to the United Kingdom raw products and food, such as grain, timber, eggs, butter, flax, naphtha, and she receives from Great Britain coal, machinery, hardware, cotton and woollen goods, &c. During the last fifteen years British exports to Russia have been absolutely stationary, but they may be very greatly increased, as may be seen from the following figures.

IMPORTS INTO RUSSIA

	From Germany		From Great Britain	
	Amount	Per Cent. of Total Imports	Amount	Per Cent. of Total Imports
	Roubles		Roubles	
1890-4 . . .	112,542,990	25·3	106,922,825	24
1895-9 . . .	195,707,851	34·4	117,252,896	20·6
1900-4 . . .	216,518,600	38·5	109,266,200	19·4
1906 . . .	267,109,000	43	104,880,000	16·9

The foregoing figures point to a very curious state of affairs. Germany puts a heavy import duty on Russian exports, while Great Britain allows them to enter untaxed. Nevertheless Germany has by her tariff policy succeeded in securing for her manufactures preferential treatment in the Russian market, with the result that Germany is rapidly ousting Great Britain from the Russian market, as the foregoing table clearly shows. Fifteen years ago German and British exports to Russia were equally large. Now German exports to Russia are three times larger than ours, and while our percentual participation in the Russian trade has steadily decreased that of Germany has equally steadily increased. As the German industrial

centres lie far inland, German manufactures cannot easily, under equal fiscal conditions, compete with British manufactures in Russia. Given equal fiscal conditions, the heavier cost of transport for German goods should oust German goods from the Russian market. A good commercial treaty ought, therefore, to lead to a rapid increase of British exports to Russia. Will it be possible to conclude such a treaty while, owing to our unbusinesslike fiscal system, we have nothing to offer in return for special concessions? Why should Russia treat our manufactures preferentially if her goods receive the best treatment in the English market in any case?

While it is in the interest of Great Britain and France to see Russia economically, socially, and politically strengthened, it is undoubtedly in Germany's interest to see Russia weakened. Russia has 150,000,000 inhabitants and her population is growing by almost 2,000,000 a year, while Germany has only 63,000,000 inhabitants. Russia has room for 300,000,000 people as soon as her resources are more thoroughly exploited. A wealthy, well-organised, and powerful Russia is therefore a very dangerous neighbour to Germany. Hence Germany has endeavoured to create a counterpoise to Russia by strengthening Turkey against Russia, believing that further collisions between Russia and Turkey are well-nigh unavoidable until the question of Constantinople is decided. She has lent to Turkey some of her ablest officers. General Kolmar von der Goltz has served in Turkey from 1883 to 1895, and he has, during that time, together with Muzaffer Pasha, completely reorganised the Turkish army on the German model. In the next war with Russia the Turkish army will give an excellent account of itself.

The military position of Turkey is a very difficult one. Leaving aside merely nominally Turkish possessions, such as Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Crete, and Cyprus, Turkey has 25,000,000 inhabitants. Of these only 6,000,000 live in European Turkey, while by far the largest part of her population, about 18,000,000, lives in Asia. Military service is compulsory on the Mahomedan Turks. All Christians and the inhabitants of Constantinople (about 1,250,000) are excluded from military service. The military defence of Constantinople devolves, therefore, on about 2,000,000 Turks in Europe and about 15,000,000 Turks in Asia, who are spread all over Asia Minor, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Syria, &c. While the most valuable and the most vulnerable part of Turkey, Constantinople, with the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, lies in Europe, Turkey's military strength lies in Asia, and a large part of the population is separated from the capital by very great distances. The fact that Turkey cannot rapidly concentrate her Asiatic troops near Constantinople has greatly diminished Turkey's power of resistance in all her wars with Russia. Though the Turkish army has nominally a war strength of 1,500,000, only a small part of that mighty host can be led

against Russia owing to the absence of railways in Asia. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, the Mosul Division on the middle Tigris required seven months to reach the theatre of war. It was therefore clear that the most effective way of strengthening Turkey against Russia lay in bringing the Turkish population of Asia within easy reach of Constantinople by means of strategical railways.

In the autumn of 1898 the German Emperor made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his way he paid a visit to the Sultan and was his guest during four days. The outcome of the Emperor's visit in Constantinople was a concession to the German Anatolian Railway Company to build the Bagdad railway, which, passing through Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and branching out into Kurdistan and Syria, was to connect the vast Asiatic possessions of Turkey down to the Persian Gulf with Constantinople. This railway is in the first place a strategical railway, but as Germany received with the railway concession the monopoly of navigating the Euphrates and Tigris and of mining in the zone to be opened up by the railway, the Bagdad railway was believed by some to be a purely commercial undertaking. England was told that she would benefit by the Bagdad railway because it would give her an accelerated mail route to India, and she was invited, ~~as were~~ France and Russia, to participate financially in that undertaking, which was to cost about 24,000,000*l.* The German promoters had proposed that the railway terminus on the Persian Gulf should be at Koweyt. However, the question of the terminus on the sea was a minor one. The principal object of the railway was not to carry freight to the Red Sea, but to carry Turkish troops and reservists to Constantinople in case of war with Russia. Therefore it has been given a kilometric guarantee by the Turkish Government.

This project was put before the British Government in 1903, and it was at first favourably considered; but suspicions arose as to Germany's aim, English support was withheld, and the Bagdad railway scheme was temporarily withdrawn. On the 20th of May 1908 a Reuter telegram announced that the Bagdad railway scheme had been resuscitated and that the work would be immediately commenced. The news was correct. Germany intends now to construct the Bagdad railway solely or principally with German money. Within seven years she proposes to construct 500 miles of trunk line, which will reach Mardin, at a cost of about 9,000,000*l.* This is the most difficult part of the Bagdad railway, as it has to pass the chain of the Taurus. The survey and plans are complete, and a large tunnel at an altitude of 1456 metres is planned. This will be an engineering feat of the first rank. The Gotthard tunnel lies at an altitude of only 1155 metres.

The completion of the Bagdad railway should double, perhaps even treble, the strength of the Turkish army in case of a Russian attack upon Constantinople, but it seems not impossible that the

question of Constantinople will be decided before the Bagdad railway is finished.

Russia cannot help seeing in the construction of the Bagdad railway an unfriendly act, and she must conclude that Germany either means only to strengthen Turkey against Russia or that she means to acquire a kind of protectorate over Turkey. The Emperor has made the latter assumption possible by a very curious speech. On the 18th of November 1898, on his journey to Jerusalem, the Emperor proclaimed himself at Damascus as the Protector of Turkey and of all Islam. His words were: 'May the Sultan and may the 200,000,000 Mahommedans in all parts of the world who venerate the Sultan as their Calif feel assured that the German Emperor will be their friend for all time.' That speech was much commented on at the time when it was made, but its real significance was not understood because nothing was then known about the Bagdad railway project and its ultimate purpose.

Many people have been discussing the political object of the Reval visit and its probable outcome. It was argued that some big political problem must have been discussed, because the King was accompanied not only by a prominent diplomat but also by Sir John Fisher, the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and by Sir John French, Inspector-General of the Military Forces of Great Britain. Besides, the King had in his Reval toast expressed the hope of a 'satisfactory settlement in an amicable manner of some momentous questions in the future.' It was assumed that the 'momentous questions' concerned the settlement of the Macedonian problem. However, the Macedonian problem is not merely a problem regarding the disorders in Macedonia, but it is part of a larger problem. In Macedonia, as in the whole of European Turkey, there are far more Christians than Turks. About two-thirds of the inhabitants of European Turkey are Christians, and as they consist of many races and nationalities they are apt to fight among themselves. The Christian population of Turkey consists of Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Roumanians, Armenians, Magyars, &c., and all the nations bordering upon Turkey, and one which does not border upon it, have during many years endeavoured to peg out claims in the Turkish provinces which they believe will some day fall to one or the other of the neighbouring States. With this object in view, various nations have sent, not only priests, schoolmasters, doctors, and nurses across the border into Macedonia to nationalise the people, but also armed bands. Their propaganda is somewhat forcible. Numerous Greek bands, Bulgarian bands, and Servian bands are asserting the claims of their own nationality in Macedonia by exterminating peaceful inhabitants—men, women, and children—belonging to the rival nations, and devastating the country. Every day we read of Greeks slaying Bulgarians and of Bulgarians slaying Greeks. Every year peaceful and defenceless inhabitants are slain by the thousand.

The last Turkey Blue-book, Cd. 4076, gives detailed statistics of 1768 political assassinations during 1906 alone.

The Turks are in a small minority in European Turkey, and they do not wish to be swamped by the Christian majority. Therefore they are by no means sorry if the Christians are slaughtering each other, for if they did not fight and kill each other they might combine and fall upon the Turks. If disorder becomes too great, the Turks join in the fray with energy, massacre wholesale and indiscriminately both parties, and then we hear of Turkish atrocities. That is the traditional policy of Turkey in Europe, and it is perhaps not an illogical policy from the Turkish point of view. These being the conditions in European Turkey, it follows that the pacification of Macedonia will not end the Turkish troubles. If Macedonia be pacified, Bulgarians, Greeks and Servians will transfer their traditional activity to the remaining provinces of European Turkey, and will there reproduce the Macedonian horrors. Things will hardly get better as long as a Mahommedan minority misgoverns a Christian majority in the Balkan Peninsula.

In these circumstances it seems vain to hope that International Conferences and Programmes will effect a real and lasting ~~improvement~~ in European Turkey. Hitherto they have effected nothing. Very likely a better condition of affairs can be created in Macedonia and the other European parts of Turkey only by the abolition of Turkish rule. Therefore the Macedonian problem is, rightly considered, not a problem concerning the various nationalities in Macedonia, but a problem regarding the future of Turkey in Europe and the possession of Constantinople. If Turkish rule be abolished in Europe, there might be peace in the Near East. The question now arises, Which nation is to take Turkey's place in Europe and especially at Constantinople? That question is indeed a momentous one, but it may have to be solved.

During two centuries Russia has endeavoured to expel the Turks from Europe and to capture Constantinople. She wishes to possess, or at least to control, the Straits of Constantinople, because she desires to have free access to the sea for her enormous empire, and from her point of view that wish is a reasonable and a legitimate one. Formerly, when Russia was hostile to England, England not unnaturally barred Russia's path to the Golden Horn. Times have changed, and Great Britain may conceivably change her views and policy with regard to the control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles in accordance with the changed conditions. Great Britain would probably rather see Russia installed at Constantinople than any other European Great Power. Besides, it may be argued: Either Russia remains weak, and then she cannot do much harm to Great Britain even if she possesses Constantinople; or she will become strong and then she will take Constantinople in any case. The subject is certainly worth

reconsidering in view of recent developments in Turkey and in Asia Minor.

Since his return to Germany General von der Goltz, the organiser and creator of the new Turkish army, has made a rapid career. He has become commander of the First Army Corps, Inspector-General of the Army, and Commander-Designate of one of the large German armies in case of war. His experience in Eastern affairs would, of course, be particularly useful in case of a war in Eastern Europe. At the present moment, when a practical solution of the Macedonian difficulties is about to be proposed to Turkey, General von der Goltz is in Constantinople on a visit to the Sultan. As it can hardly be expected that General von der Goltz would choose the hottest time of the year for paying a purely private visit to Turkey, diplomats and politicians in Constantinople are keenly discussing the object of his mission, and they are inclined to believe that the General has come on business. The suggestion that he may have come to replace the German ambassador seems incorrect. It appears more likely that the General has gone to Turkey in order to advise the Sultan how to act in case of a great emergency or that he is arranging for Turco-German military co-operation in certain eventualities. There are many indications which point to the fact that it will be no easy matter to solve the Macedonian problem, that the Powers advocating order and good government in the Near East may have to overcome the determined opposition of those who wish to uphold the rule of Turkey in Europe even at the price of the yearly hecatombs in Macedonia. The whole weight and influence of the Triple *Entente* may be required to make the cause of humanity prevail.

The German press has followed very attentively the gradual development of the Triple *Entente*. While most of the Government inspired papers have endeavoured to depict the Reval meeting as a visit of courtesy devoid of political importance, many of the independent journals have complained that Great Britain tried to checkmate and isolate Germany and to hedge her in with a network of *ententes* in order to raise a European coalition against her. Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Germany could hardly complain if such were Great Britain's policy. However, she is mistaken. As Great Britain is a peaceful country, it is clear that the object of the Triple *Entente* is not war but peace, and it must be assumed that its aim is threefold. It aims at creating a counterpoise to the Triple Alliance in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe, it aims at taking from the strongest European Power the temptation of breaking the peace, and it aims at settling, preferably by a friendly arrangement and without war, some of the great problems of Europe which possibly may come up for settlement in the near future.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

THE 'VISION SPLENDID' OF INDIAN YOUTH

THE Unrest in India is a drama that is presented by a company of juveniles. There are grown men behind the scenes, in the prompter's box, and in the orchestra, who arrange the properties, supply the words, and animate the courage of the young tragedians. These are the professionals of the art of agitation—lawyers, journalists, and schoolmasters,—who find in the play not merely a means of exhibiting their talents, but an excellent business advertisement. In the auditorium are the people of India, watching, not without some pride, the achievements of their boys, not without some malice the effect of these achievements upon the British Government; but without any definite wish or expectation that the stage effects will actually be realised: they still believe that the drama *καμικωτέραν έχει την καταστροφήν*. Very different would have been the position had religious prejudice been the *motif* instead of politics; had, for instance, feelings been aroused over such a question as cow killing. In this case the boy actors would have been pushed aside, and the stage have been taken by adults.

From its commencement school-boys have been the practical exponents of the Unrest. Rehearsals began two years ago in a number of mass meetings organised in the public squares of Calcutta by some prominent local journalists. They were practically meetings of boys, who crowded to listen to very inflammatory speeches, delivered in excellent English, by the leaders of the Calcutta press. It was at these meetings that the boycott was invented, the war cry of 'Bande Mataram' was adopted, corps of school-boy 'volunteers' were suggested, and a threat offered to any disciplinary methods on the part of the University by the establishment of 'National' schools and colleges which would be independent of the University and would not look to it for diplomas or degrees. These measures all affected, or relied upon, the conduct of school-boys, and were assimilated with boyish enthusiasm. Another resolution was passed which affected the conduct of adults—that men holding honorary offices under the Government, honorary magistracies and the like, should resign them. This went no further. No dramatic art was spared to render these

meetings impressive and exciting to the youthful mind. They did not stop short at words. On several occasions the boys brought forth their shirts and drawers and made bonfires of them in the streets, as of British manufacture. For days at a time the pavement in front of European shops was picketed by truant school-boys, who waylaid any of their own race who attempted to enter, turning them back with threats, adjurations, and supplications, in some cases even prostrating themselves on the ground before them. Everything savouring of England, except the language, was boycotted. A Bengali judge of the Calcutta High Court complained to me that for three weeks, in these days of dramatic enthusiasm, he was unable to send his little grandchildren to school.

It is easy to see now that a serious mistake was made in permitting the squares and streets of Calcutta to be blocked, and the public peace disturbed, by thousands of excited school-boys. The enforcement of ordinary police regulations would at the outset have probably been a sufficient check; at all events, bonfires and street picketing need not have been permitted. Musalman sympathies were on the side of the Government. It would be a mistake to believe that the movement had the approval of the whole body of Hindu school-masters; the majority of them were opposed to it by a natural dislike of a competing authority, if not by solicitude for the welfare of their students. Had their influence been enlisted early in the day, it would have been possible to restrain the majority of the students from participation in these political orgies. It was believed that the new enthusiasm would burn itself out. This would no doubt have been the case had it affected adults. It was not realised, with youth as fuel, how great a matter a little fire kindleth.

The propaganda spread from Calcutta to the interior. Here progress was slower, and, six months after the initiation of the crusade, not more than a dozen schools, of some hundreds in Eastern Bengal, had subscribed to it. They became violent proselytes; unprovoked assaults were made upon unprotected Europeans; carts laden with English goods were overturned in the streets, boats sunk in the river, and, on two occasions, mobs of school-boys actually held up river steamers for several hours. Even at this stage order might have been restored by withdrawing from three or four schools the right to send up students for University examinations. To this measure the Government of India was opposed. It would have operated hardly upon individuals, since the lack of the university *imprimatur* would have barred them from the service of Government. But it was surely better that two or three hundred boys should suffer for misconduct than that demoralisation should spread wholesale through schools and colleges. It may have been feared that the exclusion of the offending schools from their University connection would have stimulated the movement for the foundation of 'National' schools, in

complete independence of both the University and the Government. But this movement, at that time, had little prospect of widespread success. Government service is dear to the mind of Bengali students, and these 'National' schools would afford no avenue to it. When it was once realised that no practical steps were to be taken to penalise schools which became nurseries of violent agitation, the anti-British campaign rapidly spread and intensified. The Musalmans had from the outset steadfastly refused to take part in it; and their boys showed considerable moral courage in dissociating themselves from the behaviour of their Hindu school-fellows, and this, too, although they were greatly in the minority, for English-teaching schools have been much less attractive to Musalmans than to Hindus. The Musalmans consequently became involved in the odium which the agitation was casting upon British rule, and were bitterly attacked by the Hindus, especially as they were disposed actively to resent the rise in prices which was the outcome of the boycott of British commodities. School-masters, yielding to pressure, permitted their Hindu students to organise themselves into definitely militant societies. School corps of so-called 'volunteers' were enrolled, given a uniform, drilled and exercised, and employed in the systematic enforcement of the boycott. Traders dealing in British goods were driven from the country markets by bands of school-boys. The Musalmans, having no other remedy, met force by force; and rioting ensued, which compelled the Government to draft bodies of special police into the districts, and placed it in the awkward position of punishing large numbers of loyal Musalmans because they resented the oppression of Hindu school-boys. It is unnecessary to explain how deplorable the situation was in the interests of the rising generation; school discipline vanished, and class-rooms were deserted for the bazaar. Anarchism became a subject of instruction, and boys were systematically taught to handle the weapons of assassination. It is known that the attempted murderers of Mr. Allen were mere striplings. Youths made and threw the bombs which recently killed two English ladies at Muzaffarpur, and boys of sixteen and seventeen formed, apparently, most of the staff of the Garden of Anarchy—a secret factory of explosives—which has since been discovered in Calcutta.

It does not necessarily follow that these incidents had their origin in any real or deep-seated grievance. Boys will be boys. Imagine what would be the results in this country if lads of fifteen or sixteen were permitted daily to listen to incendiary speeches in the market-place, to read, in school and out of school, newspapers inciting them to disorder, to organise themselves into semi-disciplined bands of political guerillas, to interfere actively with the trade of their towns! Should we be surprised if lamps and shop windows were broken, the local police held up, and school life became altogether demoralised? It may be objected that these Bengali 'volunteers' were

drawn as much from colleges as from schools, and that active interference in militant politics is less grotesque in a University student than in a school-boy. But it must be remembered that in India college life begins at a much earlier age than in England; students commonly enter college at sixteen, and the Indian college compares much more nearly with the English secondary school than its English nominal equivalent. Moreover, the Indian youth is far more excitable than the English youth: as he is capable in some ways of higher efforts of self-denial, so he suffers more intensely from evil influences. The 'vision splendid' of youth is in the East unobscured by the passion for athletics, the material ambitions of the English lad. The Indian parent is extraordinarily indulgent, and parental control, as a social force, is almost non-existent. The dreams which overshadow the pubescence of the Indian youth are hallowed by no idealistic admiration of the other sex: there is for him no flirtation, and no idyllic love-making; for him, outside the family circle, woman appears as Venus Pandemos only. As such her influence is exceedingly potent and exceedingly injurious. It is impossible in addressing the general reader to picture it in its actual colours; it must suffice to say that houses of ill-fame congregate closely round college and school boarding-houses, and the brothel is almost as marked a feature of student life as the class-room. Indeed, students not uncommonly lodge in prostitutes' houses. One of the leading Calcutta Bengali newspapers, in giving an account of some school-boy political demonstrations, stated, with apparent satisfaction, that the boys had been escorted in procession by the women of the town. It may be urged that student life on the Continent is also free from the restraint which Puritanism has impressed upon English youth. But the arrangements of Paris or Heidelberg have at least a flavour of domesticity, and represent some restraint upon the lawlessness of youth.

This is a distressing picture of indiscipline and immorality, with a sad foreboding for the next generation. Are these the inevitable consequences of our educational policy—the natural fruits of the grafting of English literature and science upon the Oriental disposition? We may take courage to doubt this. There are colleges and schools which have resisted infection, even in Bengal. For many years past the Government has failed to appreciate the immense importance of its responsibilities to the young, and has made no sufficient attempt to cope with the difficulties that have arisen from the increasing desire for English learning. From the day on which a qualification in English was adopted as a condition for appointment to the public service, schools and colleges have sprung up in Bengal with mushroom rapidity. Fees are very low, and the teaching staff is usually ill paid. In these circumstances it was essential to maintain a strong inspecting staff, and to strengthen the hands of the masters by the severe repression of gross disorder. It cannot be said that

either of these conditions has been fulfilled. The inspection of colleges and schools has been little more than nominal ; and to avoid a storm in the press, grave—even criminal—misbehaviour has been passed over in silence. The students of one school, having a grudge against a ferryman, threw him into the river and prevented him from landing till he was drowned. No evidence could be produced against individuals, and no penalty marked abhorrence of the crime. Good feelings, it may be said, are not born of discipline. Not so ; ‘manners makyth man,’ and respectful habits generate a respectful mind. But, it may be objected, if the surroundings of English University life do not control the rebellious imaginings of Indian students, surely no hope can be gathered from the Education Department of the Indian Government. But we are concerned with students younger than those who enter Oxford or Cambridge, not emancipated from home influences (which must after all be on the side of orderliness) and more amenable to discipline. In insisting upon discipline we have on our side the wisdom of the East, which if it leaves the relation of father and son to be based upon affection, insists, and has always insisted, upon the strict subordination of the pupil to the teacher, of the *chela* to the *guru*. Control should not be condemned till it has been fairly tried. The Education Department should be one of the most important branches—if, indeed, not the most important branch—of the public service, and should be strengthened until it can meet its duties. Under existing arrangements young Englishmen are appointed to the Department direct from college, and enter upon their duties as inspectors or professors in complete ignorance of the language, the history, the customs, and the sentiments of the people whose growth is entrusted to their control. Such an arrangement may almost be described as an insult to the country ; and a special course of training should most certainly precede the first appointment of an Englishman to the Educational service. But I do not, of course, mean to imply that the superior staff should be exclusively recruited in England. In my experience Bengali inspectors of schools have shown courage and determination when Government support is not denied them ; and I may pay a passing tribute here to Bengali magistrates, who in a situation of immense difficulty have, with rare exceptions, been displaying remarkable fortitude of purpose. But let it be realised above all things that no action we can take to improve the morale of Indian students has any hope of success so long as we permit their minds to be poisoned by the suggestions and exhortations of an unbridled press. The more seditious of the Indian newspapers are written in the main for juvenile readers, to whom they appeal not only by the violence of their language, but by the pruriency of their advertisements, which are of a character that would be permitted in no English newspaper. Surely the most strenuous advocate

of the liberty of the press—one that will not hesitate to affirm that what suits England must suit India also—will admit that the situation is changed if it can be shown that the press caters for the class-room as well as for the market-place, and is a forceful power in the training of the young? It is difficult indeed to appreciate the position of those who, in their own country, would check the sale of intoxicating liquors to adults, but in India would permit the distribution of infinitely more harmful stimulants to children. There is no one who is well acquainted with India and wishes her well, but has rejoiced at the expression by Lord Minto of an earnest wish that the press in India may be subjected to some general control, and who does not join him in the hope that so beneficent a measure may not be defeated by the opposition of those who care more for the maintenance of so-called liberal principles than for the welfare of thousands of Indian students.

Now, it will be said, enough of discipline and control; what of reform? Granting that the present ferment is working most powerfully in schools and colleges, does it not represent some real grievance which it is our business to remove? Has not our gift of English learning brought with it aspirations which we are bound to notice and to fulfil? We are most certainly responsible for the growth of a desire for a larger share in the government of the country, and we should most certainly meet this desire, gradually adding to the opportunities of the people in the superior service of the State, and in the Council chamber. But it is a mistake to conceive that the study of European literature and science generates in the East a burning desire for a vote, for some form of representative government. We are so enamoured of the authority of Parliament, of recent date though it be, that we are inclined to believe that government by voting appeals to one of the most general, the most deep-seated, of human sentiments. But there are nations on the Continent that are better educated than India can hope to be for some generations to come which make shift, pretty contentedly and in much prosperity, with a very moderate allowance of political freedom. In the nature of things there is no reason why India should be fevered by a longing for representative government, nor are there any reliable symptoms of such an affection. There is in the East little of the spirit of compromise which renders government by a majority endurable. The Musalmans are definitely opposed to any experiment in this direction; so also are many other sections of the community who would be permanently out-voted. It is most significant that we should hear nothing whatever of liberal aspirations in the native states which include one-third of the Indian continent. They also have their schools, colleges, and an educated public, which accept without question monarchical authority. The cries which are raised on our side of the border for elected councils,

a colonial constitution, and so forth are the expression not of definite ambitions, but of that vague feeling of dislike with which all humanity regards an alien rule. We are so convinced of the material benefits which our intervention has secured to the people of India that we resent—can indeed hardly realise—the idea that we can appear in any light but that of benefactors. Yet our domination in India runs counter to one of the fundamental sentiments of human nature, which, while deferring to such practical considerations as self-interest, will permanently yield only to custom and habitude. We brought relief from gross oppression, and were welcomed on our arrival; the memory of the oppression fades, but the figure of the English official becomes gradually accepted as of the order of nature. The triumph of Asia, in the victories of Japan, fiercely disturbed this settlement of ideas; and it is a curious proof of our lack of imagination that the effect of Mukden, Port Arthur, and Tsu-Shima has been so scantily realised. Under the reflection of these glories India burned to assert herself. An occasion was offered by the reform of the Universities and the partition of Bengal, since, although both these measures were really advantageous to the country and were conceived by Lord Curzon in a spirit of benevolence, both were injurious to vested interests which could command the sympathy of the press. The press with its bodyguard of lawyers put forth the whole of its power, and all the resources of political agitation were called to hand. It was soon found that (save in one area and for a particular reason) the adult population was hard to move. The benefits of British rule are, after all, substantial and undeniable, and as prosperity increases and capital accumulates the country becomes more and more apprehensive of the effects of a cataclysm. Further, and this is a point of great importance, there is no scheme, alternative to British rule, to which the ordinary citizen would for a moment trust himself. The Nationalist party has shrunk from describing a native form of government for adoption in a British province, unless it be, generally, that men of education should take the loaves and fishes, and that the British army should secure their enjoyment of them. Such a claim as that Bengal should be granted a constitution on colonial lines conveys little to the Bengali householder beyond a vague idea of bitter quarrelling, terminated by an invasion from, say, Nepal. In the minds of grown men hostility to British rule is not sufficiently pronounced to induce them to accept the doubtful chances of revolution; accordingly they take but little part in the manifestations of unrest, and leave politics to their boys, not, as I have said, without some pride in the youngsters' exploits, but with an uncomfortable feeling that studies are being neglected, and habits of discourtesy acquired which render their sons' home-coming a very irritating experience. In these circumstances our policy should be to sit tight, do justice, and strictly maintain

the peace. Enthusiasms in the East are short-lived; the National Congress itself had lost all repute when fresh vitality was infused into it by a breath from the shores of Manchuria. It is only in the interests of the rising generation that new departures are called for—the strengthening and reform of educational supervision, and, above all, for the protection of the young, the control of the press.

BAMPFYLDE FULLER.

MR. HALDANE'S TERRITORIAL ARTILLERY

FOR some years past every War Minister has apparently considered the reorganization of the Army to be his chief function. Why an Army should require reorganization every three or four years is not evident, for such constant changes are more or less detrimental to the Service, and destroy all confidence in the continuance of any system. The present War Minister has been working very hard with the assistance of the Army Council to contrive a combined scheme embracing both regular and auxiliary forces, and enabling the latter to afford an efficient support to the former in time of war. Of the auxiliary forces the Militia, now called the Special Reserve, are to supply trained drafts to the regular forces; and the Volunteers, termed the Territorial Army, are intended for home defence. With the main portion of the Territorial Army scheme this paper is not concerned, but the part relating to artillery is not only experimental but unpractical, and Lord Roberts's warning respecting it would probably be endorsed by every artillery officer of experience who has served for any time with field batteries.

Neither Mr. Haldane nor his advisers could have realised what would be required to organize an immense force of 196 efficient field batteries. Such a force would, if organized in brigades like regular field artillery, with ammunition columns, require in time of war about 1630 officers, 2437 sergeants, 2744 artificers, 56,187 rank and file (corporals, gunners and drivers), 587 trumpeters, and 64,083 horses. Some of the transport for ammunition columns in rear of the fighting line might perhaps be done by motors. For a peace establishment, similarly organized in brigades of batteries, these 196 Territorial field batteries, making about 65 brigades, would require about 1110 officers, 1829 sergeants, 28,665 rank and file, 457 trumpeters, and 17,900 horses.

As the horse and field Territorial batteries are to have reduced establishments of only four guns and eight ammunition wagons on a peace footing, there will be a corresponding reduction in the number of horses required. But the supply of horses for the Territorial besides the regular field artillery in time of war will probably be a matter of great and increasing difficulty; for as more omnibuses, vans, and other vehicles are supplied with motor traction, fewer horses of the required class will be available for field artillery.

As they are to be field batteries, they must be drilled singly and in brigades, to march in different formations, to deploy, to take up positions, to come into action and retire promptly, and change front. The old-fashioned complicated drills are no longer necessary, nor with our long-ranging guns are advances over short distances of any use, but the simple movements mentioned above are required for ordinary manœuvring. To obtain suitable grounds for such drills and exercises all over the country would be both difficult and costly. It has been sometimes rather hard, even before the late increase of field batteries, to get, at some stations, ground large enough to drill a couple of batteries.

Besides drilling-grounds a number of practice ranges must be obtained. Such ranges for modern artillery must embrace a large extent of country, for the ranges of field ordnance are much longer now than formerly, and also the possible deflections are greater. Firing at targets on sea ranges or along flat beaches is of little use for field artillery, although for position guns for coast defence they might be employed with advantage. The practice ranges at Okehampton and Salisbury in England, at Trawsfynydd in Wales, and at Glen Immal in Ireland, are barely sufficient for the service horse artillery and field batteries. If each battery was allowed a week to fire a moderate allowance of ammunition, say 400 rounds, annually, the 196 batteries would require some forty-nine months to get through it, so that numerous ranges must be obtained to allow practice at suitable times. It must be remembered that gun practice cannot be carried on at all times and seasons; fog, drenching rain, and snow might stop it. To get the few adequate practice ranges for the service artillery batteries was no easy matter, and cost a good deal of money. It is very improbable that the difficulties of providing all the means described above for the training of such a large force as 196 field batteries could be surmounted; but, if they could be, the greatest difficulty of all would be the training of the batteries, which would take up far more time than volunteer troops could afford to give, although some of them might be able to manage to come out on many occasions beyond the fifteen days annual course. They would not only require training in discipline, horse management, manœuvring, and gun practice to be brought into an efficient state to enable their majors to employ them skilfully, but continuous training afterwards to preserve efficiency.

• After the Boer War and previous to the introduction of the two new field guns—13-pr. for horse artillery and 18-pr. for field artillery—the regular artillery of our Army consisted of:

Horse Artillery	.	.	.	28 batteries of 12-pr. guns
Field Artillery	.	.	.	141 " " 15-pr. "
Howitzers	.	.	.	9 " " 5-in. howitzers
Total	.	.	.	178 batteries.

And it has been a matter of surprise to the Army, at any rate the artillery portion of it, why such a much larger force should have been decided upon for the Territorial army. Mr. Haldane, however, gave the reason in the House of Commons: 'The general staff eighteen months ago were of opinion that there should be five guns for every 1000 bayonets and sabres, and that was the proportion he was insisting on maintaining.' This is no doubt a sound principle for large armies of regular troops when campaigning in extensive open countries on the Continent, but is scarcely applicable to the defence of our small enclosed country against comparatively small forces, which could be brought over-sea for raiding purposes. To resist invasion by a large army, if such could be landed on our shores, a very large force of regular field artillery, besides any Territorial artillery, would be absolutely essential.

According to the Army Order the Territorial artillery is to consist of:

	Batteries
Horse Artillery	14
Field " (41 brigades)	128
Howitzer batteries (14 brigades)	28
Heavy artillery batteries	14
Mountain artillery (1 brigade)	8
Heavy batteries to defend ports	6

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This gives eight batteries short of the stated number 196; but if the howitzer brigades are to consist of three instead of two batteries, the number will be forty-two howitzer batteries and the total will be 196, exclusive of the six heavy batteries for the defence of ports.

Besides the batteries, the proper proportion—a very large one—of ammunition columns for artillery and infantry are laid down as part of the scheme. Such a force is well proportioned as regards the different kinds of batteries for the artillery of a large regular army, but to organize and thoroughly train it on a volunteer system is, as has been pointed out, simply impracticable. To increase some 127 semi-mobile volunteer batteries to 196 field batteries would be, as Lord Lansdowne said, a colossal project and a tremendous plunge, nor is it necessary. The greater portion of the volunteer artillery should consist of semi-mobile or light position batteries on the principle well understood and provided for years ago; when a large number of 40-pr. R.B.L. guns (excellent weapons) were kept ready, and a plan arranged for horsing them from the farms of the country or the haulers and other firms using horses. At the present time a more formidable 40-pr. would be the best gun (not a cumbrous 60-pr.), and this would give ample scope to the capacity of volunteer gunners when trained to make good practice with them, for which sea and beach ranges would answer the purpose. Batteries of these guns, firing both shrapnel and explosive shells, could be conveyed in these

days to any part of the coast where a landing was expected; they could be placed in good sheltered positions in gun-pits to protect them from the fire of warships, they could sink boats, and overpower the fire of any field guns that could be brought over, and would greatly assist the Territorial forces and regular troops left at home in preventing any landing. They could be armed provisionally with the converted 15-pr., 5-inch howitzers, and 4·7-inch guns until a 40-pr. or other suitable guns can be provided. The converted 15-pr. is too heavy a gun for horse artillery. Of the 127 volunteer artillery batteries, 100 might be organized as useful and powerful position batteries; and the remaining twenty-seven as field batteries, a more manageable number to test the experiment of volunteer field artillery than the very large number proposed in the War Office scheme. This would give, allowing as usual four guns to a position battery, 400 position guns and 162 field guns, a really formidable force, the formation of which would be much less costly than that of the War Office scheme. It would be better adapted to the capabilities of volunteer artillery, and would entail far fewer difficulties in carrying out to success.

According to Mr. Haldane's statement in the House of Commons on the 19th of April, 'the whole point was, could they train volunteer field artillery? He thought that he had shown beyond all possibility of doubt that there was a large body of most modern and experienced military opinion in favour of the proposal to include volunteer field artillery in the second line.'

With all respect to Mr. Haldane it may be said that the possibility of training volunteer field artillery is not the point, and that the critics of his scheme have made no objection to including volunteer field artillery in the second line. The real point is: 'Shall the main portion of an immense force of 196 volunteer batteries be converted into horse and field batteries, or shall the experiment be made with a much smaller number of such batteries?' Neither Lord Roberts, Lord Denbigh, nor other critics object to twenty or thirty volunteer field batteries being included in the second line. On this point Lord Roberts said in the House of Lords (on the 18th of May):

As regarded Lord Midleton's proposal (to form twenty-one volunteer field batteries), he acquiesced in that experiment being made because he was able to imagine then, as he could imagine now, the feasibility of raising a limited number of batteries in certain selected areas, where local interest and training possibilities appeared to hold out reasonable hopes of carrying such an experiment to a fairly successful conclusion. Surely no impartially minded person could see any similarity between the experiment that was contemplated in 1901, to form twenty-one batteries in carefully selected localities as a reserve to the regular artillery, and Mr. Haldane's proposal to raise indiscriminately 196 batteries in all parts of the country, not as a reserve to the regular artillery, but to take the place of the regulars and to be the sole artillery—with the exception of eight horse artillery batteries—on which we should have to depend for the defence of this country.

This is a clear and sound statement of the case, with which all officers who have served with batteries of artillery in the field—horse, field, or position—would probably agree. Lord Denbigh, who was for some years an officer of the Royal Field Artillery, both at home and on active service, and who commanded the Honourable Artillery Company for fifteen years, stated in a letter of the 13th of March to the *Times* newspaper :

With all respect, therefore, for the powers that be, I venture to state my strong opinion, for what it may be worth, that, though it may be possible, through local and special advantages, to have a certain number of volunteer horse and field batteries that would be able to give a very good account of themselves, even if called out in an emergency, and would be really good troops after they had been in the field for a certain time, it is sheer folly to depend for the adequate defence of the country on any general scheme of Territorial field artillery such as we are now embarking on.

Of the few volunteer field batteries sent out to South Africa, the C.I.V. battery of the Honourable Artillery Company and the Elswick battery had special advantages in the way of training by officers and non-commissioned officers of the regular artillery, they were composed of men of greater intelligence and education than most volunteers, many in the Elswick battery being skilled artificers, and some having good means, a considerable amount of money was spent on them ; and, as Lord Roberts observed in the House of Lords, they had some three months' training in the field before they were seriously engaged with the enemy, and, ' what was an important matter, they were never opposed by highly trained artillery, but only by artillery with little, if any more, training than they had themselves.' The Australian, New South Wales, and Victoria, as also the Canadian field batteries, Sir E. Hutton stated in his letter to the *Times* of the 20th of April, besides being more or less deficient in equipment and organization, all required considerably more training although they had received a certain amount under Imperial officers.

Lord Denbigh stated in a letter to the *Times* of the 13th of March : ' I know for a fact Mr. Haldane was considerably influenced in his determination to rely so extensively on Territorial artillery by the results obtained by the H.A.C. batteries and the brigade of Lancashire Militia field artillery.'

Let us inquire into the means allowed to these batteries to improve their training. To again quote Lord Denbigh :

They (our men) go to the riding-school of the R.H.A. at St. John's Wood for evening riding-lessons, for which R.H.A. horses are provided on payment, and horses and gun-teams are similarly turned out for our gunners and drivers, who do detachment and driving drills on Saturday afternoons at St. John's Wood and Wormwood Scrubs.

Of recent years the batteries have, previous to going to the annual ten days' camp on Salisbury Plain, made two expeditions by train to Aldershot, where

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they find, on arrival, guns and horses of the R.H.A. all ready turned out awaiting them, and they mount and go out for a long afternoon's drill. I have no hesitation in saying that without these drills and the facilities afforded us by the R.H.A. at St. John's Wood, it would be impossible to bring these batteries to any point of real usefulness without a much longer training in camp than the men would be able to afford.

The exceptional advantages of our headquarters and the drill that is constantly going on there, and the private income of the corps, are also essential factors in the situation.

Major-General Sir George Marshall, who commanded the artillery in the South African war, and was Commandant of the Field Artillery Gunnery School at Okehampton for some time, besides being president of the committee that introduced the 18-pr. and 13-pr. quick-firing guns, showed in a letter to the *Times* that a field battery after being trained in the theory of gunnery, riding, driving, and simple movements at drill and manoeuvres, is worthless as a fighting machine unless it has had a considerable amount of gun practice under varied war conditions at long ranges, directed by thoroughly capable battery commanders; and that the other officers should be able to take the place of the commander if necessary. And he asks if it would be possible during mobilisation, in war time to train a very large number of batteries to shoot, there being only three or four land ranges available in the whole kingdom. He also pointed out that partially trained batteries were not employed in South Africa against troops equipped with trained artillery.

Colonel A. S. Pratt, late Royal Artillery, wrote as follows to the *Daily Mail* respecting the Lancashire Field Artillery :

In 1901 I had the honour of forming the Lancashire Field Artillery Militia with a large percentage of Regulars to help me, and we trained for three months annually. From my experiment with them, I feel quite certain that, unless you have a very large percentage of Regular officers, non-commissioned officers, and men in the ranks of each battery (who should all be specially selected and able to teach), the volunteer field artillery will be of very little use in war.

There seems to be an absurd idea that a skilled mechanic or artisan would be sure to make a good field artilleryman. Not at all. . . . One of the most important duties of a field artilleryman is to look after his horse in barracks, in camp, on the march, and in the field—in fact, everywhere; for what is the good of a battery on service which loses and kills its horses by mismanagement? Discipline and daily routine can alone teach horse management, and constant experience in the field can alone teach field artillery tactics and the employment of guns to officers.

Mr. Haldane appears to have been influenced by the idea that skilled mechanics must make good field gunners; for he said in the House of Commons: 'He quite agreed that nothing short of the best was good enough for artillery, but in the little volunteer field artillery in Glasgow, Sheffield, and other big towns they had artisans of the

very highest technical training with the working of complicated mechanism such as was exhibited in the modern gun.' Such skilled mechanics would be far more valuable in position than in field artillery.

It is a novel idea for a War Minister to rely, for the support of his proposals, on accounts given by newspaper correspondents of some casual manœuvring and firing on the Salisbury ranges of two or three selected volunteer batteries, which have had exceptional advantages in training, and have been provided with horses by the regular artillery. Such manœuvres afford no proof that 165 horse, field, and howitzer volunteer field batteries can be formed and trained up to the comparative efficiency of these few exceptional batteries. One of the correspondents quoted by Mr. Haldane in the House of Commons, on the 18th of June, stated that shrapnel shells 'rushed high overhead, and falling in and about the trenches and forts exploded, throwing from the sub-craters they made volumes of smoke, flame, iron, earth, and stone.' This is not exactly the effect desired by practical gunners from shrapnel shell.

Notwithstanding what has been said by many artillery officers of experience, Lord Lucas, now Under-Secretary of State for War, stated in a paper read after a dinner of the National Defence Association: 'If I could borrow the King's outriders to drive my guns, and a picked team from Maxim's works to fire them, I would guarantee to have an efficient battery in a week.' Lord Lucas is said to have attained the rank of second lieutenant in an infantry volunteer regiment, so of course he must know all about artillery service. His idea reminds the writer of a somewhat similar notion he heard expounded several years ago when lunching with the late Sir Alexander Wilson at Cammell's works at Sheffield. A commercial gentleman present, said to be a shrewd man of business, declared that it was a great waste of money to keep up an army in peace time. If war was declared against any Power, all the Government had to do was to select two or three good contractors, and they would be able to supply troops, arms, ammunition, food, &c., without difficulty. He did not seem to see much use in training, and did not apparently care what became of our Colonies and possessions in different parts of the world.

With respect to Mr. Haldane's large body of modern and experienced military opinion in favour of his proposed scheme, it does not follow that the most modern is always the best. For instance, field howitzers were not allowed to take part in the Salisbury manœuvres before the South African war, as it was thought they would impede the movements of the other troops; and as to guns of position, the modern authorities of the time had never apparently heard of them, or forgotten the services performed by such artillery in India and the Crimea, and we have had no fighting against an enemy with powerful well-trained artillery since; but in South Africa some position howitzers, which had been sent out long before the war and put in store,

when brought to Ladysmith did very useful service. And it must be confessed that the modern generals first sent out to South Africa made but a poor use of the fine field artillery at their command. Then, the results of the Essex manœuvres, planned by modern generals after the South African war, were more or less futile. They appeared to consist mainly of an exercise in landing troops from ships, without any proper arrangements for preventing the operation by the employment of position and other artillery skilfully posted and entrenched. That the Navy could promptly land troops was shown in the Crimea more than fifty years before.

With respect to these manœuvres a critic—strange to say, an artillery officer—came to the conclusion that heavy artillery will, generally speaking, be useless in close country, and field artillery will work at a great disadvantage. This may be true if the enemy is allowed to land in force, but this is what he should not be allowed to do; and if he got a footing by landing unexpectedly at night, he must be overwhelmed before he can establish himself and advance, an operation mainly depending upon a heavy artillery fire brought to bear on him, and this would be the legitimate function of a properly organized and well-trained Territorial artillery.

Mr. Haldane attempts to quote expert opinions against that of Lord Roberts. He gives those of Generals Sir John French and Sir Neville Lyttelton, both able and experienced officers, but who can hardly be considered 'experts' on a technical field artillery question; and one would have thought that such an idea as six months' training on mobilisation, which appears to have impressed them, had been knocked on the head by the lamentable experience of sending untrained yeomanry to South Africa. Then, would any nation delay operations for six months to allow time for the enemy to train his troops? General Sir I. Hamilton, also one of our distinguished generals, who, besides his South African experience, had the opportunity of watching the operations during the late war in Manchuria, does not appear to share Sir J. French's estimate of the value of Territorial field artillery, as he stated that three or four such batteries might give a warm reception to one battery of the Continental armies. Both Generals Sir J. French and Sir I. Hamilton evidently wish to do all in their power to assist Mr. Haldane, but seem to rely on most of the difficulties being overcome by the military enthusiasm of the country; it is to be feared that the signs of such enthusiasm are not very evident either in the country or among the War Minister's supporters in the House of Commons. Enthusiasm on the declaration of war is rather late to be of much use. Mr. Haldane's idea that 'if we were sending our Regular troops abroad, we must be careful not to send more than we could spare until the second line had hardened into efficiency,' is rather vague and not very practical.

The following is what Mr. Haldane calls important evidence of the value of volunteer artillery :

This was particularly made manifest during the special manœuvre training in Scotland last year, when Scottish volunteer artillery was associated with Regular artillery, and did so well as to earn the warmest praise from General Haig and Colonel May, the expert of the General Staff. General Haig confessed that he was unable to differentiate between the Regular and the volunteer artillerymen, and Colonel Grant's Lancashire volunteers drove over a bank which a Regular battery had declined to negotiate.

Whatever may be the value of General Haig's opinion as to the efficiency of a field battery, increased, probably, by the volunteers driving over a bank, the fighting powers of batteries cannot be judged by their movements during manœuvres ; and it is curious to note that the casual mention of Colonel May's praise is the only reference made by Mr. Haldane to the opinion of any artillery officer.

Mr. Haldane states that ' the Territorial artillery organization is the one recommended by the General Staff,' but some doubt has been thrown on the opinions of officers at the War Office by Mr. Arnold-Forster, ex-War Minister, who was refused the production of certain documents giving the opinions of officers who took part in the discussion of the question of volunteer artillery at the end of 1905. In a letter to Mr. Haldane of the 30th of March he states :

I do not pretend to know what the views of the distinguished soldiers I have referred to may be at the present time, but I do know what they thought and said as late as October 1905, and I have no hesitation in saying that they were at that time wholly opposed to the policy of reducing the Royal Artillery and of creating 196 batteries of volunteer field artillery.

Then there is the threat held over the military advisers by War Ministers, as stated by Lord Elgin in the House of Lords : ' The Secretary of State necessarily must act on the advice which he receives from his confidential advisers. These officers must concur with the action taken or they must resign.' A pleasant prospect for the officers, who may be pardoned for some alteration of opinions rather than have their professional career blighted.

Lord Elgin went on to discuss ' what was expert evidence,' and instances differences of opinions between two field-marshal on a question of expert advice, on which a third field-marshal declined to give his opinion, on the ground that strategy was not an exact science. The latter was perfectly right, and on this matter of Territorial field artillery no question of strategy is involved, but a technical one depending on money, organization, training, and experience.

That a War Minister should be guided by his military advisers is a sound principle, but in its application he must make sure of getting competent advisers. In a technical question involving so many complicated details as field artillery, it is of little use to consult tacticians, however modern their notions, for there are now no generals

or officers of lower rank on the active list who have, in fighting, ever been opposed by armies provided with a powerful and well-trained artillery. The consequences are that many wild ideas have been adopted, such as: that the effect of artillery fire is chiefly moral, that only one gun and one projectile are required for field artillery, that all gun practice must be quick-firing and very long ranging, ideas that I attempted to combat in a paper printed in the *United Service Magazine* in 1905. But with all such ideas floating about, there has probably never been a time when regular artillery officers, non-commissioned officers, and men have been better trained, and they, at any rate, know what results can be expected from the various kinds of artillery in use—siege, very heavy field, position, field gun, howitzer, and mountain artillery.

As regards the regular artillery, Mr. Haldane's scheme provides sixty-six batteries, horse and field, for the striking force of six divisions; which will leave eight horse and thirty-three field batteries at home; but the scheme involves the crippling of the thirty-three batteries, their establishment of horses being reduced to such a low point that a battery cannot turn out to drill without borrowing horses from the two other batteries of the brigade; and, as Lord Roberts pointed out, only the eight horse artillery batteries would be left to act for home defence with the Territorial artillery, and to supply drafts for the batteries of the striking force. The thirty-three field batteries are to be employed to train the 15,000 men of the Special Reserve (Militia) required for the ammunition columns and six months' wastage from war. How can these thirty-three batteries train the Special Reserve when their establishments are so reduced that it will be very difficult for the majors to keep up the training of their own batteries, and preserve their efficiency as fighting machines? With respect to this reduction of horses in the thirty-three field batteries, Mr. Haldane said in the debate in the House of Commons on the 18th of June:—'The hon. member (Mr. Lee) complained that thirty-three batteries of the Royal Artillery had been emasculated, but that was a fallacy.' A fact cannot be converted into a fallacy by a bare assertion; and any artillery trumpeter could tell Mr. Haldane that these batteries are simply crippled for want of horses. The idea of these batteries training the Special Reserve is a good one, provided that their ordinary peace establishments are not reduced in men or horses.

The Military Correspondent of the *Times* parades numbers of men and guns to show that no reduction of the regular artillery has been proposed; but these are of little use, for the only field batteries in the country outside those of the striking force are crippled for want of horses. With respect to the Territorial artillery he asserted that

there were three courses open to the Army Council for providing the necessary artillery support. This artillery might have been exclusively regular; it might have been strengthened, like the Lancashire Field Artillery Militia, by some

THE PRESENT STAGE OF CHURCH REFORM

A YEAR or two ago a facile pen produced a volume of essays, purporting to have been written 'in time of tranquillity.' The title, *In Peril of Change*, though connoting the topic of the closing paper, affords a tolerably correct anticipation of the complexion of the book as a whole. Without posing as a mere *laudator temporis acti*, a character quite below so forceful and discriminating a writer, the observer's attitude towards change in society or the Church may be said to be that of exceeding caution.

That peril should be associated with change was to the constitutional conservatism of a bygone day an axiom. To-day, except with the surviving remnant of a school, whether to move be not better than to stand still is at least an open question.

Church Reform is a policy involving not so much a constitutional change in the Church of England as the bestowal upon it of a constitution. For at present it is unique amongst the Churches of Western reformed Christendom as possessing none.

The phrase 'Church Reform' calls for a prefatory word. This, let it be noticed, has nothing directly to do with Church Reformation. There are not a few things in the present polity and practice of the National Church which many of her most loyal sons would be glad to see amended. The sale of advowsons and of next presentations cannot in their count be justified. The whole question of private patronage demands revision. These matters, however, form no part of the programme of Church Reform. This prepares the way for their fruitful consideration, and offers the machinery for their correction. But the orderly progress of Reform has been frequently blocked by an unwise intersection of two completely distinct inquiries. Time is spent on these side issues which should have been devoted to the legitimate position; and the real object for which discussion is invited has often been thrust into a subordinate place while speaker after speaker has waxed warm on the immediate necessity of doing that which can never be done until the despised machinery for doing it is supplied. It is overlooked that reformation of abuses and

constitutional reform do not admit of comparison. The Church Reform League is partially responsible for this confusion of thought. In its early days it selected certain abuses as planks in its platform which, while affording ethical reasons for the movement, diverted attention from the insistent question of the means whereby those abuses should ultimately be removed.

We may learn wisdom here from a page of English history recording an epoch when a constitutional and a great ethical question were reticulate.

Years before the passing of the great measures which secured the reform of Parliamentary representation, the subject of the abolition of slavery in our plantations had been brought up in Parliament. In Lord Brougham the Buxtons and the Wilberforces had found a zealous friend. This statesman had brought forward a motion in the House directing attention to the evils and scandals of the labour system of the West. Sterile resolutions passed by successive Governments marked the slow awakening of the public conscience. Feeble substitutes for abolition were gravely proposed; but nothing was done. With so many vested interests involved, it would have been astonishing had anything been done so long as Parliament failed to speak the mind of the nation. This it could not do until the nation's voice spoke through it. Reform had to precede reformation.

The question of abolition was speedily disposed of when reform was accomplished. Lord John Russell's Act was passed in 1832. Emancipation was carried in 1833. Through the most beneficent of the long series of Factory Acts extinction of child-labour with its piteous miseries soon followed. The relation of this latter measure of reform in the ethical sphere to the question of reform in the political is even more to the point than that of the abolitionist Act, inasmuch as it complicated the purely political issues in much the same way as the two sets of questions are colliding and so impeding progress in the ecclesiastical province to-day. It is a singular instance of a narrow purview in one whose vision was in his own philanthropic field so clear that Lord Ashley was nearly as zealous in opposing the Reform Bill of 1832 as in laboriously preparing the way for the humane legislation of 1833, 1844, and 1845.

These considerations go far to strengthen the persuasion that the more ardently we may desire to see certain abuses in the administration of the Church of England amended the more carefully should we guard against the danger of diverting public attention from the question of the Church's constitution. Unless this caution is respected, the question will continue to be invested with nothing beyond the mere academic interest it has for long possessed. 'I have been thinking of the subject,' said one Church dignitary to the writer a short time ago, 'for thirty years.' 'I have been weighing it,' said another, 'for forty.' A copious literature has been produced by such varied schools

as those represented by the late Bishop Westcott, by the Bishop of Birmingham, the Bishop of Liverpool, the Bishop of Hereford, the Dean of Norwich, Canon Aitken, Father Rackham, Chancellor Vernon-Smith, Sir John Kennaway. Leaders of the Churches in America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Cape Town have furnished information on the position and powers of the laity in their several communities. We have listened to their reports with respect, blind to the humour of the situation that the mother of all these vigorous local communities should continue contented to be the only disfranchised Protestant Church in Christendom.

Disfranchised—for she was vocal once. Parliament ceased, with the releasing of Nonconformists from their disabilities, to represent the National Church. Quite inadequate the representation; but such as it was it possessed constitutional recognition. Since 1828 no shadow of representation has remained. The revival of Convocation in 1852 attested the awakening of a slumbering Church. But it gave the Church no adequate clerical representation. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce's appeal to the Government for a licence to sit for the transaction of business was warmly seconded by Mr. Gladstone. It is noticeable that this statesman was amongst the first to see the insufficiency of a purely clerical assembly, however completely it should represent the clergy, to voice the Church. He urged that in any future convocational action the laity should have opportunities of being heard. 'No form of government,' he says, 'that does not distinctly and fully provide for the expression of the voice of the laity would satisfy the needs of the Church of England.'¹

Conscious of its own inadequacy as the mouthpiece of an organic body, Convocation on its revival took the first step towards securing the necessary powers for undertaking its own internal reform. That of the Province of Canterbury approached the Queen with an address, praying Her Majesty's royal licence to amend the representation of the clergy in the Lower House. Her Majesty was not advised to comply with its prayer.

As at present constituted, Convocation cannot be regarded as an exponent of the mind of the clergy of the Church. To make it a true exponent of that mind should be the Church's first endeavour. It is nothing short of a gross anomaly that while an incumbent who has been only three years in holy orders is in virtue of his benefice an elector, an unbeneficed clergyman with twenty years' experience behind him does not enjoy the franchise; and, of course, no unbeneficed clergyman can take his seat amongst the proctors as a member.

If the reform of the Clerical Convocation be, as we are persuaded it must be, the question that first presses, it appears to us as ill-advised to divert general attention from this to the subject of lay-representation, as it is to divert that attention from either of these

¹ *Life of Gladstone*, John Morley, ii. 163.

constitutional questions to ethical reformanda. This observation is commended to the Church Reform League. That useful educational agency—educational, for it commits itself to no detailed policy—in its original draft Declaratory or Enabling Bill merely indicated the lines along which legislation should, in its estimation, travel. A start had to be made, and there was no other agency—and there is still no other to our knowledge—in the field to do it.

A Bill, entitled 'The Convocations of the Clergy Bill'—to be distinguished from Sir Richard Jebb's 'Convocations Bill,' introduced and dropped in 1900—was moved in the Lords by Archbishop Temple and read a first time on the 17th of May 1901, passed its second reading on the 13th of June, and its third on the 1st of July. In the Commons it was read a first time four days later, and has not been heard of since. A similar Bill has been introduced into the House of Lords by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and has apparently met with a similar fate.

Three years ago a new departure in consultative organisation was taken in the formation of the so-called² 'Representative Church Council.' This consists of the Convocations of the two Provinces together with the two Houses of Laymen conferring at Westminster in joint session, and is the outcome of careful deliberations in the separate Convocations the year before; and we may be sanguine of its ultimate usefulness. In the present stage of its business it appears too probable that its advances towards internal qualification for future legislative powers (for which in their wisdom the Archbishops have not yet asked) will be obstructed by the thorny question of the Church-franchise. In July 1906 it was decided by a fairly substantial majority³ that the qualification be parochial—residence in the parish with a declaration giving the vote. Not a little, however, was urged by several prominent speakers, including the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Birmingham, and Lord Halifax in favour of the habitual worshipper from over the parish border. The congregational principle was indeed recognised, but the Council was urged to secure for the two bases concurrent recognition. This was negatived, and the ancient parochial principle reaffirmed. It has to be noticed with regret that the will of the Council, thus unequivocally expressed, has not been loyally accepted in all quarters, and some of the foremost leaders in Reform have declined to consider themselves bound by the vote of the Council. This independence of action is hardly likely to impress the outside public with the ripeness of Churchmen for the exercise of legislative powers, if ever they are applied for. Divergence of view is to be

² For no Council can properly be called 'representative' before the principle of representation has been decided on, and exercised.

³ The voting on the question of giving the franchise to non-parishioners was as follows: Bishops, 10 ayes, 19 noes; clergy, 53 ayes, 81 noes; laity, 80 ayes, 76 noes; = 143 ayes, 176 noes.

looked for in all assemblies of thinking men, and, as long as the particular question remains *sub judice*, is fully entitled to free expression. But for Reformers to call into existence a deliberative body and then to include in the rights of a minority that of individually overruling its decisions is a singular method of promoting Reform. We say nothing as to the expediency or in expediency of superinducing the congregational upon the parochial theory. We contend that the question has for consistent Church Reformers been closed by the vote of the Council, and if individual Bishops issue independent instructions to their clergy, the Church's organic action ceases to be a reality. The cause of Reform is hopelessly blocked.

It is not easy to account for the timid attitude towards the general question of creating a constitution for the Church of England taken by many members of that Church. Is there anything to be said in justification of the absence of self-government? And if theoretically there be nothing to be said, are all other Anglican communities possessed of facilities which have been denied to the Church of England? Does her internal administration or the character of her members present peculiar difficulties, which are conspicuously absent from all sister Churches?

Until two hundred years ago she was autonomous; constitutionally represented by Parliament. All members were Churchmen. None will be hardy enough to say that Parliament represents her to-day. With the abolition of all Parliamentary religious tests the last vestiges of self-government vanished. Happily for the Church, there is not the slightest likelihood that such a method of representation will ever be revived.

But its disappearance has placed the Church in a singular position. No longer representing her, the Parliaments of recent times have betrayed a judicious disinclination to legislate for her; and on the rare occasions when they have done so, the scant gratitude of Churchmen has been won.

Deprived then of autonomous powers, she has remained from that day to this without them; and there is no instrumentality by which the results of her successive efforts to improve her multiform agencies and institutions can be invested with the force of law. The passage through Parliament of a simple enabling Bill which should recognise her right to put her own house in order appears to meet insuperable obstacles. And yet it is impossible to accept these obstacles as inherent in the nature of the case.

On the other hand, it is equally difficult to believe that the character of Church people presents a special ethical obstruction. Are a laity trained and moulded by our free institutions, nurtured in the most comprehensive of all the Churches, less likely than all others to wield for the general good whatever limited powers, administrative or judiciary, might hereafter be conceded to them? We think not. For earnest-

ness, for devotion to a high ideal, for practical wisdom, the laymen of the English Church have often little to learn from the clergy, and, in the last, have not seldom something to teach.

Their confidence, moreover, in the clergy expresses itself without break in ungrudging financial support of the Church's work. Some are disposed to think that their trust is withered, or is withering. Nine million pounds given in voluntary offerings yearly—the bulk of this out of the pockets of the laity—is singularly abundant fruit to be plucked from the boughs of a withering tree. And if the laity, as a whole, thus trust the clergy, as a whole, this trust ought to be, and in most cases is, heartily reciprocated. That any considerable number of the laity will be capable of prostituting power for partisan purposes we decline to believe. ●

In the fuller recognition of the momentous problems to be faced in the calmer light of the broadening morrows, in the nobler crusades that lie beyond our rubrical polemics, lie the hopes of the future solidarity of the English Church. The administrative side of this solidarity will be provided, when the clergy and laity of the Church sit, side by side, in council in virtue of their baptism, and take common synodical action in all causes appertaining to the welfare of their common Church.

ALFRED BURNLEY.

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AND THE 'ATHANASIAN CREED.'

THIS month the bishops of what may be conveniently called the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church meet in conference at Lambeth. The bishops come from all parts of the world; they represent bodies independent one of another, and governed by different ecclesiastical laws. These bodies are 'Anglican' in the sense that they are spiritually descended from the Church of England, or at least (as in the case of the disestablished Church of Ireland) were once in organic union with her; in fact, the Lambeth Conference will be a meeting of the representatives of sister bodies, not of one organisation. The two great links between bishop and bishop who meet there are the English tongue and the Book of Common Prayer.

To the Lambeth Conference, therefore, those men look who desire to see the Prayer Book strengthen its hold on the affections of all who use the English tongue. The Prayer Book as it stands is the result of successive revisions. First compiled in 1549 from ancient materials, it was revised in 1552, 1559, 1604, and 1661. But the process of revision has been arrested ever since the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second. An outsider might think that it was generally agreed in the Church of England that the revisers of 1661 foresaw the needs of all future generations and provided for them.

And yet there is hardly a single English Churchman who holds any such opinion. Indeed, even in the generation which accepted the last revision of the Prayer Book the weighty voice of a great English Churchman, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, called attention to a grave defect. The Christian faith, the Bishop shows, is sufficiently set forth for salvation in the Apostles' Creed, yet in 'Athanasius's Creed' there is 'nothing but damnation and perishing everlastingly, unless the article of the Trinity be believed, as it is there with curiosity and minute particularities explained.'

The Damnatory Clauses to which Bishop Jeremy Taylor refers have been with the Church of England as a stumbling-block ever since his day. They gave rise to prolonged discussion in 1689, when a revision of the Prayer Book was considered but not carried out. The proposal then adopted was to add an explanation to the rubric:

'and the Condemning Clauses are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian Faith.' This explanation, however, set aside rather than explained the clauses, and failed to give satisfaction. The theologians of the next century sought a different mode of escape from the difficulty. Thus Charles Wheatly¹ suggests that the 'warnings' of verses 1, 2 are limited in their reference, that they apply, indeed, only to verses 3, 4. 'All that is required of us (so says Wheatly) as necessary to salvation is, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity: neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance.' This suggestion is ingenious, but it does not give help to the attentive reader who finds Damnatory or Minatory Clauses stationed at three separate points in the *Quicumque*, as though to prevent any such escape. Equally unsatisfying is the contention of Thomas Bennet, M.A.,² who in order to save members of the Greek Church, urges that the Damnatory Clauses do not cover verse 23, which contains the *Filioque* clause which the Greeks reject. It is, indeed, hardly to be wondered at that the American Church, in the face of unworthy shifts like these, cut the knot at her own revision of the Prayer Book in 1789 by cutting out the *Quicumque vult* as well from her Service Book as from her services.

In England the question of the Damnatory Clauses came to the front again when the Ritual Commission of 1867 began its work. Many of the members of the Commission, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and the two Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, were in favour of discontinuing the recitation of the *Quicumque* in public worship. Nothing, however, came of the labours of the Commission in England except the passing of a wordy resolution by the Southern Convocation. The Synod of Canterbury in 1873 'solemnly declared' that the warnings of the Damnatory Clauses of the *Quicumque* are to be explained after the analogy of the 'like warnings in Holy Scripture.'³ Thus the Church, instead of acting as an interpreter of Holy Writ and a guide of her children, is to hand over her interpretative office to individuals, that they may expound for themselves her ambiguous warnings. The Synod, when asked for bread, gave the children of the Church a stone. Not daring to accept the clauses in their plain meaning, the Southern Convocation sent Churchmen off to find glosses for themselves.

While an English Synod was thus shelving the question, Irish Churchmen were settling it. The disestablished Church of Ireland, in revising the Prayer Book for her own use, was of course confronted

¹ *Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, 4th ed., 1724.

² *Paraphrase with Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer*, page 273 (London, 1708).

³ The Solemn Declaration does not tell us where in Scripture is to be found a lengthy and intricate doctrinal statement accompanied by warnings that we must accept it on pain of damnation for refusal or neglect.

with the difficulty of the Damnatory Clauses of the *Quicumque*. She solved the difficulty by two rubrical changes. In Morning Prayer the revised rubric before the Apostles' Creed directs only that the Apostles' Creed is to be said. The rubric before 'The Creed (commonly called) of St. Athanasius' has been dropped. Thus the Irish Church has ceased to enjoin the recitation of the *Quicumque*. On the other hand, the *Quicumque* stands in its familiar place in the Prayer Book as a standard of doctrine. The Irish Churchmen of the early seventies were more conservative than the American Churchmen of 1789.

In England the difficulty of the Damnatory Clauses has continued to make itself felt. The Solemn Declaration of 1873 gives no permanent satisfaction. Every book written on the Prayer Book has its own way of dealing with the difficulty,⁴ but the usual resource is to set limits to the reference of the words 'Whosoever' in verse 1, and 'every one' in verse 2. These verses are addressed (we are told) only to those who have been soundly instructed in the Christian Faith, and only they are damned for stumbling over the *Quicumque*. (We, however, on Christmas morning hear the clauses said to babes and to beginners.) 'Before all things' (we are informed) implies no preference of orthodox thinking to right living. 'Without doubt he shall perish everlastingly' is 'of course to be understood with the limitations of which God alone is judge.' Why are limitations 'of course,' when the document itself says, 'without doubt'?

The defenders of the Damnatory Clauses are continually protesting that these clauses must be 'properly understood,' but they protest too much. The language of the *Quicumque* is too painfully clear. It is a delusion that this lawyer-drawn document merely gives us a general warning against the frivolity which declares that it does not matter what a man believes, provided that he lives a decent life. The language of the *Quicumque* is precise not only in its definitions but also in its warnings; it offers the choice between its own perfect orthodoxy and damnation 'without doubt.'

Twice within our generation the 'Athanasian Creed' has been retranslated from the original Latin mainly in the hope that it would be found possible to remove (or lessen) the offence caused by the Damnatory Clauses. The work was done in 1872 by a Committee of Bishops, and in 1906 by a Committee of the Northern Convocation. It must, however, be confessed that more accurate translation has, if

⁴ See Canon Fausset, *Guide to the Study of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 104, (ed. iii.); Dean Stephens (the late), *Helps to the Study of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 56 (ed. ii.); Herbert Pole, M.A., *The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 81 (London, 1902); C. C. Atkinson, D.D., *A Handbook for Worshippers at Mattins and Evensong*, pp. 79, 80 (London, 1902). Dr. Atkinson says truly that the test of membership of the Church is the Apostles' Creed, and that laymen 'do not forfeit their membership from thinking that this or that article of the Athanasian Creed is unscriptural or unsound.' But in that case why announce that whosoever willet to be saved must hold the Catholic Faith as set forth in the *Quicumque*, or else perish everlastingly?

anything, made harder the task of those who seek to 'explain' the Clauses. The last verse as translated in 1906 runs: 'This is the Catholic Faith: which except each man shall have believed faithfully and firmly he cannot be saved.' The (correct) addition of *and firmly* shuts out still more the weaker brethren.

Experience from 1689 till now shows that 'explanations' and re-translations do not permanently satisfy men who face the terrible words of the Five Clauses as they stand, and ask if they can be true. Some more worthy way of dealing with the difficulty must be found, if the Church of England is to fulfil her mission as a witness to Divine truth. The essential step is to remove the present legal compulsion which stamps as disobedient the men whose sense of truth forbids them both to recite the Damnatory Clauses, and to receive the glosses which have been put upon them.

It is for the Lambeth Conference to decide what particular remedy is to be adopted, but it is interesting to note the last important step taken with regard to the *Quicumque*. The example of the Church of Ireland has borne fruit. In October 1905 an important decision was made by the General Synod of Australia and Tasmania. The Bishops by 11 to 4, the Clergy by 41 to 23, the Laity by 28 to 13 passed after two days' debate the following resolution:—'That this Synod affirms its *ex animo* acceptance of the *credenda* of the *Quicumque vult*, but in view of the minatory clauses, and of the general character of the document, it is of opinion that constitutional means should be adopted for the omission of the rubric requiring its public recitation.'

If the matter is to be settled by the English method of a compromise, it is hard to think of a juster compromise than this. At present those who as truthful men cannot bring themselves to recite the Damnatory Clauses are guilty of disobedience to the law of the Church and of the State. If the rubric were removed, this state of things would cease, but those who can accept the five clauses as true would be able to recite the *Quicumque* as an anthem—its form is metrical—just as often as it suited their sense of fitness. Their only disability would be that they could not turn out the Apostles' Creed from Morning Prayer to make room for what is only a commentary on the Creed. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Lambeth Conference, which has twice dealt with the *Quicumque*, in 1888 and 1897, by suggesting a retranslation, will in 1908 lead the great Church which it represents forward towards a lasting solution of a difficulty which has been felt for 250 years.⁵

W. EMERY BARNES.

⁵ Three important recent additions to the literature of this subject are: *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*, by C. H. Turner (S.P.C.K. 1906); an article, 'The Athanasian Creed,' in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1908; and *Studies in the Prayer-Book* [1908] by the Bishop of Edinburgh.

UN NOUVEAU MOLIERE

A FRENCH VIEW OF BERNARD SHAW

THE Frenchman who reads Bernard Shaw or sees him played is first of all surprised. He perceives indeed how greatly this drama differs from that to which he is accustomed, that is to say, from the contemporary French drama. On reflection he perceives that the differentiation is none the less great, if the dramatic work of Bernard Shaw be compared with that of other contemporary dramatists, whether English, Scandinavian, Russian, German, Italian, or Spanish.

In Bernard Shaw's drama there is indeed something indefinitely original and personal, which is not found in any other dramatist.

This originality is due to the fact that Bernard Shaw's drama is no offspring of the romantic drama of Scribe, Hugo, the two Dumas, Augier, or the vaudevillists of the same period—in a word, of the French school of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, all contemporary dramatists, both Scandinavian or French, Italian or English, German or Spanish, are the faithful disciples of this school. Ibsen himself, whom many superficial critics have regarded as quite outside the French orbit, has written plays which may be regarded as models of well-constructed plays according to the formula of the Scribe school. This identity of structure or technique and even of matter causes a strong resemblance between French works whether they are the product of Hervieu, Donnay, Brieux, Fabre, or Bernstein. The spectator who has seen one has really seen all the others. When, according to the happy phrase of G. Polti, 'l'adultère dans le mariage indissoluble,' so dear to Dumas, was worn threadbare, the French dramatists threw themselves upon 'l'adultère dans le mariage dissoluble,' and they will use this until it is worse than threadbare. Still it is always the same thing; a few happy hits here and there, sometimes more, sometimes less, a few slight variations in the plot, and the thing is done. In truth, the flavouring alone differs: in one there is a little more pepper, and in the other a little more salt, but it is always the same dish which French dramatists serve us up. Nevertheless, they arrange it so skilfully and so astutely,

like past masters in cookery, that digestion alone discloses the fact that we have once more eaten of yesterday's dish.

Foreign dramatists have the same technique and the same manner, only the matter with which they deal is slightly different. This produces an illusion, and gives a certain foreign flavour which causes their work to pass as a real novelty. According to the nationality of the authors, the environment and the characters are Scandinavian, Russian, English, and so on. This difference of environment and nationality of the characters causes the French playgoer, somewhat out of his bearings, not to recognise at first the dish served up to him. But during digestion he perceives that it is still the same dish with Norwegian sauce, or Swedish, Danish, Italian, English, or Spanish sauce.

Nevertheless, among all these dramatic works there are many differences in the details of technique and material. The eternal duel of the sexes remains the corner-stone of the drama, but numerous are the variations which in the shape of diverse arabesques are woven with more or less lightness or heaviness by the authors on this apparently immovable basis. Some adopt the tragic, others the comic style. Others combine the two styles in various doses. In our days and for more than half a century, authors of serious plays are fond of the problem play, in whatever country they were born and live.

The problem play is the logical demonstration of a principle. It is the staging of a plea for or against a phenomenon which is rather social than individual. Our dramatist chooses a subject, and fits in characters to put forward their pleas and views on the subject chosen. Often all or almost all the plays of one and the same author relate to the same subject. Thus the drama of Dumas the younger is, so to speak, the drama of adultery. In the same way Ibsen, for the majority of the plays of his mature period (1868-1886), chose criticism of marriage and the family. But he rises much higher than Dumas, because he reaches a philosophic generalisation which the latter had not attained. Ibsen, a genius, sees in the intestinal struggles of families an antagonism between ideals and the actions of life, between our morals, our social institutions generally, and our individual development. He is haunted by the problem of the will. He goes more to the bottom of things, and their very essence appears to him bad. Thus the principle of authority seems to him criminal. Society appears to him as restrictive of the individual. The State is the curse of the individual. The latter tends continuously towards his own development. This is the essential theme of all Ibsen's plays, and also of those of Björnstjerne Björnson. With these geniuses the problem play had acquired a social scope which it had previously not possessed and did not possess either with the other dramatists, whether French or other of our time, who are nearer the masters Augier and Dumas.

Side by side with the problem drama there is the drama the sole object of which is either to move the sentiment of the spectator or to excite his laughter. Sardou is a master in the former art with his inexhaustible fecundity, his skill in weaving and unweaving a plot and combining incidents. Labiche was the master of the second style with his vaudeville comedies, which, so to speak, mechanically aroused laughter. Now in this style we have Messrs. Courteline, Veber, and Tristan Bernard. This is all moving or amusing, but nearly always lacks depth. At the end of the play we are almost annoyed with ourselves for having been moved or for having wept, or laughed, so clearly do we perceive the superficiality of this puppet theatre.

Different entirely from these dramas is that of Bernard Shaw, and it is this difference which at first surprises, astounds, and shocks. Hence at the outset many a man among us, all being essentially haters of what is new, like the majority of humankind, will subscribe to the opinion of Monsieur Augustin Filon, who said 'Bernard Shaw serait peut-être un grand auteur dramatique, si ses pièces étaient . . . des pièces.' For myself, being essentially a lover of the new, I have examined, scrutinised and analysed the dramatic work of Bernard Shaw, and his artistic beauty and philosophic depth were thus brought home to me. It is quite evident that Shaw is not a playwright in the romantic style, which was followed by all the European dramatists of the nineteenth century as faithful disciples. He has created a work imbued with the originality of genius. He created it regardless of the so-called rules of the art, to the great discomfiture of professional critics and the public which follow them like sheep. All, on seeing his plays, might have said with Lysidas in *La Critique de L'Ecole des Femmes*, 'Those who know their Aristotle and Horace see that in the first place this comedy sins against all the rules of Art.' Perhaps he would answer them with Dorante: 'You are amusing people with your rules, with which you bewilder the ignorant and which you din into our ears day by day. I should very much like to know whether to please is not the chief rule of all rules, and whether a play which has achieved its object has not chosen the right path.' I do not know whether he has given them this reply of Dorante's, but it is certain that he acts as though he had. Is he not still writing plays—he has written sixteen now—which continue to be no plays according to the Lysidas of all nations?

When we examine what is meant by the 'Beautiful' and by 'Art,' we see with Tolstoi that 'every notion of beauty is reduced for us to the reception of a certain kind of pleasure.' Art, which is the mode of expression and manifestation of this beauty, has therefore precisely for its object pleasure, as was maintained by Bettaux and

Mario Pilo. The dramatic work of Bernard Shaw is therefore eminently beautiful and artistic, as it gives rise to extreme pleasure both in the hearer and reader. Moreover, it is amusing in the extreme, and consequently its style and character are excellent, if Voltaire's aphorism is true : ' Tous les genres sont bons, hors le genre ennuyeux.' Nor is this style any the less good because anyone reading or seeing a play of Bernard Shaw can understand it without difficulty and without inquiry, and because it produces a part or the whole of the effect which the author desires ; for, as Tolstoi has said, ' All styles are good except that which is not understood or does not produce its effect.'

Therefore the dramatic work of Bernard Shaw is beautiful and artistic according to the definitions given of beauty and art. If at first this does not appear to be so to many onlookers, the reason is that Shaw is a precursor and not a follower, as is peremptorily brought home to us by an analysis of his drama, both as to form and substance.

Like Molière, Bernard Shaw in his drama is essentially comical. From the point of view of manner this is the most evident characteristic of our writer's drama. At times, again as in Molière, this feature develops into buffoonery, farce, and burlesque, and on this point he reminds us more of Aristophanes and Plautus than of Terence. With the latter, contemplation of the actions of man takes the external form of humorous reflections, those which are born in the soul of the sage. In Shaw, just as in Molière, there is this same spirit of wisdom, but it by no means prevents critical reflection from frequently manifesting itself in the form of farce—whether the burlesque is produced by the ideas themselves, or by the language, or by the situations, or by action of the characters.

Bernard Shaw has the most characteristic comic mentality. He can see nothing without straightway perceiving a comical side to it. He cannot speak or write of anything, however serious, without immediately adding a comical element to a lesser or greater extent. He knows how to bring out the comical side of everything and anything, even if profoundly sad. But this comicality is bitter with a deep bitterness, just as bitter as is that of Molière, rightly remarked by Brunetière. This bitterness, which is likewise characteristic of Irish gaiety, when it emanates from Swift, Sheridan, and Sterne, in reality shows the sympathy of these severe critics for human evils and vices.

English comic writers of the time of Elizabeth sought their *vis comica* chiefly in actions and the situations of characters. Bernard Shaw, on the contrary, seeks it chiefly in the contrast of ideas themselves—and in this he is the rival of the greatest *comiques* of the past—or in the contrast between the idea and the position of the person expressing it. Thus the poet Eugene Marchbanks in *Candida*, the hotel waiter in *You Never Can Tell*, Bluntschli in *Arms and the Man*—indeed, one would need to mention all his plays and a host of his

characters. This contrast of ideas is obtained above all by means of paradoxes. This is the method to which Bernard Shaw is particularly addicted, with a success which has no parallel. He is as paradoxical as Rabelais, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Proudhon, all the great educators and reformers of all times. The innovator is essentially paradoxical. He is so even by definition, since he professes opinions contrary to common opinions. The paradox of to-day is the commonplace of to-morrow. Bernard Shaw is an innovator. There never lived a man having a greater disdain for conventional opinions. He experiences a deep and intense joy in opposing these conventional opinions, and setting up in their place a different opinion which violently and brutally shocks common opinion. These paradoxes or these truths of to-morrow are handled by him with an elegance, a subtlety, and a charm unequalled. With a masterly hand our author knows how to insert into the free movement of life some mechanism of thought or situation in order to bring out the comic aspect, which is so pleasing to his satirical and sardonic mind, and which recalls that of Hogarth's pictures and engravings, though far exceeding it.

In all Bernard Shaw's plays we are surprised by a mixture of the tragical and the humorous which amuses in spite of oneself. This mixture, faithful to actual life, is found in all the good comic writers—Aristophanes, Plautus, and Molière, for instance; consequently they are realists *par excellence*, just as is our author. It is his aim to produce living true characters, to exhibit real ways and habits of human society. Did he not write in the *Zeit*: 'In my plays you will not be vexed and worried by happiness, goodness, virtue, or by crime and romance or any other stupid thing of that kind. My plays have only one subject—life, and only one quality—interest in life'? It is out of regard for truth that Shaw, like Molière, finds that it is not incompatible for a person to be ridiculous in certain things and an honest man in others. Thus Molière creates Alceste and Philinte in the *Misanthrope*, and Shaw creates Eugene Marchbanks in *Candida*. This truth to nature shocks and astounds the onlooker even more than the reader, as he is accustomed in the theatre to see individuals forming one united whole either entirely bad or entirely good, one of the most comic and false methods imaginable. It was concern for realism which sometimes led the great dramatists Aristophanes, Plautus, and Molière into buffoonery, just as it has led Bernard Shaw; for, if it had been combined with bitter criticism of humanity, it would have led to tragedy, as it led Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Augier, and Henry Becque, if the comic spirit within him had not perceived the humorous side of life. Shaw is an admirable realist, just as is Balzac. Like him, he has the gift of seeing men and things in their minute details, a marvellous facility of observation and evocation. He is thoroughly acquainted with

social classes and castes, and professional and national habits of mind. Shaw is in fact more a painter of collective characters than of individual characters. An exception must nevertheless be made as regards his female characters, who are individual characters rather. In a person he synthetises, in a greater degree than Molière did, a class, sect, caste, nation, or profession. One need only mention, in *John Bull's Other Island*, the Irishman personified in Doyle, the Englishman in Broadbent; in *Widowers' Houses*, the middle-class capitalist, in Sartorius, and in *Candida*, in the person of Burgess; in *Arms and the Man*, the profession of the soldier, in Bluntschli; the workman in the Straker of *Man and Superman*.

On this very ground of his concern for realism Bernard Shaw hates the romantic. Therefore I can say of him what M. Faguet says of Molière: 'Il est le moins romanesque des hommes et son œuvre la plus contre-romanesque qui soit.' In spite of his true realism, our author is necessarily compelled to modify it somewhat inasmuch as he paints collective characters. Nevertheless, in synthetising in an individuality national, professional, class or caste characters, he departs from actual nature in a less degree perhaps than Molière and Balzac in summing up a man in a single dominating quality, a single sentiment and a single passion. In real life the Harpagoes, Alcestes, Tartuffes, and Mercadets are—though something of the making of them nevertheless exists in everybody—rarer than are the Crofts, Burgesses, Sartoriuses, and Bluntschlis, because synthesis of ideas and opinions is far more logical than synthesis of sentiments. Is not the differentiation of castes, classes, sects, and nations a result more of the ideas and opinions of men than of their sentiments?

Ibsen, painting individual characters above all, could in his tragedies represent characters of an abnormal pathological psychology. And he did not fail to do so, to such an extent—Strindberg also, but to a lesser extent—that any psychiatrist could see that since Shakespeare no dramatist had painted abnormal psychical types with so much truth. Bernard Shaw painting by preference professional, national, caste or class types of mentality, could represent nothing but normal healthy characters, just as did Molière, but gave the preference to the depiction of types synthetising a single passion or a single sentiment. They were so much the more bound to do this, because both of them contemplated life in a comic, an intensely comic spirit. The depiction of the mentally unbalanced leads to tragedy, whilst that of sound minds leads to comedy.

There is no comedy without criticism. Criticism is its life, and the more bitter it is the stronger is the comedy. Whilst Plautus and Molière deal above all in the follies and vices and the prejudices of men, Shaw confines himself chiefly to social principles, to the very organism of society. He penetrates deeper into our social organisation, per-

ceives its faults and its vices, and shows them acting on his characters and guiding them. If, like the criticism of Aristophanes, that of Bernard Shaw embraces everything, morals, politics, religion, poetry, philosophy, education, and family, it goes even farther in its analysis. Thus it exposes the social evil wrought by the thirst of riches, and above all the system of individual property, and it does this as well as Balzac and better than Augier. It is this depth of critical analysis of our society which constitutes the great superiority of the comedy of our author over the contemporary French drama of Brieux, de Curel, even Henri Fabre, and above all Capus, Donnay, and Bernstein, whose criticism is only directed to superficial causes. Shaw's criticism goes down to the deep and real causes.

In our author's drama sentimental action is subordinate to the discussion of ideas and the description of characters. The result is that this drama is far and away removed from that of Scribe, in which everything is sacrificed to the plot and to situations, and is remote from the drama of Dumas junior, where the action is precise, and is resolved in well-combined and strong situations. On the contrary, Bernard Shaw with his disdain of plots and situations approaches astonishingly near to Molière. Who does not know that *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, *Les Fâcheux*, *Le Misanthrope*, and *La Critique de L'Ecole des Femmes* have no plots? and this is also true of *L'Ecole des Femmes*, 'pièce tout en récits,' writes Voltaire, 'mais ménagée avec tant d'art que tout paraît être en action.' The same may be said as regards the drama of Bernard Shaw. The scenes are so animated, there is such a gradation of warmth that the absence of material action and plot is not in the least perceived. It is a succession of pleasing scenes, in which ideas clash and conflict. This is reminiscent somewhat of the vaudeville comedy made illustrious by Labiche, which was likewise a succession of pleasing or humorous scenes, but in which, instead of profound ideas, superficial characters come into contact, amplifying and distorting the true elements which the author borrowed from the foibles of his time.

This absence of or disdain for plots and coherent and probable situations, developing by rules of art and logic, which is observed in Molière and Bernard Shaw, and which previously existed in the Italian *Ragionamenti*, where the interest was sustained only by an animated discussion between several characters, is what astonishes professional critics, so greatly are they accustomed to the manner of Scribe and all the dramatists who followed him.

They are at a loss to understand the immense success of such a drama of ideas, which, according to them, must necessarily lack movement. It is with astonishment that they observe the powerful movement possessed by all Shaw's plays. This intense movement arises from the clash of ideas, and from a spirit and animation which carries the spectator away, as was very well remarked by M. Régis

Michaud. Paradoxical situations arising out of the ideas and frankness of the characters replace the perfectly material movement of a man like Scribe while towering to intellectual heights above him. Although the bases of Shaw's comedies are discussions and reasoning, it is not lectures in dialogue form which are presented to the spectator who goes to see *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, *Candida*, or *Arms and the Man*. What he sees are plays, plays both profound and amusing, plays which satisfy what is generally regarded as the fundamental law of the theatre.

The fundamental law of the theatre is : the quintessence of a play must be the action, the object of which is to call forth emotion. According to tradition, emotion is aroused above all by a conflict of sentiments. Therefore nothing which does not involve a clash of sentiments, or at least of sentiments and reason, can belong properly to the theatrical play. This is what is usually considered as the immutable principle of Dramatic Art (Jean Jullien). Brunetière, when he said that the object of the drama is to display to view the development of a will, expressed an appreciably different idea, as the reasons for the unfolding of a will may as well be provided by ideas and pure concepts as by sentiments or passions.

If the drama of George Bernard Shaw complies with the fundamental law of the theatre, action arousing emotion, he nevertheless does not follow tradition and does not always comply with the so-called immutable law of M. Jean Jullien. As a matter of fact Shaw's theatre is the artistic representation of a clash of conceptions and not of sentiments ; for instance, *Candida* (Pre-Raphaelitism *versus* Christian Socialism), *Widowers' Houses* (Capitalism *versus* Christian Socialism), *You Never Can Tell* (Traditional Education *versus* New Education), *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (Ideal of Traditional Morality *versus* Real Life), &c. The emotion from this clash of concepts is intense at times, even poignant (*Mrs. Warren's Profession*, *Candida*). The emotion is almost always intellectual, more frequently so than in Ibsen, and as often as in Molière.

Whoever sees a play of Bernard Shaw witnesses the unfolding, the development and manifestation of a will in accordance with Brunetière's desideratum. In *Arms and the Man* it is the will of Raina and that of Louka ; in *Man and Superman* that of Anne, Violet, Hector and John Tanner ; in *The Man of Destiny* that of Napoleon and the lady ; in *Widowers' Houses* that of Blanche ; in *Mrs. Warren's Profession* that of Mrs. Warren and Vivie ; in *The Philanderer* that of Julia and Grace, &c. It is always a spectacle of wills in conflict with each other, and this conflict of wills and concepts is expressed in such comical contrast, with a spirit and animation so entertaining, that the result is a lively and stirring action. So much so that the spectator, carried away breathless, at first does not perceive the profundity of the ideas with which these plays are

crammed. The rapidity of this action is assisted by the dialogue in all Bernard Shaw's plays. It is concise, clear, easy, brilliant, natural, humorous, lively, sarcastic, and ironical. It perhaps represents the best theatrical dialogue we know of. Certainly the dialogue of Dumas the younger has just as much spirit and animation as that of Bernard Shaw, but it is artificial, whilst that of our author is real and living. In Ibsen, the dialogue is not more condensed, is less subtle, and cuts no more keenly and swiftly than it does in Shaw; both voluntarily insert vulgarities, which is a necessary effect of realism.

One of the characteristics of Bernard Shaw's drama is the extraordinary imagination, of incomparable fertility, which is only found elsewhere in Beaumarchais. With regard to wit, one might repeat what M. E. Faguet wrote of Beaumarchais: 'He has wit enough to frighten you; he was witty *nolens volens* in everything he put his hand to . . . in his prefaces which were even more amusing than his pieces.' The wit of Bernard Shaw is more amusing than that of Messrs. Courteline and Tristan Bernard, because the latter is artificial, whilst Bernard Shaw's wit is profound. Another characteristic of the drama of Bernard Shaw is the originality of the *dénouement*. The play rarely ends in the way it would have been contrived by most dramatists, and the way the public expect. The *dénouement* is reconciliation (*Candida*, *Man and Superman*, and *Arms and the Man*) or separation and destruction (*Mrs. Warren's Profession*, *The Philanderer*). At times even, just as in actual life, there is no *dénouement*, a method likewise used by an Italian, Gerolamo Rovetta, in imitation of the system which was common in the old Italian drama.

Theatrical tradition required the play to be set out to the spectator in the first act. Bernard Shaw, following consciously or otherwise the example of the Scandinavian dramatists Ibsen and Strindberg, who renewed what Molière had done in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, combines exposition and action in his plays. Each play is exhibited in proportion as it develops. This gives a more unforeseen character to the incidents and the *dénouements*, and renders the action stronger and more realistic at the same time.

Molière's drama is essentially a human and not a national drama. Shaw's drama continues the tradition of Molière. It is a human, an international drama, and not a national English one. The Crofts, the Mrs. Warrens, the Ramsdens, the Bluntschlis, the Sartoriuses, the Malones, &c., are of all countries, and not only English. This is natural and logical, since Shaw describes, above all, collective characters of classes, sects, and professions, and not individuals; and since classes, sects, and professions have, whatever the country, certain common characteristics, as has been shown by the psychologists Fouillée, A. Hamon, Paulhan, G. Lebon, and Tarde. The Scandinavian drama is differentiated from this international drama

à la Molière. Dramatists like Ibsen, Björnson, and Strindberg lived in their province above all, and so powerful is the influence of the environment of land and climate on the individual that their work has been profoundly affected by it.

G. Bernard Shaw is essentially a revolutionary. He is so by disposition of mind and by nature. Consequently the whole of his work is revolutionary. Among contemporary dramatists there is none so revolutionary as he, for in all, under all forms, he is a revolutionary; much more so than was Molière, whose drama was nevertheless in great measure revolutionary. Thus, contrary to the stage tradition, Bernard Shaw puts men of the people among the principal characters of his plays, giving them sympathetic parts (Straker in *Man and Superman*, the Waiter in *You Never Can Tell*, and Giuseppe in *The Man of Destiny*). This is a thing Ibsen had not done. Old age is necessarily conservative, and youth necessarily novelty-loving and revolutionary. Shaw glorifies the latter (Eugene, Vivie, Frank, Dolly) and ridicules the former (Samuel Gardner, Craven, Cuthbertson, Petkoff, Burgess, &c.). At the same time, our author revolutionises the family by making the fathers (the elders) more or less grotesque, and the children (the young people) more or less sympathetic and pleasing. Indeed, G. Bernard Shaw is a revolutionary in everything. Thus, contrary to custom, he shows that, in war, victory does not belong to those who follow military rules, but to the others (*The Man of Destiny*, *Arms and the Man*). But our author is devoid of all *manie respectante*, in the happy phrase of Beyle-Stendhal. Anything like respect is absolutely foreign to him. It is for him an unspeakable pleasure to despise everything which the mass is accustomed to respect. His entire drama is one continuous disrespect of all that contemporary middle-class society loves, admires, and glorifies. He is much more profoundly disrespectful than are Ibsen and Björnson.

M. George Brandes and Mr. Selden L. Whitcomb were wrong in asserting that Shaw had followed Ibsen in the expression of his discontent with the social order. Shaw was a socialist and a socialist writer before he even knew Ibsen. Furthermore, at the time when Bernard Shaw began to write plays, criticism of society and of its organisation based on authority, and its principle based on capitalism, was the order of the day. It haunted the minds of all the young writers of the time, novelists, dramatists, psychologists, and sociologists, in all the countries of the West. Ideas of social criticism were so much in the air that we sometimes find them expressed in the same form, at the same time in different countries. Thus Bernard Shaw makes Petkoff say in *Arms and the Man* (1894): 'Soldiering has to be a trade like any other trade.' And A. Hamon in *The Psychology of the Professional Soldier* (November 1893) says: 'In brief, the military profession is a trade just like another, carried on exactly like the others.'

M. Régis Michaud has very justly noted the remarkable unity of the ideas of Bernard Shaw, and this is explained without difficulty, owing to the very fact that our author is a socialist by reasoning and an anarchist by nature. He therefore regards the whole of present society, the family, justice, government, industry, commerce, war, militarism, and education, from the point of view of libertarian socialism. The unity of the critical point of view results in the unity of the ideas expressed.

Bernard Shaw, just as much as Molière, and as much as, if not more than, Ibsen, criticises and detests hypocrisy, constraint, and discipline imposed by others—in short, authority. All three hate falsehood, and say, with Grégoire Werlé, in the *Canard Sauvage*: ‘It is better to destroy happiness than to base it on falsehood.’ It would be difficult to find a social convention, a fundamental organism of our society, which Bernard Shaw does not criticise relentlessly and lash with steel-pointed thongs. But he criticises and lashes so agreeably that the middle people are pleased though they are beaten. With Bernard Shaw the censure of our contemporary society is much deeper than with Ibsen. It is even deeper than that of Molière for the society of his time. Ibsen in his criticisms always stops half-way. For the most part, the social causes of individual vices escape his notice, though an exception must be made as regards the principle of authority, the harmfulness of which he clearly grasped and exposed. Bernard Shaw, however, has been to the very bottom of the social abyss. He has seen its organisation, and has grasped all its mechanism. It is this which constitutes the depth and scientific accuracy of his censure. Furthermore, owing to the very fact that in politics Ibsen was what we call in France a Radical and Shaw is a Socialist, the criticism of the former was only directed against individuals, but of the latter necessarily against social causes.

The whole of the contemporary drama is strongly impregnated with criticism of the social conventions, because it is, generally speaking, a problem drama, and because the problem has evolved, passing from purely family questions (Dumas the younger) to the various social questions; but the censure in the drama of Mirbeau, Emile Fabre, and Brioux is less remorseless than that of Shaw, although presented under a severer form, because, as I have said, Bernard Shaw attacks the deep-lying causes of capitalist society.

Bernard Shaw is a thinker as well as an artist. As a thinker he has a philosophy, and naturally it is very revolutionary and highly original. He has dispersed it throughout his pieces, and it would be easily gathered together, if he had not made this work almost needless by condensing all his philosophic ideas in the third act of *Man and Superman*—the one played alone at times under the title of *Don Juan in Hell*—and in its complement, *The Revolutionist's Handbook*. We do

not wish here to dwell upon the philosophy peculiar to our author. It will suffice to note its most characteristic features, those brought out by the plays themselves.

In the very first place, it clearly appears that his is a determinist drama ; that is to say, he shows characters whose actions or thoughts are determined by a multitude of influences of all the environments (ancestral, family, educative, social, climatic, country, economic, political, &c.) in which he places them. From this point of view Bernard Shaw's drama is a scientific drama, as now the universal illusion of free will is scientifically demonstrated and admitted by all scientists.¹

Moreover, it is the general tendency of the contemporary drama, both in Ibsen and Björnson and in Pinero, Brieux, Hervieu, and de Curel. With our author determinism is social above all ; I mean that in his capacity as a socialist thinker he attributes a preponderating influence to society in determining actions—that is to say, to the economico-political conditions of the social environment in which his personages move. See the explanations of Mrs. Warren, Sartorius or Napoleon, Bluntschli or John Tanner. In this social determinism is found a further differentiation from the drama of Ibsen, which allots the predominating influence to ancestral conditions, to the individual condition independently of the social environment in which the individual lives. Whereas the great Greek tragic and comic writers, and Shakespeare, contrive the intervention of Fate, Ibsen and Shaw display the intervention of the various conditions of the environments in which the personages move, but in the drama of these master geniuses what has to be always will be ; everyone will always inevitably undergo his destiny. There is nothing more demonstrative on this point than the amusing pursuit of Tanner by Anne in *Man and Superman*, or that of Valentine by Gloria in *You Never Can Tell*. For Shaw, as a matter of fact, love is all-powerful and fatal. Nothing can prevent a man being caught in the toils when woman has determined that he shall be hers. What was to be is. We find the same idea again in a tragic and painful form in the drama of the misogynist Strindberg. A creature of love, a seeker and a capturer of men, such is for Shaw the essence of Woman. Mrs. Warren says so explicitly. It is on this essence that he built up his marvellous feminine types, Candida, Mrs. Warren, Grace, Julia, Sylvia, Blanche, Raina, Louka, Mrs. Clandon, Gloria, Dolly, Anne, Violet, and so many others. I do not remember who was the critic who observed that no literature presented such a surprising gallery of women as the English theatre of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with Marlowe, Shakespeare, Webster, Beaumont and Fletcher. Curiously enough, the gallery of women which Bernard Shaw has painted is quite as astonishing in variety of character. For this reason it wrung admiration from

¹ See in particular *The Universal Illusion of Free Will and Criminal Responsibility*, by A. Hamon (London, 1899).

M. Augustin Filon, a critic who nevertheless is far from fond of this author (*Revue des deux Mondes*).

The love which Shaw places in the souls of his feminine characters is generally not sensual. In his view woman loves above all because of her need to protect (Candida, Violet, Gloria, and Grace). The whole of love is, in them, tinged with maternity.

Although Bernard Shaw is an unsparing critic of present capitalist society, the general philosophy gathered from his drama is optimism. Gaiety is necessarily optimistic, and therefore this optimism is found in all comic writers. This optimism, even in his bitter censures of contemporary society, differentiates Shaw's drama more from that of Ibsen than from that of Björnson. In truth, whilst Björnson is generally an optimist, Ibsen is a pessimist, both from the point of view of the society of to-day and from that of the society of to-morrow. From the negative or destructive, and positive or constructive point of view, the philosophy which the plays of Bernard Shaw contain is a synthesis of socialism and anarchism. It is a philosophy similar to that which is brought forward in the works of the socialist and anarchist sociologists, such as Karl Marx, Bakounin, Elisée Reclus, G. De Greef, Hector Denis, Kropotkin, Proudhon, Friedrich Engels, A. Hamon, Emile Vandervelde, &c., though from the causal point of view his philosophy differs entirely from that of these writers; it has a somewhat theosophic aspect. A detailed study, however, would take us too far, and outside the scope of this article.

In principle, as was said by M. Emile Faguet, realistic art must be as impersonal as possible. It must reveal nothing of the passions of the author. In practice this impersonality is always impaired, as it is impossible for the author to be so purely objective as not to reflect in his work his tendencies of mind, character, and feeling. Bernard Shaw, in whom the sense of justice is highly developed, is certainly objective to a high degree. It is not even open to dispute that he endeavours to present the various aspects and various causes of one and the same human action. He strives towards the utmost impartiality, but whatever his endeavours he does not attain to the absolute impartiality which would be so desirable. He is the less able to do so because he is a high moralist, and wishes his plays to form lessons. In one of his prefaces he states so categorically. His object is to teach. Here again he differentiates from Ibsen, who very energetically disavows any desire to teach. 'I am a painter and not an educator,' said the Norwegian dramatist, 'an artist and not a philosopher. I ask you to believe that the ideas which I write in my plays, both in form and substance, do not proceed from myself, but from the dramatic characters in my plays.'² It is quite otherwise as regards Bernard Shaw, who declares that he has the soul of a school-

² Cf. Ossip Lourié, *La Philosophie d'Ibsen*.

master. Just like Strindberg, our author makes use of the stage as a means of exposing and translating his ideas, of shouting his thoughts and opinions at the world. Like Aristophanes, Bernard Shaw regards the theatre as in very fact a tribune. To them, the domain of the comic poet is without limits, and his moralising mission is universal. From the stage they speak to the entire world, embracing all in their criticism with the most complete disrespect of everything. From this point of view our author's plays recall the English drama of the sixteenth century, which dealt with all questions which could concern a man and a British citizen. With Terence, Bernard Shaw can say 'Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.' Nothing that concerns men is foreign to him, and in all matters he plays the part of a schoolmaster. But what a schoolmaster! Amusing and profound, playful and serious. To him we can apply what Santeuil said of the old Italian comedy: 'Castigat ridendo mores.' The whole of his work is for moralisation of humanity, but a moralisation having nothing traditional, and even opposed to customary morals. In truth, no play by Bernard Shaw defends conventional morals according to bourgeois traditions and customs. No *dénouement* agrees with traditional morals. On a superficial examination it would seem that Candida remaining with her husband, the Pastor Morell, and Vivie refusing to benefit by the fortune acquired by her mother, Mrs. Warren, in a so-called immoral way, are endings in accordance with traditional morals. A deeper examination shows, however, that this is only so in appearance, and that the determining causes of the actions of Candida and Vivie have nothing whatever to do with concern for society morality.

Another point of similarity between G. Bernard Shaw and Molière is the common fate which has overtaken many of the plays of each. It is well known that Molière saw his *L'Avare*, *Le Misanthrope*, *Les Femmes Savantes*, and *L'Ecole des Femmes* turn out failures. Bernard Shaw in turn had to be appreciated by the Americans—which was no doubt very painful to him, in view of the opinion he has repeatedly expressed regarding them—and the Germans, before gaining the appreciation of his fellow-citizens of Great Britain. Every play produced by Molière aroused disparaging criticism without end. Every play produced by Shaw arouses the anger of the Sarceys of all countries. But like Molière, 'il ne se soucie pas qu'on fronde ses pièces pourvu qu'il y vienne du monde' (*La Critique de L'Ecole des Femmes*). But simultaneously with anger he also arouses sympathy. Molière had partisans and adversaries, and G. Bernard Shaw likewise has partisans and adversaries. Now, however, he has splendidly conquered and is *facile princeps* in the contemporary English theatre, and even the theatre of the world.

His plays, which are extremely varied, are also extremely amusing.

He utters truths with laughter, and his perpetual laughter has had this result, that Americans, and above all the English, have not quite understood him, and do not yet quite understand him. They never know whether the author is serious or not, or rather they always think that he is joking and does not mean what he says. As regards the English and Americans, as one of them, Mr. Archibald Henderson, a great admirer of Bernard Shaw, wrote, 'love of the paradox and of buffoonery are prejudicial to him.' It is very amusing, indeed, this complete failure to perceive one of the finest qualities of our author. Under the influence of religion for ages, the Anglo-Saxon has acquired a habit of mind full of hypocrisy and cant, from which all intellectual virtuosity is absent, as Shaw rightly points out. He is unable to understand the finesse and the height of view of an ironical tale of Voltaire, a philosophic drama by Renan, or a novel by Anatole France. Consequently he is unable to understand Bernard Shaw, whose drama is redolent of all these qualities, as M. Régis Michaud has justly observed. Furthermore, this failure to understand on the part of the Anglo-Americans is not likely to astonish those who know that falsehood is so usual a thing that people who believe when the truth is told them are very rare. Shaw, however, loves to utter the truth, and then those who are accustomed to lie do not believe what he is saying. They take him for a jester or a clown, and do not believe that he really means the biting criticisms with which he assails capitalist society with all that supports it. Nevertheless, it is clear to everyone who studies Bernard Shaw and his work impartially that Shaw really expresses his opinions when he lashes capitalist society and its hypocrisy. Shaw says so himself in his preface to his *Plays Unpleasant*, and we should wrong him to think that in saying this he was merely jesting in order to deceive his readers.

Although Shaw writes in English, his constitution of mind is very different from that of the Englishman, since he is an Irishman. In this difference may no doubt be found one of the causes of his incomprehensibility to his compatriots. Bernard Shaw is an Irishman, and therefore one feels no astonishment in noting his intellectual relationship to Swift, Sterne, Sheridan, and Goldsmith. Like them, he is refined and vulgar, subtle and trivial, witty, original and sublime. I have no doubt whatever that, in French, Bernard Shaw's drama is destined to achieve brilliant success, because it is not national but human drama. His comedies are not an image of English society, but an image of contemporary human society. There are of course a few traits relating to habits and ways peculiar to the English, but they are so general that all cultured people in the world know them and are interested in them.

France, the country which gave the world Molière and Beaumarchais, will necessarily love Shaw, their intellectual son. The Frenchman, whilst laughing and 'se dilatant la rate,' to use the Rabelaisian

expression, will understand the bitterness and the justice of the criticism with which Bernard Shaw lashes society. To sum up in one word, the dramatic work of Bernard Shaw is more French than English, although it was written in the English language.

To secure success for plays of this character in England it was needful to possess the tenacity, the audacity, and, let us say the word, the cheek of Bernard Shaw. There were so many bonds to be broken!—cant, religious scruples, &c. In France, none of these trammels exists. It is only required to overcome the inertia of the directors of theatres, economic competition, and the benumbing misoneism of the playgoers. The extreme clearness of the drama of Bernard Shaw will endear him to French minds, which are imbued by nature with a predilection for clearness of thought. To us Frenchmen, this is the great point of superiority of this drama over that of the Scandinavians and the Germans, which is always somewhat misty, somewhat confined owing to the very nature of the country in which it moves. France is the boulevard of nations, the point of confluence where mingle the social rivers of all nationalities, and by this very fact it comprehends in a greater degree the general human elements which abound in our author's drama.

The influence of Molière has been considerable on authors of all countries, and there seems little doubt that Bernard Shaw will likewise, have a considerable influence on future French and other dramatists. The renovation of the dramatic art, the dawn of which we thought we saw in the years 1889-94, has led to such meagre results that they may almost be passed over. It seems to me that Bernard Shaw will be the initiator of this renovation, when his drama becomes known in France. In England, as we have seen, his possible disciples are under too many trammels to allow them to conquer and force themselves on the public. The German and Scandinavian minds from certain points of view are too greatly differentiated from Shaw to admit of finding those who will follow in his footsteps and continue his methods. Spain groans under the terrible rule imposed by religion and prevents any expansion of the individual beyond traditions. One must live in a free country to produce a work of beauty and thought. Russia is exhausting her powers in her revolution, and lives in a state of nervousness which renders her incapable of producing men of sufficiently healthy intellect to create a new drama. Italy, with its traditions and its addiction to the pathetic and the redundant, appears too remote from the time when it will be able to give birth to dramatists, disciples of Shaw. In my mind, everything suggests that Bernard Shaw's drama will call forth many disciples in France and Belgium as soon as it is known, being so closely akin to the French mind in the nature of its technique and its substance.

in a similar situation, unless she is personally interested in the success of some man, or in some measure by which she or he is personally affected, reads the fashions, the literary column, or the gossip of the day. With a woman in the immeasurably larger number of cases—so large, in fact, that the exception may be taken as a negligible quantity—it is alleged measures mean a man.

The objection that could be taken to the above assertions is one that I venture to think has not so far met with the recognition it deserves, and that is the power women have of adaptability to new surroundings and conditions.

Woman's talents generally take a practical direction. As a rule her soul abhors the abstract as much as nature is said to abhor a vacuum; but give her the concrete, a vote by which she can back up a friend or wreak vengeance on a foe, and she will spare no pains to master the subject, and cast all aside in order to throw herself into the fray, and take and give blows with the best of the combatants.

The problem before us seems to me, therefore, to turn not so much upon whether women are capable of making the best use of the franchise, as to whether the advantage they, and humanity in general, would derive from it would be at all commensurate with certain and inevitable loss.

Is it possible that the sober-minded philosopher of either sex can look with light-hearted approval on a revolution of which it is impossible to estimate the far-reaching consequences, but which, to put it at the lowest computation, must alter the existing conditions and relations of the sexes in this country to a very considerable extent?

For hitherto man has had it all his own way in the active domain of politics. Woman has used her influence; she has pulled the strings, but she has kept aloof from the stage. Is this as it should be, or is it a wrong which those who wish her well should lose no time in redressing? To answer this it would be as well to take man's view of his vocation in life, and we will do so in the words of a master of word-craft, Lord Morley of Blackburn.

Speaking of Gladstone at the termination of his University career he says: 'The end of it all, as Aristotle said it should be, was not knowing but doing, honourable desire of success, satisfaction of the hopes of friends, a general literary appetite, conscious preparation for private and public duty in the world, a steady progression out of the shallows into the depths, a gaze beyond garden and cloister *in agmen, in pulverem, in clamorem*, to the dust, and burning sun, and shouting of the days of conflict.'

Action therefore, the joining in the fray, the giving and taking of blows, is the natural outcome of the years of preparation that go to form a man's character and mind in early life, and is the end and object of them. That it is not so with all may be readily conceded. But man at his best is essentially a man of action; and nations share

this characteristic with the individual. Rome in its decadence was not without its galaxy of brilliant minds. Letters and the fine arts flourished, but man was plunged in luxury; he became effete; woman shared his degradation, and the home which should have been a centre of purity and peace was a plague spot on the earth, and Rome fell.

Let us take a companion picture to Morley's from Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*.

We are foolish [he says] and without excuse foolish in speaking of the 'superiority' of one sex to the other, as if they could be compared in similar things. Each has what the other has not: each completes the other, and is completed by the other: they are in nothing alike, and the happiness and perfection of both depends on each asking and receiving from the other what the other only can give.

Now the separate characters are briefly these. The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender. His intellect is for speculation and invention; his energy for adventure, for war, and for conquest wherever war is just, wherever conquest is necessary. But woman's power is for rule, not for battle—and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision. She sees the quality of things, their claims, and their places. Her great function is praise: she enters into no contest, but infallibly adjudges the crown of contest. By her office and place she is protected from all danger and temptation. The man in his rough work in the open world must encounter all peril and trial; to him therefore must be the failure, the offence, the inevitable error. Often he must be wounded or subdued; often misled; and always hardened. But he guards the woman from all this; within his house, as ruled by her, unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offence. This is the true nature of home—it is the place of peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, or division. In so far as it is not this, it is not home; so far as the anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it, and the inconsistently-minded, unknown, unloved, or hostile society of the outer world is allowed by either husband or wife to cross the threshold, it ceases to be home; it is then only a part of that outer world which you have roofed over and lighted fire in. But so far as it is a sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over by household gods, before whose faces none may come but those whom they can receive with love—as far as it is this, and roof and fire are types only of a nobler shade and light, shade as of the rock in a weary land, and light as of the Pharos in the stormy seas—so far it vindicates the name, and fulfils the praise of home. And wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her.

In claiming Ruskin as a witness to what I have called the old-fashioned—and perhaps for the moment the unpopular—side of the controversy now raging, it may be allowed, at least, that I have sought support from one who has never ceased proclaiming from the housetops his belief in woman and her high destiny. Never has Ruskin lost an opportunity of avowing his admiration for her gifts, her mission, and her power, provided she follows those well-indicated paths in which nature, and the common-sense of mankind (and by mankind her own sex should be included), has hitherto held her restrained.

That these restraints are only restraints in the sense that the policeman is one to the evil-doer who wishes to break laws imposed for the benefit of society generally, is a position which in the present heated state of feminine public opinion would probably be strongly contested. Nevertheless I believe it is one which a plebiscite of the women of Great Britain and Ireland would endorse. For can any doubt exist as to the true ideal of the relations between the sexes, in theory at least if not in practice? Is it not that the interests and aspirations of man and woman should be identical, so that they should labour hand-in-hand, the one contributing what the other lacked, in the great work of social regeneration? And if in practice this ideal is seldom reached, is it not because living in an imperfect world there is in this as in all other things a wide divergence between aspiration and performance? What can we say therefore when we hear and see daily these divergences emphasised, the antagonisms between the sexes brought out in fullest and most repulsive form—women struggling with men, and opposing force to force—except that it is a sight to make angels weep? The murderer does not commit a greater crime, for this is death to the ideal. It has been frequently said, not by women only, that man owes what is best in him to woman. Who can estimate the share she has in his life? It is the deeper for being for the most part hidden, and if a woman is sometimes the cause of a man's undoing, still more often it is a woman's influence—a wife's possibly or a mother's—which recalls him when wandering in forbidden or dangerous paths, and holds before him the unswerving standard of her own faith and purity of life. Burke, in eloquent words which still ring in our ears, lamented that the days of chivalry were over. He was wrong! They will never die as long as a true man and a true woman remain in the world. But could anything be more fatal to that sentiment—call it what you will, chivalry or reverence for the sex—than that woman should leave her own sphere, in which, whatever her rank in life, she reigns supreme, and descend from her pedestal to enter into competition with the other sex on subjects for which she has no special aptitude or gift, on occasions when every man would wish her out of the way?

That the law of this country is capable of improvement with regard to women's just rights and aspirations no man or woman would be disposed to deny. Much has been done already, more remains to be done. But that the present state of things requires a revolution, such as the enfranchisement of the sex, in order to right their wrongs, is an idea which it seems only necessary to put into plain language in order to see its folly. Surely the remedy is out of all proportion to the disease.

In the past women have had their wrongs, and in few have they been greater than in the case of their education. On this point something still remains to be done. If we look back, however, on the

past hundred years, and note the progress that has already been made, there can be no cause for fear that this progress will not continue, with an even accelerated pace, in the future. For to education, and to the development of the Christian ideal of love and self-sacrifice, we can trust more than to any other cause for the growth of 'feminism' in the right direction—that is, of a greater appreciation of woman's dignity and aspirations, and a greater realisation of the enormous field of activities open to her under the natural conditions of her being.

It has been well said by a clever writer who has taken up strongly the cause of woman's higher education in America¹ :

Let us not be so dull as to ignore the gifts of woman. Let us not be of those who still doubt whether it is not better that she should be a simpleton; who think that only superficially educated women can make good wives and mothers. If, as Goethe says, it is a most frightful thing to see ignorance at work, is it not most frightful when the work is that which woman is called to do in the home and in the school? In all companionship the lower tends to pull the higher down, for it is easy to sink and hard to rise. Hence an ignorant mother will dull the minds of husband and children, while one who is intelligent and appreciative will be for them a strong stimulus to self-activity. It is the nature of an enlightened mind to diffuse light, of a generous soul to make love prevail, of a noble character to build character. . . . In marriage, as in friendship, as in every other sphere of life, human relations are chiefly spiritual, and the more thoroughly educated a woman is the more able is she to fulfil in a noble way the duties of wife and mother.

The primary aim, however, is not to make a good wife and mother any more than it is to make a good husband and father. The educational ideal is human perfection—perfect manhood and perfect womanhood. Given the right kind of man or woman, and whatever duties are to be performed, whatever functions are to be fulfilled, will be well-performed and well-fulfilled. Woman's sphere lies wherever she can live nobly and do useful work.²

These striking words, which it would be well if some in the present excited state of public opinion would inwardly ponder on and digest, dispose in a remarkable way of the argument, frequently used, that wives and mothers have opportunities denied to the unmarried of influencing public opinion indirectly, and so forth. Does the woman exist who is so isolated by circumstances, so cut off from contact with others, that she may not become, in any walk of life, either a centre of life and light to others, or the reverse?

From one point of view only—and there are others too numerous to mention—the education and training of the youth of both sexes, what a huge field is open to woman's influence and activities!

* It is said that Huxley was asked which, in his opinion, were the most important years for the formation of character in the life of a human being. His answer was: 'Probably the first three years of a child's life.' And these three years are given over by universal consent to women. That these sacred duties are little understood and even grievously neglected (from the ethical point of view) by many, in all

¹ Bishop Spalding.

² *Opportunity and other Essays.*

classes of life, could hardly be denied. Also that the proper performance of these duties requires a strong and deeply founded spirit of self-sacrifice should likewise admit of no controversy. But if Carlyle could say, and say truly, that it would be misjudging man to assert that he was led to heroic action by the prospect of ease, hope of pleasure, recompense only; 'in the meanest mortal there lies something nobler. Difficulty, abnegation, martyrdom are the allurements that act on the heart of man'—could less be said of woman?

And these struggles, these sacrifices, are mitigated by love—the special prerogative of woman. For 'love is the fulfilling of the law.' 'Love,' it has been said, 'is the only, the eternal foundation of the training of our race to humanity.' 'Love,' says Goethe, 'does not rule, but it educates, and this is more.'

And, again, St. Augustine says, 'When it is asked whether one be a good man, there is not question of what he believes or hopes, but of what he loves. For he who loves rightly, rightly believes, and rightly hopes; but he who loves not, believes in vain, hopes in vain. Little love is little righteousness, perfect love is perfect righteousness.'

That these thoughts which Christianity has fostered and developed were not utterly unknown (in some faint and obscure form) in pagan times, witness the exquisite legend told by Plato:

As Socrates was walking with some of his disciples in the garden of Pericles, the conversation turned upon art and its divine beauties.

'Tell us,' said Alcibiades with a smile, 'tell us, O Socrates, how thou camest to make the statues of the Graces; and why, having finished thy masterpiece, thou didst abandon art? Would thou hadst given us also the goddess of wisdom!'

'I will relate,' said Socrates, 'the story of my art, and thou shalt then decide, Alcibiades, whether it would be well for me again to grasp the mallet and the chisel. As youth I loved art with all my heart, and was accustomed to visit the workshops of the masters and the temples of the gods; for in those I hoped to receive instruction, and in these divine enthusiasm. With this view I went one day to a little temple on the boundary of Attica, dedicated to the Graces. The simplicity of its form invited me, and I said to myself: "Though thou find nothing for thy art—for how could a marble statue have strayed hither?—yet mayst thou nourish and cultivate here a taste for simplicity, since this, as I thought, should not be lacking in an artist." At the door of the little temple an old man of venerable and friendly countenance met me.

"What seekest thou here, my son?" he inquired with a gentle voice. I told him that I was an art student, and that I had sought the temple to improve myself.

"It is well, my son," he replied, "that thou beginnest with thyself, and approaches the godlike to produce it in thyself, before thou attemptest to body it forth. Thy efforts shall not go unrewarded. I will show thee what elsewhere in all Greece thou shouldst look for in vain—the first and oldest statues of the Graces."

Thereupon he pointed to three square, rough-hewn stones and said: "Behold, there they are!"

I looked at him and was silent. But he smiled and continued: "Dost thou find it strange that the godlike should have been in the heart of man before his

tongue or his hand could give it expression? Well, show thy reverence for it by endowing it with a worthier form. I am the priest of this temple; my duty calls me now."

"He went and left me in an unwonted mood. Returning to Athens I made the statues of the Graces. You know them. I took them to the priest as an offering for the temple and presented them to him with a trembling hand.

"Well done, my son," said the friendly old man; "thou hast accomplished thy task with industry and zeal. But," he continued with a serious air, "tell me, hast thou also satisfied thyself?"

"Alas, no!" I replied; "I have a nobler image in my soul, to which I feel the hand is powerless to give form."

"The venerable man laid his hand upon my shoulder and spoke with indescribable grace. "Well, then, take thy statues to the halls of the rich men of Athens and leave us our stones. We, my son, in our simplicity have faith, and the plain symbol suffices; but they have only knowledge, and therefore need the work of art. To thee I give this counsel: Learn to know the divine germ which lives in thee, and in every human heart; cherish it, and thou shalt produce the godlike within and without thyself." He left me and I returned with my statues, meditating the words of the old man, who appeared to me to be a god. I stood a whole night beneath the stars, and as the sun rose the light became clear within my soul also. I recognised the eternal grace, love, within and without myself. I prayed, hastened home, laid my mallet and chisel at the feet of my statues of the Graces, and, coming forth, found you, my dear friends and disciples. Are ye not the noblest expression of the divine grace; and shall I not live longer in such images than in cold fragile marble?"

Is not this office of drawing out the good—the Divine Image—which exists in all men and women, the special gift of woman, as well as her highest prerogative? But to descend from these heights to the arena of the duties of every-day life, especially those which chiefly concern the sex: can we say at the present time, when statistics point to a rapidly diminishing birth-rate, and a truly appalling death-roll among infants, that this is the moment for women to choose to add to their already only too onerous duties, in order to pursue the phantom of parliamentary representation?

It is surely a singular, and not altogether satisfactory, state of things as regards the division of labour between the sexes, that the names of those who have been most prominently before the public in the noble work of training ignorant women in their maternal duties of suckling or feeding their children should be mainly those of men, not of women. Now that the medical profession is open to women, and many have taken honourable degrees as physicians and medical practitioners, it seems singular that they should not take the lead in this great and important work, to which they would surely bring a knowledge and sympathy impossible in the case of the opposite sex. In short, would it not be wise for woman to begin by setting her own house in order before she tried her hand at meddling with the larger questions of the politics and destinies of nations? A year ago it was urged in an interesting article in this Review³ that the influence of

women in parliamentary representation would be usefully employed in questions affecting the difficult problems of the insufficient payment of woman's labour. Humanitarian views such as these must commend themselves to all, but is it probable that legislation would be productive of any good results in cases of this sort? The laws that govern the labour market are, it will be generally admitted, exceedingly sensitive to undue interference. Is it not therefore not only possible, but even exceedingly probable, that in striving to amend them the opposite effect from the one intended might come to pass? For with foreign competition ever ready to take advantage of a higher labour bill, the trades in question are not unlikely to follow the example of many others which once existed in this country—that is, disappear altogether, thus adding to the ever-increasing number of the unemployed. Also the contention that women when engaged on piece-work should be paid as highly as men is one which would be contested inch by inch by the working-man—the reason being obvious, for few would maintain that a living wage for a woman would constitute one in the case of a man. Besides, may it not be open to considerable doubt whether the sad and terrible problems to which Miss Eva Gore-Booth alluded are among those which would be affected in any appreciable degree by the action of Parliament? Gladstone has a very weighty and pregnant saying which seems to me to bear on this statement: 'It is not,' he says, 'by the State that man can be regenerated, or the terrible woes of this darkened world effectually dealt with.'

There is yet another point of view from which the subject should be considered.

It is only proposed so far to give the franchise to the woman who has a stake in the country: in other words, to the widow or spinster who, though an owner of property, is debarred by the present state of the law from giving effect to her opinions on public matters in which her interests are involved. That the law is, in a sense, an anomaly, and presses severely on individual cases, is doubtless true, but, it may be asked, are the women whose claims are urged on the plea that logically they have a right to register their vote the most fitted to give it? Admittedly the faddists—the women who neglect the thousands of claims which suffering humanity forces upon them in order to endow homes for 'our dumb friends'; the follower of the latest fashionable craze, whether it be for Socialism or table-turning; the rabid anti-vivisectionist—are in the ratio of ten to one recruited from the class whom fate or their own inclinations have cut off from the healthy companionship of the masculine sex: a fact which has given rise to the popular saying that most men should marry, but *all women*. Few indeed would be found to deny that woman is at her best living in the normal condition of things as wife and mother—a man at her side whose counsel and guidance she cheerfully accepts. But to refuse the

franchise to the 'shrieking sisterhood' and their compeers, and grant it to the married woman, is a proposition worse than impracticable. It is unthinkable. If the Fiery Cross is abroad now, truly in such an eventuality Great Britain would be in a blaze. Also would the world be a gainer by it? I trow not. For in the majority of cases the married woman would follow her husband's lead, and in the divided household it would but add to the many debatable subjects on which man and wife may differ. To add to their number is hardly to benefit society or the world at large.

There is yet another solution to the question which, though scarcely belonging to the domain of practical politics, is sufficiently so to be openly maintained by the most advanced advocates of the enfranchisement of women. This, needless to say, is manhood suffrage, to be followed in due course by womanhood suffrage. We shall then have reached the climax. Woman by her numerical superiority in this country would be in the position, should she exercise her rights, of dictating the laws to men—a climax which, owing perhaps to a lack of humour on the part of mysex, is far from being looked upon by them as a *reductio ad absurdum*. Rather they are prepared to welcome it as the dawn of a better day—in short, of a female millennium.

In conclusion may I plead in the name, I firmly believe, of a large (I am tempted to say overwhelming) majority of my fellow countrywomen that the great political parties—whether Radical or Unionist—should judge the question on its merits, and with no other end in view? There seems to be a growing disposition, if we are to credit the public press, to make political capital out of this question. If the Radical party now in power had rushed lightly into a revolution of which no man could with any certainty prophesy the outcome, it would not perhaps have been altogether surprising. But have not women a right to expect different treatment from the Unionists? Surely a party which comprises within it so strong an element of conservatism—whose boast has ever been that it has sought to preserve what is wise and good in the past—should hesitate before it breaks with all its traditions in favour of a leap in the dark such as the one at present in contemplation. That woman's sphere in the future will be an ever widening one for all good and useful work, and that she will maintain the high ideals of her past, must be the earnest wish of all true women. But that these ends can be attained by the present outcry against limitations imposed by natural laws, is a contention contrary to all experience, as well as to the instinct of mankind, as voiced by almost a consensus of the wise and far-seeing of this and other countries. To those of my sex who differ from me I would answer with Cassius:

The fault . . . is not in our stars,
But in ourselves that we are underlings.

A. M. LOVAT.

APOLLO AND DIONYSUS IN ENGLAND

It was many years ago that in the Bodleian at Oxford I was shown into the beautiful room where John Selden's noble library is placed. It is a lofty, well-proportioned room, and on the walls are arrayed the silent legions of the great scholar's books. At that time I was still fonder of books than of realities, and with breathless haste I ran over the title-pages and contents of the grand folios in over fifteen languages, written by scholars of all the Western nations and of many an Oriental people. Then I paused before the fine oil-painting near the entrance of the room representing the face and upper body of the scholar-patriot. The face is singularly, touchingly beautiful. The delicately swung lines of the lips tell at once, more especially in their discreet corners, of the deep reticence and subtle tact of the man. No wonder my Lady Kent loved him. The combination of political power, boundless erudition, and charming male beauty could not but be pleasing to a knowing woman of the world. His eyes, big and lustrous, yet veil more than they reveal. He evidently was a man who saw more than he expressed, and felt more than he cared to show. Living in the troublous times of James the First and Charles the First, he worked strenuously for the liberties of his country, while all the time pouring forth works of the heaviest erudition on matters of ancient law, religions, and antiquities. His printed works are, in keeping with the custom of his day, like comets : a small kernel of substance, appended to a vast tail of quotations from thousands of authors. Like the unripe man I was, I liked the tail more than the kernel. Yet I had been in various countries and had acquired a little knowledge of substance. And as I gazed with loving looks at the mild beauty of the scholar, I fell slowly into a reverie. I had read him and about him with such zeal that it seemed to me I knew the man personally. Then also I had walked over the very streets and in the very halls where he had walked and talked to Camden, Cotton, Archbishop Ussher, Sir Mathew Hale, Lord Ellesmere, Coke, Cromwell. It was the time that we, in Hungary, had been taught to admire most in all English history. And there was more particularly one maxim of Selden's, which he carefully wrote on every one of the books of his library, which had always impressed me most. It ran : 'Liberty above everything'; or as

he wrote it, in Greek : *περὶ παντὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν*. Yes, liberty—that is, political liberty—above everything else. I had, like all people born in the fifties of the last century, believed in that one idea as one believes in the goodness and necessity of bread and wine. I could not doubt it ; I thought, to doubt it was almost absurd. And so I had long made up my mind to go one day to Oxford and to make my reverent bow to the scholar who had adorned the shallowest book of his vast collection by writing on it the Greek words in praise of liberty.

However, before I could carry out my pilgrimage to the Bodleian I had been five years in the States. There indeed was plenty of political liberty, but after a year or so I could not but see that the sacrifices which the Americans had to make for their political liberty were heavy, very heavy, not to say crushing. And I began to doubt. I conceived that it was perhaps not impossible to assume that in Selden's maxim there were certain 'ifs' and certain drawbacks. My soul darkened ; and when finally I arrived at the Bodleian I went into Selden's room, and to his portrait, prompted by an unarticulated hope that in some way or other I might get a solution of the problem from the man whose maxim I had held in so great an esteem for many a long year. So I gazed at him, and waited. The room became darker ; the evening shadows began spreading about the shelves. The portrait alone was still in a frame of strangely white light. It was as if Apollo could not tear himself away from the face of one who had been his ardent devotee. After a while I observed, or thought I did, with a sensation of mingled horror and delight, that the eyes of the portrait were moving towards me. I took courage and uttered my wish, and asked Selden outright whether now, after he had spent centuries in the Elysian fields with Pericles and Plato, whether he still was of opinion that liberty, political liberty, is the chief aim of a nation, an aim to be secured at all prices. Thereupon I clearly saw how his eyes deepened and how the surface of their silent reserve began to ripple, as it were, and finally a mild smile went over them like a cloud over a Highland lake. That smile sent a shiver through my soul. Selden, too, doubts his maxim ? Can political liberty be bought at too great a price ? Are there goods more valuable than political liberty ? After I recovered from my first shock I boldly approached the smiling portrait and implored Selden to help me. And then, in the silence of the deserted room, I saw how his lips moved, and I heard English sounds pronounced in a manner considerably different from what they are to-day. They sounded like the bass notes of a clarionette, and there was much more rhythm and cadence in them than one can hear to-day. They were also of exquisite politeness, and the words were, one imagined, like so many courtiers, hat in hand, bowing to one another, yet with a ready sword at the side. To my request he replied : ' If it should

fall out to be your fervent desire to know the clandestine truth of a matter so great and weighty, I shall, for the love of your devotion, be much pleased to be your suitor and help. Do not hesitate to follow me.' With that he stepped out from the frame and stood before me in the costume of the time of the Cavaliers. He took me by the hand, and in a way that seemed both natural and supernatural, so strangely did I feel at that moment, we left unseen and unnoticed the lofty room, and arrived almost immediately after that at a place in the country that reminded me of Kenilworth, or some other part of lovely Warwickshire. It was night, and a full moon shed her mysteries over trees, valleys, and mountains. On a lawn, in the midst of a fine wood of alders, Selden halted. There were several persons present. They struck me as being Greeks; their costume was that of Athenians in the times of Alcibiades. I soon saw that I was right, for they talked ancient Greek. Selden explained to me that they had left Elysium for a time, in order to see how the world beneath was going on. In their travels they had come to England, and were anxious to meet men of the past as well as men of the present, and to inquire into the nature and lot of the nation of which they had heard, by rumour, that it had something of the nature of the Athenians, much of the character of the Spartans, a good deal of the people of Syracuse and Tarentum, and also a trait or two of the Romans. Of those Greeks I at once recognised Pericles, the son of Xanthippus; Alcibiades, the son of Clinias; Plato, the son of Ariston; Euripides, the son of Mnesarchos; moreover, a man evidently an *archon* or high official of the oracle of Delphi; and in the retinue I saw sculpturesque maidens of Sparta and charming women of Argos, set off by incomparably formed beauties of Thebes, and girls of Tanagra smiling sweetly with stately daintiness. Selden was received by them with hearty friendliness, and conversation was soon at its best, just as if it had been proceeding in the cool groves of the Academy at Athens.

The first to speak was Pericles. He expressed to Selden his great amazement at the things he had seen in England. 'Had I not governed the city of holy Athena for thirty years,' he said, 'I should be perhaps pleased with what I see in this strange country. But having been at the head of affairs of a State which in my time was the foremost of the world; and having always availed myself of the advice and wisdom of men like Damon, the musician-philosopher, Anaxagoras, the thinker, Protagoras, the sophist, and last, not least, Aspasia, my tactful wife and friend, I am at a loss to understand the polity that you call England. What has struck me most in this country is the sway allowed to what we used to call Orphic Associations. In Athens we had, in my time, a great number of private societies the members of which devoted themselves to the cult of extreme, unnatural, and un-Greek ideas and superstitions. Thus

we had *thiasoi*, as we called them, the members of which were fanatic vegetarians; others, again, who would not allow their adherents to partake of a single drop of Chian or any other wine; others, again, who would under no circumstances put on any woollen shirt or garment. But if any of these Orphic mystagogues had arrogated to themselves the right of proposing laws in the Public Assembly, or what this nation calls the Parliament, with a view of converting the whole State of Athens into an Association of Orphic rites and mysteries, then, I am sure, my most resolute antagonists would have joined hands with me to counteract such unholy and scurrilous attempts. I can well understand that the Spartans, who are quite unwilling to vest any real power whatever in either their kings, their assembly, their senate, or their minor officials, are consequently compelled to vest inordinate power in their few Ephors, and in the constantly practised extreme self-control of each individual Spartan. In a commonwealth like Sparta, where the commune is allowed no, or very little, power; where there are neither generals, directors of police, powerful priests or princes, or any other incumbents of great coercive powers; in such a community the individual himself must needs be his own policeman, his own priest, prince, general, and coercive power. 'This he does by being a vegetarian, a strict Puritan, teetotaler, melancholist, and universal killer of joy.' Here Pericles was interrupted by the suave voice of Selden, who, in pure Attic, corroborated the foregoing statements by a reference to the people called Hebrews in Palestine. 'These men,' Selden said, 'were practically at all times so fond of liberty that they could not brook any sort of government in the form of officials, policemen, soldiers, princes, priests, or lords whatever. In consequence of which they introduced a system of individual self-control called ritualism, by means of which each Hebrew tied himself down with a thousand filigree ties as to eating, drinking, sleeping, merrymaking, and, in short, as to every act of ordinary life. So that, O Pericles, the Hebrews are one big Orphic Association of extremists, less formidable than the Spartans, but essentially similar to them.'

Selden had scarcely finished his remarks, but what Alcibiades, encouraged by a smile from Plato, joined the discussion, and, looking at Pericles, exclaimed: 'My revered relative, I have listened to your observations with close attention; and I have also, in my rambles through this country, met a great number of men and women. It seems to me that but for their Orphic Associations, which here some people call Societies of Cranks and Faddists, the population of this realm would have one civil war after the other. Surely you all remember how, in my youth, misunderstanding as I did the Orphic and mystery-craving nature of man, I made fun of it and was terribly punished for it at the hands of Hermes, a god far from being as great as Zeus, Apollo, or Dionysus. Little did I know at that time that the

exuberance of vitality which I, owing to my wealth and station in life, could gratify by gorgeous chariot races at Olympia, under the eyes of all the Hellenes, was equally strong, but yet unsatisfied, in the average and less dowered citizens of my State. My chequered experience has taught me that no sort of people can quite do without Orphic mysteries, and when I sojourned among the Thracians I saw that those barbarians, fully aware of the necessity of Mysteries and Orphic Trances, had long ago introduced festivals at which their men and women could give free vent to their subconscious, vague, yet powerful chthonic craving for impassioned day-dreaming and revelry. They indulge in wild dances on the mountains, at night, invoking the gods of the nether world, indulging freely in the wildest form of boundless hilarity, and rivalling in their exuberance the mad sprouting of trees and herbs in spring. You Laconian maidens, usually so proud and cold and Amazonian, I call upon you to say whether in your strictly regulated polity of Sparta you do not, at times, rove in the wildest fashion over the paths, ravines, and clefts of awful Mount Taygetus, in reckless search of the joy of frantic vitality which your State ordinarily does not allow you to indulge in? And you women of Argos, are you too not given to wild rioting at stated times? Have I not watched you in your religious revivals of fierce joy? Both the Laconian and Argive women admitted the fact, and one of them asked: 'Do the women of this country not observe similar festivals? I pity them if they don't.' And a Theban girl added: 'The other day we passed over the Snowdon and other mounts in a beauteous land which they call Wales. It is much like our own holy Mount Kithaeron. Why, then, do the women of this country not rove, in honour of the god, over the Welsh mountains, free and unobserved, as we do annually over wild Kithaeron? They would do it gracefully, for I have noticed that they run much better than they walk, and the *thyrsus* in their hand they would swing with more elegance than the sticks they use in their games.'

At that moment there arose from the haze and clouded mystery of the neighbouring woods a rocket of sounds, sung by female voices and soon joined in the distance by a chorus of men. The company on the lawn suddenly stopped talking, and at the example of the Delphic archon, whom they called Trichas, they all went in search of ivy, and, having found it, wreathed themselves with it. The music, more and more passionate, came nearer and nearer. From my place I could slightly distinguish, in mid-air, a fast travelling host of women in light dresses, swinging the *thyrsus*, dancing with utter freedom of beautiful movement, and singing all the time songs in praise of Dionysus, the god of life and joy. Trichas solemnly called upon us to close our eyes, and he intoned a *paean* of strange impressiveness, imploring the god to pardon our presence and to countenance us hereafter as before. But the Laconian, Theban, and

Argive maidens left us, and soaring into air, as it were, joined the host of revelling women. After a time the music subsided far away, and nothing could be heard but the melodious souging of the wind through the lank alder trees.

Then, at a sign of Trichas, Plato took the word and said: 'You are aware, my friends, that whatever I have taught in my Athenian days regarding the punishment of our faults at the hands of the Powers of the Netherworld, all that has been amply visited upon me in the shape of commentaries written on my works by learned teachers, after the fashion of savages who tattoo the beautiful body of a human being. I may therefore say that I have at last come to a state of purification and castigation which allows one to see things in their right proportion. Thus, with regard to this curious country in which we are just at present, I cannot but think that while there is much truth in what all of you have remarked, yet you do not seem to grasp quite clearly the essence, or, as we used to say, the *οὐσία* of the whole problem. This nation, like all of us Hellenes, has many centuries ago made up its mind to keep its political liberty intact and undiminished. For that purpose it always tried to limit, and in the last three hundred years actually succeeded in limiting, or even destroying, most of the coercive powers of the State, the Church, the nobility, the army. Selden not improperly compared them to the Jews. And as in the case of the Jews, so in the case of the English, the lack of the coercive powers of State, Church, nobility, and army inevitably engendered coercive powers of an individual or private character. This is called, in a general word, Puritanism. Our Spartans, who would not tolerate public coercive corporate powers any more than do the English, were likewise driven into an individual Puritanism, called their *ἀγωγή*, which likewise consisted of fanatic teetotalism, *mutisme*, anti-intellectualism, and other common features. This inevitable Puritanism in England assumed formerly what they call a Biblical form; now it feeds on teetotalism—that is, it has become liquid Puritanism. I have it on the most unquestionable authority, that the contemporary Britons are, in point of consumption of spirits and wine, the most moderate consumers of all the European nations; and the average French person, for example, drinks 152 times more wine per annum than the average Englishman. Even in point of beer, the average Belgian, for instance, drinks twice as much as the average Englishman; while the average Dane drinks close on five times more spirits than the average Briton. Yet all these facts will convert no one. For, since the Puritan wants Puritanism and not facts, he can be impressed only by inducing him to adopt another sort of Puritanism, but never by facts. Accordingly, they have introduced Christian Science, or one of the oldest Orphic fallacies, which the medieval Germans used to call "to pray oneself sound." They have likewise inaugurated anti-vivisectionism, vegetarianism, anti-

tobacconism, Sabbatarianism, and a social class-system generally, which combines all the features of all the kinds of Puritanism. We in Athens divided men only on lines of the greater or lesser political rights we gave them ; but we never drew such lines in matters social and purely human. The freest Athenian readily shook hands with a *metic* or denizen ; and we ate all that was eatable and good. In England the higher class looks upon the next lower as the teetotaller looks upon beer, the vegetarian upon beef, or the Sabbatarian upon what they call the Continental Sunday. Moreover, there is in England, in addition to the science of zoology or botany, such as my hearer Aristotle founded it, a social zoology and botany, treating of such animals and plants as cannot, according to English class-puritanism, be offered to one's friends at meals. Thus, mussels and cockles are socially ostracised, except in unrecognisable form ; bread is offered in homœopathic doses ; beer at a banquet is simply impossible ; black radishes, a personal insult. In the same way, streets, squares, halls, theatres, watering-places—in short, everything in the material universe is or is not “class” ; that is, it is subject or not subject to social Puritanism. All this, as in the case of the Hebrews, who have an infinitely developed ritualism of eatables and drinkables, of things “pure” or “impure” ; all this, I say, is the inevitable consequence of the unwillingness of the English to grant any considerable coercive power to the State, the Church, the nobility, the army, or any other organised corporate institution. They hate the idea of conscription, because they hate to give power to the army, and prefer to fall into the snares of faddists. The coercive power which they will not grant in one form, they must necessarily admit in another form. They destroy Puritanism as wielded by State or Church, and must therefore, since coercive powers are always indispensable, accept it as Puritanism of fads. What are the Jews other than a nation of extreme faddists ? Being quite apolitical, as we call it, they must necessarily be extremely Orphic—that is, extreme Puritans. Political liberty is bought at the expense of social freedom. Nobody dares to give himself freely and naïvely ; he must needs watch with sickly self-consciousness over every word or act of his, as a policeman watches over the traffic of streets. And lest he betray his real sentiments, he suppresses all gestures, because gestures give one away at once. One cannot make a gesture of astonishment without being really astonished at all, and *vice versâ*. And so slowly, by degrees, the whole of the human capital is repressed, disguised, unhumanised, and, in a word, sacrificed, at the altar of political liberty. The Romans, much wiser than the Spartans, gave immense coercive power both to corporate bodies, such as the Roman Senate, and to single officials, such as a Consul, a Censor, a Tribune, or a Praetor. They therefore did not need any grotesque private coercive institutions or fads. The English, on the other hand, want to wield an empire such as the Romans, and yet build up

their polity upon the narrow plane of a Spartan ἀγωγή. In this there is an inherent contradiction. They hamper their best intentions, and must at all times, and against their better convictions, legislate for faddists, because they lack the courage of their Imperial mission. Empires want Imperial institutions, that is, such as are richly endowed in point of political power. Offices ought to be given by appointment, and not by competitive examinations, if only for five or ten years. The police ought to have a very much more comprehensive power, and the schools ought to be subject to a national committee. Parliament must be Imperial, and not only British. Very much more might be said about the necessity of rendering this Realm more *apotelestatic*, as we have called it, but I see that Euripides is burning to make his remarks, and I am sure that he is able to give us the final expression of the whole difficulty in a manner that none of us can rival.

Thereupon Euripides addressed the company as follows: 'For many, many a year I have observed and studied the most life-endowed commonwealth that the world has ever seen, Athens. I watched the Athenians in their homes, in the market place, in the law courts, in peace and war, in the theatre and in the temple, at the holy places of Eleusis and Delphi, their men as well as their women. Personally I long inclined towards a view of the world almost exclusively influenced by Apollo. I thought that as the sun is evidently the great life-giver of all existence, so light, reason, system, liberty, and consummately devised measures constitute the highest wisdom of the community. In all I wrote or said I worked for the great god of Light, and Reason, and Progress. I could not find words and phrases trenchant enough to express my disdain for sentiments and ideas discountenanced by Apollo. I persecuted and fiercely attacked all those dark, chthonic, and mysterious passions of which man is replete to overflowing. I hated Imperialism, I adored Liberty; I extolled Philosophy, and execrated Orphic ideas. But at last, when I had gone through the fearful experiences of the Peloponnesian War, with all its supreme glories and its unrelieved shames, I learned to think otherwise. I learned to see that as man has two souls in his breast, one celestial or Apollinic, the other terrestrial or Dionysiac, so there are two gods, and not one, that govern this sub-lunar world. The two are Apollo and Dionysus. One rules the world of light, of political power, of scientific reason, and of harmonious muses. The other is the god of unreason, of passion, and wild enthusiasm, of that unwieldy Heart of ours which is fuller of monsters and also of precious pearls than is the wide ocean. Unless in a given commonwealth the legislator wisely provides for the cult of both gods, in an orderly and public fashion, Dionysus or Apollo will take fearful revenge for the neglect they suffer at the hands of shortsighted statesmen and impudent unbelievers. In the course of our Great War we have come into

contact and conflict with many a non-Greek nation, or the people whom we rightly term Barbarians. For while some of them sedulously, perhaps over-zealously, worship Dionysus, they all ignore or scorn Apollo. The consequence is that the great god blinds them to their own advantages, robs them of light and moderation, and they prosper enduringly neither as builders of States nor as private citizens in their towns. For Apollo, like all the gods, is a severe god, and his bow he uses as unerringly as his lyre. It is even so with Dionysus. The nation that affects to despise him, speedily falls a wretched victim to his awful revenge. Instead of worshipping him openly and in public fashion, such a nation falls into grotesque and absurd eccentricities, that readily degenerate into poisonous vices, infesting every organ of the body politic and depriving social intercourse of all its charms. The Spartans, although they allow their women a temporary cult of the god Dionysus, yet do not pay sufficient attention to him, worshipping mainly Apollo. They had, in consequence, to do much that tends to de-humanisation, and, while many admire them, no one loves them. It was this my late and hard-won insight into the nature of man which I wanted to bring out in the strongest fashion imaginable in my drama called *Bacchæ*. I see with bitterness how little my commentators grasped the real mystery of my work. If Dionysus was to me only the symbol of wine and merrymaking, why should I have indulged in the gratuitous cruelty of punishing the neglect of Bacchus by the awful murder of a son-king at the hands of his own frenzied mother-queen? All my Hellenic sentiment of moderation shudders at such a ghastly exaggeration. Neither the myth nor my drama refer to wanton, barbarous bloodshed; and such scholars as assume archaic human sacrifices in honour of Dionysus, and 'survivals' thereof in Dionysiac rites, ought to be taken in hand by the god's own Maenads and suffer for their impudence. Human sacrifices indeed, but not such as are made by stabbing people with knives and bleeding them to physical death. Human sacrifices in the sense of a terrible loss of human capital, of a de-humanisation caused by the browbeating of the Heart—this and nothing else was the meaning of my drama. And which country is a fuller commentary on the truth of my *Bacchæ* than England? Here is a country that, had Dionysus been properly worshipped by its people, might be the happiest, brightest of all nations, a model for all others, and living like the gods in perpetual bliss—that is, in perfect equilibrium of thought and action, reason and sentiment, beauty and moderation. They have done much and successfully for Pythian Apollo; they have established a solid fabric of Liberty and Imperial Power; various intellectual pursuits they have cultivated with glory; and in their pæans to Apollo they have shown exquisite beauties of expression and feeling. But Dionysus they persistently want to neglect, to discredit, to oust. Instead of bowing humbly and openly to the

god of enthusiasm, of unreasoned lilt of sentiment and passion, and of the intense delight in all that lives and throbs and vibrates with pleasure and joy; they affect to suppress sentiments, to rein in all pleasures, and to cast a slur on joy. And then the god, seeing the scorn with which they treat him, avenges himself, and blinds and maddens them, as he did King Pentheus of Thebes, King Perseus of Argos, the daughters of Minyas of Orchomenos, or Proitos of Tiryns, and so many others. The god Dionysus puts into their hearts absurd thoughts and fantastic prejudices, and some of them spend millions of money a year to stop the use of the Bacchic gifts in a country which has long been the least drinking country in the white world, and as a matter of fact drinks far too little good and noble wine. Others again are made, by angry Dionysus, to *μαίεσθαι* or rage by adding to the 250 unofficial yearly fogs of the country, fifty-two official ones, which they call Sundays. Again others, instigated by the enraged god Dionysus, drive people to furor by their intolerable declamations against alleged cruelties to animals, while they are themselves full of cruel boredom to human beings. There is, I note with satisfaction, one among them who seems to have an inkling of the anger of the god, and who has tried to restore, in a fashion, the cult of Dionysiac festivals. He calls his Orphic Association the Salvation Army. They imitate not quite unsuccessfully the doings of the legs and feet of the true worshippers of Dionysus; but the spirit of the true cult is very far off from them. And so Dionysus, cut and looked down upon by the people of this country, avenges himself in a manner the upshot and sum of which is not inadequately represented in my *Bacchae*. And yet the example of the Hellas of Hellas, or of the town of Athens, which all of them study in their schools, might have taught them better things. When, by about the eighth or seventh century B.C. (as they say), the cult of Dionysus began to spread in Greece, the various States opposed it at first with all their power. All these States were Apollinic contrivances. They were ordered by reasoned constitutions, generally by one man. In them everything was deliberately arranged for light, order, good rhythm, clearness, and system. It was all in honour of Apollo, the city-builder. Naturally the leaders of those States hated Dionysus. However, they were soon convinced of the might of the new god, and, instead of scorning, defying or neglecting him, the wise men at the head of affairs resolved to adopt him officially. In this they followed (O Trichas, did they not?) the example of Delphi, which, although formerly purely Apollinic, now readily opened its holy halls to the new god Dionysus, so that ever after Delphi was as much Apollinic as it was Dionysiac. At Athens they honoured the new god so deeply and fully that, not content with the ordinary rural sports and processions given in his honour, the Athenians created the great Tragedy and Comedy as a fit cult of the mighty god. The Athenians were paid to go to those

wondrous plays, where their Dionysiac soul could and did find ample food, and was thereby purged and purified, or, in other words, prevented from falling into the snares of silly faddists of religious or other impostures. But for those Dionysiac festivals in addition to the cult of Apollo, the Greeks would have become the Chinese of Europe. Why, then, do not the English do likewise? Why do they not build a mighty, State-kept theatre, or several of them? Why does their State try to pension decrepit persons, and not rather help to balance young minds? Why have they no public *agones* or competitions in singing, reciting, and dancing? They do, officially, next to nothing for music; and if one of their *strategi* or ministers was known to be a good pianist or violinist, as they call their instruments, they would scorn him as unworthy of his post. Yet few of such *strategi* are the equals of Epaminondas, who excelled both in dancing and playing our harp. But while they ignore music—that is, Dionysus's chief gift—they crouch before the unharmonious clamour of any wretched Orphic teetotaller, vegetarian, or Sabbatarian. This is how Dionysus avenges himself. I see how uneasy they are with regard to the great might of the Germans. Why, then, do they not learn to respect Dionysus, who was the chief help to the powerful consolidation of the German Empire? German music kept North and South Germans intimately together; it saved them from wasting untold sums of money, of time, of force, on arid fads; it paved the way to political intimacy. Had the English not neglected Dionysus, had they sung in his honour those soul-attaching songs which once learned in youth can never be forgotten, they might have retained the millions of Irishmen, who have left their shores, by the heart-melting charm of a common music. From the lack of such a delicate but enduring tie, the Irish had to be held by sterile political measures only. In music there is infinitely more than a mere tinkling of rhythm; there is Dionysus in it. Their teachers of politics sneer at Aristotle because he treats solemnly of music in his *Politics*. But Aristotle told me himself that he sneers at them, seeing what absurd socialistic schemes they discuss because they do not want to steady the souls of their people by a proper cult of Dionysus. Socialism is doomed to the fate of Pentheus at the terrible hands of Dionysus. Socialism despises Dionysus; the god will speedily drive it to madness. See, friends, we must leave—yonder Apollo is rising; he wants to join Dionysus, who passed us a little while ago. Should they both stay in this country, and should they be properly worshipped, we might from time to time come back again. At present I propose to leave forthwith for the Castalian sources.'

EMIL REICH.

THE KHEDIVE OF EGYPT

BEFORE these lines appear in print Abbas the Second will probably have terminated his flying visit to England. The visit is essentially a private visit. If I am rightly informed, his Highness did not come here as the guest of the King. Sir Eldon Gorst, H.M. Consul-General in Egypt, considered it as a matter of importance alike to Egypt and England that an interview should take place between King Edward the Seventh and Abbas the Second, the great grandson of Mehemet Ali and the sixth Sovereign of the reigning dynasty. During the last two months Sir Eldon Gorst has paid very frequent visits to Koubbeh, the palace some five miles out of Cairo where his Highness usually resides in preference to the Palace of Abdeen in Cairo, where his grandfather Ismail Pasha and his father Tewfik Pasha habitually held their abode. After very frequent and prolonged negotiations, an arrangement was concluded to the effect that Abbas the Second came to England as a private visitor, with the object of seeing his Majesty the King. I do not profess to have any personal knowledge of the correspondence on this subject which may have passed between the British Agency and the Foreign Office, but I can assert without fear of contradiction that the upshot of these negotiations was such in substance as that stated above.

It is not my purpose to enter into any discussion as to how far Lord Cromer was or was not justified in the attitude he assumed towards Abbas the Second almost from the date of the latter's accession to the vice-regal throne. The argument that Abbas owes any special gratitude to England for his elevation to the Khedivate is somewhat illogical. Upon his father's sudden and unexpected death in 1891 he, as the eldest son of Tewfik, became Viceroy as a matter of course, and the idea of the British Government raising any objection to his accession was never even ventilated either in Egypt or elsewhere. By international law, in as far as such a thing can be said to have any existence other than that of a conventional fiction, Abbas the Second is subject to the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, the *de jure* and *de facto* ruler of Egypt, in the same sense as Nicholas the Second is Czar of All the Russias.

From a personal point of view the early death of Tewfik Pasha

was a misfortune for his son and heir. As soon as the two Princes Abbas and Mahomed Ali were old enough to be instructed by foreign teachers, Tewfik placed them under the care of an English gentleman, then in the service of the Egyptian Government. This gentleman, Mr. Mitchell, was the son of the then Public Orator of Oxford. Being in Egypt at this time I made the acquaintance of Mr. Mitchell, who later on was appointed Consular Judge in Cyprus and is, I believe, a high authority on Oriental lore. He often spoke to me about the quickness of apprehension possessed by his vice-regal pupils, and the interest their father took in their progress. There are obvious reasons why boys destined to occupy distinguished positions in Eastern countries are usually sent at an early age to European schools or seminaries. These reasons were especially calculated to commend themselves to Tewfik Pasha, who attached perhaps an undue importance to educational advantages, as, unlike his younger brothers, he himself had never enjoyed these advantages. Be this as it may, his heir, Abbas the Second, was sent to the Theresianum of Vienna at an early age. In the days of which I speak this academy was especially frequented by the sons of the Austrian nobles and was a sort of Viennese Eton, where respect for the prerogatives of royalty and for the predominance of princes and heirs apparent above the common herd of mankind were more pronounced than in any other European capital with the possible exception of St. Petersburg. At the period of life when lads approaching manhood are most susceptible to the influence of their surroundings he was brought up in a society whose dominant traditions were those of a bygone age, when the divine right of kings was an article of faith. This period also happened to coincide with an era in which the duration of our virtual protectorate over Egypt still seemed more than doubtful. The idea that England had 'come to stay' was scouted, not only by our own Government, but in diplomatic circles on the Continent. This was especially the case in the Austrian capital, where the British occupation of Egypt was not regarded as a permanent arrangement. The relations between the late Khedive and the British Agency in Cairo had become ostensibly more friendly than they ever had been before or have been since. It seemed, to say the least, on the cards that an arrangement might be arrived at by which the British troops would be withdrawn from Egypt, while the Khedive, subject to certain restrictions, would be reinstated in his former position not only as the nominal but as the actual ruler of Egypt. Whether such an arrangement could have worked satisfactorily is a question which can now never be decided; but the fact that the British Government had as late as 1885 become a consenting party to a convention with Turkey drawn up by Muktar Pasha Gazi and by my old friend Sir Henry Drummond Wolff is proof sufficient that Lord Salisbury, equally with Mr. Gladstone, was then genuinely desirous of terminat-

ing the British occupation as soon as possible. Indeed, if it had not been for the opposition offered to the Wolff Convention by representatives of the French Republic at Constantinople there would not have been a British garrison in any part of Egypt at the untimely death of Tewfik.

Abbas Pasha had barely completed his eighteenth year when he received, when still a pupil at Vienna, the news of his father's sudden and unforeseen demise in the prime of life, and was summoned to return to Cairo in hot haste in order to take possession of the vacant throne. It would have been far better on every ground—apart from any question of his personal affections—if Abbas's accession to the viceroyalty could have been delayed for a few years longer. It was his misfortune, not his fault, if, while almost a schoolboy, he returned to Egypt as her lawful Sovereign. He had necessarily a very scanty knowledge of the country he was called upon to govern, and a still more imperfect appreciation of the exceptional and anomalous conditions under which his authority had to be exercised. In theory the Khedive was—subject to the shadowy suzerainty of the Sultan—an independent prince, to whom the Ministers and all Egyptian officials, both civil and military, owed complete obedience. As a matter of fact any commands he might issue were not binding on any public servants to whom they might be addressed, unless these commands were, so to speak, countersigned by the Consul-General of Great Britain, as the representative of the Power whose armies occupied the Khedivate. Whatever else may have been the merits or demerits of Abbas the Second, even his worst detractors have never denied him the possession of singular ability and of high ambitions. He came back under a not altogether unfounded conviction that the British representatives had taken advantage of the lack of energy of his predecessor in order to augment the official authority of the Protecting Power and thereby decrease the personal authority of the Khedive. He can hardly be blamed if he came home with the intention of setting matters straight by claiming to be master in the land of his birth, as befitted the lineal heir to the dynasty founded by Mehemet Ali, the Lion of the Levant.

It was almost inevitable that Abbas the Second on his arrival in Egypt should have fallen under the influence of partisans of France, resident in Cairo. Up to this date the French Republic had not given up the hope that England might be compelled or cajoled into surrendering the position she had acquired by the occupation of Egypt and that France might then recover her lost supremacy. Whenever the true history of the campaign conducted in Egypt by France against England is fully made known, I expect the fervid partisans of the *entente cordiale* will have, metaphorically speaking, to put a good deal of water into their milk. For the present, however, it is enough to say that the French Colony in Cairo, which was then far more numerous

and better organised than it is to-day, brought their influence to bear upon Abbas the Second in order to induce his Highness to make an effort for the recovery of his personal authority. Ever since the occupation there had been an almost complete schism between the English and the French elements of Cairene Society. Up to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet,* French had been the language employed in social intercourse, mainly, I think, because it was practically the only European language in which the native Ministers and officials could make themselves understood. Gradually Cairene Society split up into groups where English, French, German, and Italian were employed as the usual channels of communication. This separative tendency was increased by the policy, which found favour with the British Agency during the last twenty-four years, of discouraging all private social intercourse between natives and British public servants. This policy, whether wise or unwise in itself, tended to promote close relations between the well-to-do natives and the French. The youthful Khedive was given to understand by his self-constituted mentors that the Egyptian public were extremely hostile to the continuance of the occupation, and that if he only manifested a determination to assert his authority and to show that in future he intended to take a leading part in the administration of State affairs he would have the active sympathy and support of his fellow-countrymen and of his co-religionists.

It is hardly matter for surprise if these counsels commended themselves to the approval of the young Prince. The particular form under which Abbas the Second proposed to vindicate his individual freedom of action and thereby to introduce a new *régime* was, I am inclined to think, his own idea. If there is one department of the State in Egypt over which the Viceroy might be considered at liberty to exercise a personal control it is the Anglo-Egyptian Army. It goes without saying that the British forces receive their orders from the general in command, but the Anglo-Egyptian Army is a native army, whose ranks are exclusively composed of Fellaheen, enlisted of their own free will or, in case of need, by conscription. The officers of this native army, whether British or native, hold commissions from the Khedive and are paid at the cost of the State. The only difference between the British and the native officers is that the former are 'seconded' by the British War Office subject to the approval of the Khedive, while the latter are nominated directly by the Egyptian military authorities. The Sirdar or Commander-in-Chief has always hitherto been a British officer, though he fulfils the duties of his office in virtue of the commission he holds under the Khedive's sign manual. As long as the army of occupation remains in Egypt I fail to see how this unwritten regulation could ever be disregarded in practice. I never could obtain any satisfactory explanation as to what would happen in the improbable, but not impossible, event of a British

officer who had been 'seconded' by the War Office, or in plainer words 'lent' to the Anglo-Egyptian army, receiving contradictory orders from the British and the Khedivial Governments. It is significant of the general 'Topsy Turvydom' of all Egyptian arrangements, under our unavowed Protectorate, that my friend Sir Reginald Wingate, the present Sirdar, is bound by the Condominium to serve two masters, his Majesty Edward the Seventh, and his Highness the Khedive Abbas the Second. Suppose the King and his co-Sovereign were to hold opposite views as to the occupation of the Soudan, and the Sirdar was commanded by the British Government to remain at Khartoum, while at the same time he was commanded by the Viceregal Government to evacuate Khartoum. On such an hypothesis he would be liable to be shot for mutiny by the Power whose orders he elected to disobey. The Sirdar at the time when Abbas the Second succeeded to the Viceregal throne happened to be General Kitchener, now Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, and it was this most distinguished officer that Abbas the Second selected as affording him an opportunity for asserting his contention that he considered himself entitled to exercise his authority in criticising the movements of his own troops when they were being reviewed in his own presence as the Sovereign of Egypt.

It is always very difficult to make out the truth about anything in Egypt, and all the more difficult in cases where racial or professional rivalries are called into play. The general outlines, however, of the disagreement between the Khedive and General Kitchener are not open to any grave doubt. It seems certain that, when a review in Upper Egypt at which the Khedive was present had been concluded, and when the Sirdar naturally expected to receive the usual compliments on the efficiency displayed by his troops, the Khedive, speaking in a voice audible to those around him, expressed his grave displeasure at the want of regularity with which certain military manoeuvres had been conducted, and requested that increased vigilance should be displayed in future. Immediately upon the Khedive's departure from the field General Kitchener forwarded his resignation of the Sirdarship, while the news of the cause which had led him to take this step was forthwith telegraphed to the British Agency in Cairo, where it created very general alarm. It is no part of the present writer's duty to discuss whether the Khedive was most to blame for a very unfortunate incident. It was contended by the friends and courtiers of Abbas the Second that his Highness, accustomed as he had been for many years to the almost mathematical regularity with which Austrian troops are trained to march step by step, row after row, may have attached far too great importance to the comparatively loose formation of Egyptian troops commanded by British officers. Be this as it may, I cannot see how the British Agency could have allowed the censure inflicted upon the

Sirdar before his troops to pass without protest. After all, when you discard theories and deal with realities in Egyptian matters you come at once to the bottom fact that our influence and authority in Egypt are due to our military occupation of the country. Our British Civil servants may have developed the resources of the Nile Land, may have carried out many useful reforms, may have improved the conditions of the Fellaheen and may have introduced a better and less corrupt system of law and justice. But when all is said none of these reforms could have been carried into effect unless a British garrison had occupied the citadel whose guns command Cairo. To speak the plain truth we owe our present hold over Egypt to the sword, and, if we wish to hold it in the future, we must keep it by the sword, not by introducing reforms, however beneficial from our British point of view. To many of these reforms Egypt as a nation is distinctly hostile, and to the remainder she is absolutely indifferent. If, therefore, Great Britain rightly or wrongly attaches extreme importance to upholding her ascendancy in Egypt she cannot allow her military supremacy to be questioned. No reasonable person can deny that the fact of the Sirdar being publicly rebuked by the Khedive in the presence of his Egyptian troops would have gravely damaged our military prestige. This being so, I am bound to say that our Consul-General, as the representative of the British Government, would have failed in his duty if he had not insisted upon the formal withdrawal of the criticism passed upon the Sirdar in the presence of his troops. I think, perhaps, the form of the withdrawal might have been couched in terms less offensive to the susceptibilities of a young and inexperienced Prince, who had failed to realise the fact that under the British occupation he was no longer master of his own army. Riaz Pasha was deputed by the British Agency to proceed at once to the camp. No better choice could have well been made. Riaz had throughout a long public career earned the respect of all parties in Egypt by his independence of character and his strict sense of duty. He had recognised the British Protectorate as a necessity, but as an unwelcome necessity. He was known to be personally attached to the Viceregal dynasty, had served as Prime Minister under three generations, and had fully deserved the confidence reposed in him alike by Ismail and Tewfik and Abbas the Second. I may add, too, that as a strict follower of Islam and as a patriot in the Egyptian sense of the word, Riaz's sympathies were enlisted on behalf of the Khedivial dynasty. What actually passed between Abbas the Second and the emissary of the British Agency has never been recorded in any official narrative, but there is a general and probably a well-founded belief throughout Egypt that his Highness was given to understand that, unless he consented to request the Sirdar to withdraw his resignation and to resume his post as the General in command of the Anglo-Egyptian Army, the British Government would take

immediate action to bring about his deposition through the same instrumentality as that which had deposed Ismail Pasha. If Abbas the Second had been the petulant self-willed lad he was credited with being at this period in British circles he might probably have refused to retract his censures upon the troops under the Sirdar's command and might have thus given England an infinity of trouble. But being, happily for himself and for Egypt, as later events have shown, a singularly clear-headed man, Abbas the Second recognised that so long as the British occupation remained in force, with the tacit assent, if not with the open approval, of all the Great Powers of Europe, the hold of England on Egypt was too strong to be seriously attacked. His Highness, moreover, possessed a sufficiently clear insight into our national character to understand that the British Government would not allow the demand for his abdication to remain a *brutum fulmen*, and that if he wished to retain the Viceroyalty he had no choice but to accept the terms upon which his offence was to be condoned, and to accept them without further demur.

The reason why I deem it well to recall this bygone incident is because it explains a great deal of the friction which up to a recent period has existed between the Khedive and the British authorities in Egypt. It is only in human nature that his Highness should not have forgotten, even if he has forgiven, what from his point of view he may not unnaturally have considered a flagrant disregard of his personal susceptibilities as the Viceroy of Egypt. It is also not unreasonable he should deem that even if he had asserted pretensions which he was not justified in doing, more consideration might have been shown to his youth and inexperience.

On the other hand, it is only fair to admit that the diplomatic representatives of England at Cairo may have resented what they regarded as a deliberate attempt on the part of the Khedive to dispute their supremacy in Egypt. Both Lord Cromer and General Kitchener were adepts in the art of displaying the iron hand. But both alike were not equal adepts in the employment of the velvet glove. Both of them were inclined by character to believe in the proverb that fair words butter no parsnips. Long experience of life in many countries, both at home and abroad, and especially in Eastern countries, has brought me to the conviction that there is no maxim of proverbial philosophy so utterly fallacious as the one in question. In the East more than anywhere else fair words butter any number of parsnips. Ceremonial, courtesy, careful recognition of etiquette and outward forms of respect do more to conciliate Orientals than elaborate arguments designed to show them it is their interest to obey your instructions. The system of letting the Khedive know what he has got to do, without explaining to him why it was his interest and his duty to do so, had been tried with complete success at the commencement of his reign, and the *de facto* rulers of Egypt never ceased to believe that this was

the right way of dealing with the *de jure* ruler. As a matter of fact, both Lord Cromer and Lord Kitchener were by character and temperament impatient of opposition. I have often wondered which of the two would have carried the day if by any chance their views of policy had been at variance. Happily such a contingency never occurred during the brief interval when, after the capture of Khartoum, the latter had become as supreme in military matters as the former had long been in the Civil Service.

It would be an insult to the intelligence of Abbas the Second to imagine that he does not appreciate the many great services Lord Cromer has rendered to Egypt. At the same time neither the Khedive nor Egypt could reasonably be expected to attach quite the same value to these services as was attached to them in this country. I have always thought that the most signal of the many acts on which his Lordship might base his claim to the gratitude of Egypt is the stubborn persistency with which he stuck to the principle that the first step towards the regeneration of Egypt was the restoration of her financial solvency. To carry out this object, rigid economy was, in the opinion of our Pro-Consul, essential in order to rescue Egypt from imminent bankruptcy. To effect this end he was compelled to enforce upon the native administrators the absolute duty of almost parsimonious thrift and of curtailing all avoidable expenditure on works of general utility until such time as Egypt's huge deficit had been converted into a substantial surplus. In as far as my experience extends, services of this kind seldom, if ever, command the gratitude of those who benefit by them in private life; and I hold this is also the case in public affairs. Reduction of salaries, increase of taxation, abolition of monopolies, collection of arrears, and compulsory liquidation of overdue debts, are never popular even in Western countries, are still more unpopular in Oriental lands, and are especially open to hostile criticism when they are introduced by foreigners, aliens to the native race by blood, race, and creed. The Khedive had not the power, even if he had the will, to modify the financial policy dictated to him by his financial advisers, who derived their instructions from the British Agency and who insisted on these instructions being carried out by the Khedive in his own name and by his own orders. Meanwhile, the Khedive was regarded by his own people as being morally, if not directly, responsible for a financial system whose advantages were not easily comprehensible to an ignorant population. In the eyes of his subjects he was still the Lord and Master, the Effendina, the Viceroy of the Sultan, and was surrounded in their eyes with all the trappings of sovereignty. Under these circumstances he was constantly in receipt of appeals, all telling the same story, namely, that the appellants were overburdened with taxation, unable to meet their own liabilities, devoid of funds to improve their lands, irrigate their estates and procure fresh crops or machinery. All this, the appellants contended, could be altered if the Government was

not in such a hurry to pay off old loans, which the bondholders were not anxious to have repaid, and could, in lieu of cancelling all the bonds, drawn by lottery, make advances for purposes of irrigation which would prove advantageous alike to the borrowers and to the State. The refusal of the British Agency to sanction any default in the reduction of the public debt was—as I hold—sound in theory and wise in practice, but the discontent created by the fiscal system introduced into Egypt after the British occupation fell upon the shoulders of the Khedive, not upon those of its real authors.

I fully admit that in the controversy between the Khedive and the British Agency which lasted throughout from 1885 almost up to 1907 there is a great deal to be said on both sides. Having been intimately connected with Egypt from 1877, when I wrote in the columns of this Review an article entitled 'Our Route to India,' in which I advocated the paramount importance to the British Empire of keeping the control of the Suez Canal in our own hands, and having never modified this opinion in any material way, I am not likely to write anything which might be construed as expressing an opinion on my part that our military occupation might be terminated with advantage to England or to Egypt. All I desire is to make intelligible to my own countrymen the main causes of the antagonism which under the Cromer *régime* precluded any cordial co-operation between the Protecting and the Protected Power. I do not, however, hesitate to say that in my opinion the main cause of this regrettable antagonism was the inability or incompetency of the British Agency to try and understand how their policy was inevitably regarded from the point of view of the Khedive.

Even if the limits of space permitted, it is not necessary for my present purpose to show how time after time the Khedive has suffered from the unintentional neglect of the British authorities in Egypt to realise the difficult position in which his Highness was placed by their persistent refusal to recognise the truth that, though he was powerless to offer any overt opposition to their policy, he was all the more entitled to the formal recognition of his nominal Viceroyalty. Let me cite a few instances. In consequence, if I am correctly informed, of private intelligence being received from Abyssinia to the effect that the Emperor Menelik had entered into a secret engagement with the French Government to send an army to meet Captain Marchand on his arrival at Fashoda, the British Government made up its mind to frustrate the intrigue by issuing peremptory orders to the British Army of occupation, in company with a portion of the Anglo-Egyptian Army, to start at once upon the march to Khartoum. The Khedive was never informed of this sudden change of policy, and never knew of the intended departure till the vanguard of the expedition had actually started from Cairo on its advance Soudanwards.

Again, on the occasion of the Dam of Assouan being carried into execution by a financial group, of which Sir Ernest Cassel was the head,

and which had received the cordial support of the British Agency, when this colossal, gigantic work was completed, the question naturally arose as to who was to preside at the inauguration of the greatest monument probably ever erected in Egypt since the days of the Pharaohs. By all rules of precedence and common courtesy the Khedive, as the hereditary Viceroy of Egypt, was the fittest person to have his name associated with the inauguration of a monument destined to add a new triumph to the annals of his world-old country. But, in accordance with the approval of the British Agency, if not on its own initiative, the honour of formally opening this gigantic work was reserved for the Duke of Connaught, a most worthy representative of the British Royal Family, but at the same time one who had no special connexion with the Dam, and had no special reason to be invited to preside at its inauguration which in any other country would have been deemed to belong of right to its recognised and acknowledged ruler. I have no reason to suppose that either Sir Ernest Cassel as the capitalist of the concern, or Sir Benjamin Baker as the engineer of this enterprise, had any private reason for insisting upon an English Duke being selected to fill a position which belonged naturally to Abbas the Second. I cannot but think that the Khedive's exclusion from the post in question may, not unnaturally, have been regarded as a slight by himself and by his subjects which would not have been inflicted if the representatives of British rule in Egypt had tried to take into account the Egyptian point of view.

A somewhat similar disregard of the Khedive's personal position was displayed in Cairo on the occasion of the opening of the Port Soudan railway in 1907. To the best of my belief, though I have no authority for so saying, Lord Cromer deserves the credit of the virtual annexation of the Soudan to the British Empire under the Condominium, that is under the joint sovereignty of His Majesty the King of England and his Highness the Khedive of Egypt. I have always held him to have been the chief supporter, if not the originator, of this somewhat complicated arrangement, and I imagine that he was actuated by the conviction that under certain contingencies in the unknown future it might be advisable for England to have a recognised and indisputable footing on the confines of Egypt. If so he is fully entitled in this respect, not only to the gratitude of his country, but to the credit of high statecraft. In Egypt the arrangement was not popular, the more so as it imposed an annual payment of some 300,000*l.* on the revenues of Egypt for the administration of the Soudan, a remote country in which Egypt takes little interest and which is not likely to be able to contribute in any way to her wealth for many years to come. Moreover, there was then, and is still, a very prevalent sentiment amongst the Egyptian public that the object of the Condominium was not to benefit Egypt but to contribute to the grandeur and might of England. I should doubt this

sentiment being shared by the Khedive, as he is far too intelligent not to realise the great advantage to Egypt of being insured for the future against any possible recurrence of Dervish raids under some Mahdi or Khalifa of the future. I have little doubt also that his association with the King of England as his fellow Sovereign of the Soudan must have been gratifying to his personal self-respect. He is not likely, with his intimate knowledge of British policy in Egypt, to have imagined that his share in the administration of the Soudan would be more than nominal, and on that account he naturally attached the more importance to his titular rank as co-Sovereign with the King in their joint dominion. When the Port Soudan railway was sufficiently completed to permit of its formal opening, it was thought at the British Agency, which in those days regulated the affairs of the Soudan as well as those of Egypt, that there ought to be an official inauguration of the Port Soudan line which opened up direct railway communication between the Soudan and the Red Sea. It was generally expected that the Khedive would in the unavoidable absence of his fellow Sovereign be the leading personage in the State visit to the Condominium. But this expectation was not fulfilled. The arrangements for the State visit were conducted at the British Agency, and it was at once made known that the King of England would be represented at the Soudan by the British Consul-General and the Khedive of Egypt by the Sirdar.

I am well aware that there were many questions of precedence and etiquette as well as of a more material and commonplace character which may have actuated the British Agency in the decision come to in this matter, and I have no right to say that the decision was unwise or unjust. I cannot, however, but express my own opinion that the Khedive's non-inclusion in the State visit to the Soudan was an incident which required more explanation than has ever yet been given, and can hardly have failed to give unnecessary offence.

It may be said from an English point of view that such incidents as I have referred to are unworthy of serious consideration. But the Eastern point of view is entirely different from our own. Moreover, in countries where the titular Sovereigns have no individual rank, other than that conferred by the external recognition of their sovereignty, they are bound in their own interest to stand upon titular dignity.

If it is necessary, to use a French saying, 'to put the point upon the *l*,' it would have been well-nigh impossible for the dual rulers of Egypt to understand each other or to appreciate each other's merits or demerits. Apart from the fundamental differences between the East and the West, they were hardly in a position to regard each other justly. Lord Cromer, not unnaturally, never quite realised that the Prince—whom he had known as a lad, and who, in his opinion, had well deserved the rebuke administered to him in the early days of his

reign—had become a full-grown man, had studied carefully the conditions of his tenure of power, had acquired a personal insight into the sentiments entertained by his subjects, and was much more in touch with the beliefs and aims and ideas of Egypt of to-day than any British official, however highly placed and however great his experience, could ever hope to be. On the other hand, the Khedive had learnt to look upon our British Consul-General as a sort of overseer, always ready to find fault whenever the occasion arose, and to throw the responsibility of his own policy upon the shoulders of the Prince, though the latter had had no voice in its adoption. To speak the truth, the Viceroy looked upon our Consul-General very much as an ambitious Duke of Languedoc must have regarded his *Maire du Palais*. If this version of the respective attitudes of the Khedive and the British Consul-General is approximately correct it is easily intelligible why the relations between the British Agency and the Khedivial Court were never cordial and were generally strained. The vast Palace of Abdeen is nowadays never used except for State receptions. The lovely palace of Gesireh, which was the favourite residence of Ismail Pasha, was sold by the Commission of Liquidation and is now converted into an hotel, chiefly frequented by British tourists. It is reported that the chief consideration which caused his Highness to take up his abode at the suburban palace of Koubbeh on the borders of the Suez desert lay in the fact that it is five miles distant from the British Agency. Anyone acquainted with the East will have no difficulty in understanding that both the *de facto* and the *de jure* Courts of Kasr-el-doubara and of Koubbeh should have been the habitual resorts of two cliques of courtiers who were more Royalist than the King. The hangers-on of the two Courts were interested in earning the favour of their respective patrons. In consequence many arbitrary acts, which gave umbrage to honest public opinion in Egypt, owed their origin and their execution to the ill-regulated zeal of subordinate partisans.

So much for the past. All that remains to me is to say something of the future as modified by the final retirement of Lord Cromer from the post in which he has played so long and so conspicuous a part. The basis of the policy on which Egypt has been administered under Lord Cromer was the assumption that it lay in the power of England to depose the Khedive if he declined to follow the advice tendered him by our Consul-General at Cairo. In a certain sense this assumption was just. No sane person can doubt that, so long as Egypt is under our military occupation, we could depose and deport the Khedive by British troops, and, if we chose, declare a British Protectorate. But it is by no means clear that we are in a position to do so to-day. We could have done so without the risk of any intervention on the morrows of the battle of Tel el Kebir, of the victory of the Atbara, and of the capture of Khartoum, but I should hesitate to

affirm that we could rely nowadays on the tacit acquiescence of Europe in so high-handed an action. The Congress of Algeciras has decided that the Anglo-French agreement is invalid in respect of the proposal of a French Protectorate over Morocco; and the German Emperor, though he has expressed his cordial approval of the manner in which Great Britain has administered Egypt under our military occupation, has in no sense committed himself to a similar approval in the event of our wishing to make our occupation permanent. The old saying 'He who wills not when he may, when he wills he shall have nay' is one singularly likely to prove true in our relations with Egypt.

Even, however, if we dismiss the risk of foreign intervention as, not worth consideration, I am unable to see what we should gain if we deposed Abbas the Second, while I see very clearly what we might lose. So long as the Viceregal Throne is occupied by its lawful Sovereign, the Prince acts as a sort of buffer between the dominant Christian Power and the Mussulman State of Egypt. Some nine-tenths of the whole population of the Nile land are fervent, if not fanatical, followers of the Prophet, and under the nominal rule of the Prince, who is known to be a devout believer in Islam, his people are free from apprehensions that any measures will receive his sanction which might be incompatible with the laws, customs, usages and rules of Mahomedan life as ordained by the Koran. To take a case in point. The British authorities in Egypt have at last made up their minds, rightly or wrongly, to undertake the task of providing Cairo, at a huge expense, with a thorough system of water drainage. The population of the capital are absolutely indifferent to the advantages of water drainage. They object to the outlay which would be required for this purpose, and they bitterly resent the regular entrance of inspectors into private dwellings in order to ascertain whether the waterworks, drains and sinks are kept in order. But unless such inspection is allowed the experiment must prove an utter failure. It is obvious that the effectuation of this great sanitary reform would be greatly facilitated if the Khedive could be induced to give his individual sanction and support to the scheme in question. The same principle applies to scores of reforms which our British administration would like to see introduced into Egypt. To work with the co-operation of the Khedive or against his approval is tantamount to the difference between rowing with or against the current.

There are two illusions of the Cromerian era which should be dispelled if we wish to understand the Egyptian question. The first delusion is that the rank and file of the population are keenly alive to the oppression and extortion they suffered under Ismail's reign owing to his extravagance and his land hunger. We conclude that Egyptians must necessarily shrink with horror from the bare idea of

any restoration of similar oppression and would view the withdrawal of the British troops as a national calamity. I do not say that, as an Englishman in Egypt, I should not think that the protection of my life and property, subject to the same conditions as a native, as indeed I might be if the Capitulations should ever be abolished, my exemption from the Conscription and the Corvée, were amply sufficient to cause me to feel deep gratitude towards the administration under which I had become comparatively free, comfortable and prosperous. The absence of any gratitude for the material benefits they have derived from the British administration may indicate a mental delinquency on the part of the native population; but, however this may be, I—if I were a fellah born and bred—should entertain no personal gratitude for the amelioration of my condition under foreign rule, and should feel little or no personal resentment towards the memory of the first and greatest of the Khedives. Imagination exercises a far larger influence in the East than it does in the West, and the grandiose character of Ismail's projects, his passion for the acquisition of land, his gorgeous entertainments, his extension of his empire to the then unknown Dark Continent, and his reckless extravagance for the glorification of Egypt, as represented by himself, combined with his personal *bonhomie*, appealed to the imagination of an Oriental race, who, throughout ages of servitude, have always cherished the memory of the rulers under whom Egypt had played a leading part in the world's history. You must take men as you find them, and it puzzles me to understand how anybody knowing Egypt and the Egyptians could expect them, to use an Americanism, 'to enthuse' over the material benefits conferred upon them by a British administrator, who did not understand their language, who had no sympathy with their creed, their traditions and their ambitions, and who had not, and could not have, any hold upon their imagination.

If I have succeeded in making my meaning clear, the grave defect in the administration of our Pro-Consul was in the first place his inability to remain on friendly relations with the reigning Khedive, and in the second place his failure to secure the active co-operation of the Khedive in his projected reforms. His Highness is a man of exceptional intelligence, and is well-disposed towards England and the English. I can say also that, in as far as it is possible for an Oriental to understand the West, he has succeeded to a remarkable degree in appreciating the strength and the weakness of the British Empire as an Imperial Power. It would be unreasonable to expect him to be an enthusiastic advocate of our military occupation, but I am sure he is convinced that the idea of an independent Egypt is a chimera for many years to come, and that, this being so, the virtual protectorate of England is the best thing for Egypt as compared with the protectorate of any other European Power.

The above statement expresses in general terms the view which Abbas the Second is supposed by those most in his confidence to entertain concerning the British occupation, but on such a point absolute certainty is almost unattainable. In the East it is not the fashion, whatever it may be in the West, to wear your heart upon your sleeve, and in all Oriental Courts there exists a certain element of intrigue, about public as well as private affairs, which seems to my mind to be based on hereditary instincts. I allude to this aspect of Oriental character because the charge most frequently brought against his Highness by his hostile critics is that his views of the political situation in Egypt are often contradictory, according as they happen to be expressed to Englishmen or to his fellow countrymen.

By a curious concatenation of circumstances one of the most definite results of the Cromerian era in Egypt has been the restoration of the personal influence of the Khedive. The Egyptian public, however unjustly, never pardoned the readiness with which Tewfik Pasha apparently acquiesced in the military occupation of their country. In like fashion they were slow to overlook the promptitude with which Abbas the Second gave up his attack on Lord Kitchener as soon as the British Agency had expressed disapproval of his conduct. But when it came to the knowledge of the Egyptians that the Khedive was no longer a *persona grata* at the British Agency he rapidly recovered his lost influence with his own countrymen. It was hardly reasonable to expect that a very energetic, able and ambitious Prince, eager to take an active part in the administration of his own country, should acquiesce without an effort in his virtual exclusion from public life. For the reasons I have already indicated an *entente cordiale* could never be permanently established between Koubbeh and Kasr-el-Nil so long as so masterful a ruler as Lord Cromer held sway in Egypt. Obviously it was difficult for the Khedive to forfeit the influence he had acquired by his supposed sympathy with Nationalist ideas, unless he saw reason to believe that the policy of the British Agency was likely to be different from what it had been under our late Consul-General.

Under these circumstances the appointment of Sir Eldon may prove a benefit to both England and Egypt, which have a common interest in the cordial co-operation of the British and Egyptian authorities. He has had so far little or no opportunity of displaying administrative ability, or of formulating any policy distinct from that of his former chief. He has, however, succeeded already in securing the confidence of the Khedive, and has, I believe, done much to remove any suspicions which may have been entertained at home or in Egypt as to his good faith and loyalty. The Khedive, I fancy, is very willing to be the friend of England if England is willing to treat him as a friend; and his friendship may be of very considerable value to us at no distant period. The Khedive has never failed to

express his gratitude for King Edward the Seventh's courtesy and kindness, and for the pleasure he received from the courteous reception accorded to him in London when he was entertained at the Guildhall. His presence in London will do much to facilitate the discovery of a *modus vivendi* between the British and the Egyptian authorities under our military occupation. All I would venture to suggest now is that the necessary condition of any such arrangement must be based on the goodwill of the Khedive and his active participation in public affairs. Lord Cromer, Sir Eldon Gorst, and Sir Edward Grey are all high authorities on Egyptian politics; and all I need say is that so excellent an opportunity for coming to an Anglo-Egyptian cordial understanding is hardly likely to occur again.

EDWARD DICEY.

POVERTY IN LONDON AND IN NEW ZEALAND

A STUDY IN CONTRASTS

No one who has not experienced the effect of coming from the New World to settle in the Old World can quite appreciate the strong impression made by contrast between the social state left behind and that before our eyes. The outlines stand out in strong relief, while on the contrary, as long as we moved only in the surroundings to which we were habituated, we observed nothing but the details and even these only when they presented to our notice something new. There are two distinguishing characteristics of the Old World society which are often commented upon by Colonials; and these are conservatism of ideas and inequality of social condition. These two characteristics are at the bottom of the difference between the problem of poverty as it appears in the West End of London and as it appears in New Zealand. I have chosen these two places as extreme types of old and new civilisation. In the East End there is something like a frank reversion to barbarism, but the parasitism of the West marks it as more directly the product of an antique system. It is often said, 'But you have poor people in New Zealand, too, and the only real difference is that the colony has at present a small population.' This is nothing like an adequate explanation of the whole matter. The two points which deserve attention are first what constitutes the difference between the social condition of the lowest strata in the Old and the New Britain, and secondly whether these differences are in truth solely the result of size and age, or are likely to be permanent.

In part the difference lies in the prevalence of poverty and in part in its intensity and its contrast with luxurious extravagance. We in the 'Newest England of the South' have indigent and vicious persons, but we have not an immense mass born into want and depravity with scarcely any chance of rising beyond them. Roughly speaking, the abjectly poor amongst us are those exceptional persons who, through weakness or crime, or mere accident, have been thrown out of the track of decent living. But here there are miles of streets

inhabited by them alone ; miles of monotonous and featureless houses, dingy inferior shops and dreary wells of back yards, all ugly, featureless, and dull-coloured. Outside a few fashionable neighbourhoods of the West End, there is more poverty in proportion to the number of people, and much more in proportion to the square mile, than in any of our little colonial towns. The fact that there is on the other hand much greater wealth for the favoured few does not make the balance straight for the sufferers. It is just that contrast between say Piccadilly and the Euston Road, which is most saddening and most shameful. To walk from one to the other is to plunge from the extreme of exquisite and fantastic luxury to unresisting misery and depravity. In the one locality are women, the products of beauty culture, spending their lives in places of amusement, worn out often with what ought to be occasional relaxations, physically suffering from excess of self-indulgence, displaying incessant changes of summer finery or costly furs which will be thrown aside from mere caprice and restless love of novelty long before they are even damaged. In Regent Street and Bond Street unseasonable fruit raised with infinite pains and expense is sold for ten shillings or twenty shillings a pound, and there are costly confections and jellies and game to match the fruit. In other places, by no means the lowest parts of London, human bodies and souls are cheap. The clothing supplied is shoddy, the furniture ready to fall to pieces. The very sight and smell of the food are offensive. No such vile things can be found in the colony as those offered for sale in the purlieu of Bloomsbury. I have seen an indescribable grey-coloured substance sold as meat at fourpence a pound, and have heard of a butcher's shop in a southern suburb where two-pence halfpenny a pound is the regular price, though the fair price for decent English mutton is 1s. 2d. per pound. It is little to say that this cheap food is unfit for human consumption ; it is unfit for dogs. Stale fish and eggs and poultry, withered vegetables, decayed fruit, atrocious cheap cakes, all exposed for hours, perhaps days, to the taint of the city's malodorous dirt-laden atmosphere, are sold as a mere matter of course and without the slightest check. The beer and spirits which the over-worked and the workless alike consume in great quantities are of even worse quality than the provisions. This is the nourishment that produces those blotched and unhealthy faces and those figures so often distorted by disease or deformity. It is this miserable cheapness that dresses the men and women, even the young girls, in clothes that rot and discolour and hang in rags about their owners, making the streets an eyesore. Here the poor cannot have good plain living if they wish ; they must take the refuse from the markets of the rich. The better qualities are literally picked out for wealthy neighbourhoods. Some time ago the *Chronicle* published a witty article on 'The Food Area,' by a journalist who had discovered from experience that outside a certain radius in the

metropolis, a decent meal was not to be had at any price. Yet it is food that most of all forms the bodies of the people, and it is the people who form the nation. Worse even than the dearth of good things is the coarse and disgusting abundance of bad things. There is an impassable gulf between the habits, the feelings, and the character of those who inhabit Mayfair and those who dwell on the dreary borders of Regent's Canal. They have far less in common with each other than each has with foreigners of their own rank. Here Dives and Lazarus will never really meet face to face until they come together for the final judgment, when their sins and their merits may be balanced very differently from now. In our own country we are very often troubled and ashamed by cases of hardship and want, but when we come in view of London's nether world, it seems as if we had never seen real poverty before. Three winters ago, on visiting a charitable friend, I found her in deep distress at the suffering that had quite casually come before her notice. 'I cannot stay in this country,' she said; 'it is too dreadful to see what these people suffer, and to be able to do nothing for them.' And this was in Edinburgh, which has not the depth of misery there is in London. At the West End it is not horrors that are in evidence; when they exist, civilisation succeeds in keeping them out of sight. It is the grossness, the inferiority, the degradation of manhood and of womanhood that sicken the very soul to watch. It is not barbarism. Savages have primitive virtues that go some way towards compensating for the fierceness of animal instincts. But here there is a peculiar degeneracy, bred by an excess of material civilisation.

The problem of the unemployed and of the unemployable—all that great section of the unfit—has not yet been solved in any part of the earth. Though it is much worse in the great cities of Britain than elsewhere, it is not peculiar to them. What strikes a Colonial, more than the amount of actual destitution, is the mass of poor workers always on the verge of destitution, ready to sink into it at the first accident. Hundreds, indeed thousands, whom we should count as poor, are not reckoned so here. These are not paupers. They are merely the lower strata of the employed. They are far worse off than the corresponding class in the Colonies. They are wretchedly underpaid, their hours are longer and their wages lower. They have no margin to save from. It is often inaccurately said that, though wages are lower in England, money goes much farther. So far as the poor are concerned this is a fallacy. After observing the market prices in both countries, I am satisfied that good plain living is cheaper and more easily obtained in the Colonies. There is more variety to be had in London, and it is true that for people above a certain social level luxuries are much cheaper. But wholesome food and decency seem beyond the reach of the West End poor. To take a few examples; first-class meat such as day

labourers eat in the Colonies is at least double the Colonial price ; milk, bread, and eggs, taking a rough yearly average, about the same ; fresh fish decidedly dearer, vegetables, except potatoes, cheaper and more abundant ; so, too, is fruit. Clothing is cheaper here, though I have not found any such difference as is sometimes supposed. Rents, including rates and taxes, are far higher for decent rooms in decent neighbourhoods, and it is almost impossible to avoid some outlay on omnibus or train. But the curse of the London market is that cheap refuse which ought to be destroyed by sanitary inspectors, and which is generally the only kind of goods supplied to 'low neighbourhoods.' It would be good to see new fires kindled in Smithfield and other market places, to burn up, not heretics or treatises this time, but tons of provisions that are now sorted out for the sustenance of the workers.

There are deeper depths than any I have touched on yet, and these the New World does not yet know. We have not any class so low as the lowest in London. Some time before leaving New Zealand I spent a day visiting Burnham, the central Industrial School of the colony. The majority of the children looked healthy and fairly happy and decent, but amongst them was one undersized degenerate creature who seemed to belong to a race not quite human. The superintendent pointed him out and remarked, 'That boy is a London street Arab, you don't get that type here.' All Londoners know this savage of the slums who haunts the West as well as the East. The type may be uncommon, but it is only an extreme development of characteristics that are too frequently seen. Mr. Howells in a recent criticism says that the English aristocracy have distinction, but adds that distinction is one of the things for which the nation pays too dear. The heaviest price it pays is the physical, mental, and moral inferiority of the undistinguished mass. It is considered bad taste now to use the terms 'upper' and 'lower' classes or 'superior' and 'inferior' ; but it is no offence against taste to keep up irreconcilable class separation, and to assume all the superiority that was once frankly claimed. It would be better to drop the pretence of consideration and to say openly that the working classes are an inferior species of mankind. There is not enough independence and self-respect amongst subordinates. If they assert themselves, it is with insolence. The rich, for their part, are often in a spasmodic and uncertain way excessively generous, but they object to any appearance of equality. It is curious to hear employers without a sense of humour say, as a severe reproach, that their employes 'are getting so independent nowadays.' The idea of a fair bargain between master and man or between mistress and maid, in which the subordinates make their own terms, seems to the aristocratic mind absolutely farcical. The result is the parasitic dependency of the West End poor. Servants, landladies, charwomen, small shopkeepers and

tradesmen, porters and cabmen, are all underpaid, and they all compensate themselves by preying on every one who comes within their reach. In a legal sense, the lower-class Londoners are remarkably honest. There seems to be scarcely any downright robbery, but there is a universal system of cheating in petty ways, and of extorting extra money in the shape of tips, gifts, or doles of charity. In a new country it is much easier to have confidence and trust between different classes and to form sincere and equal friendships. But in England there is far too much charity from the higher to the lower ranks, and far too little justice. The masses, whether they have votes or not, are not truly represented in Parliament. Their interests are not in their own hands but in the hands of a governing class which has never shared their life, cannot understand their needs and views, and which feels itself to be and actually is of a different calibre. So long as this goes on there will not be radical reform. There will be nothing but more and more charity coupled with more and more pauperism.

Nothing can be more dissimilar than the temper of the average Englishman and of the average Colonial in approaching the great social problem. That there are saints on earth working amongst the London poor, every one knows, but the very greatness of their virtue is a proof of the great need that has called it out. Amongst the mass there is still a callous indifference to the sufferings of others. No one is more willing than the average Londoner to do an obliging act towards a fellow creature; no one is more determined not to sacrifice his own comfort or pleasure or advancement to save the most unfortunate from ruin. 'Each man eager for a place, doth thrust his brother in the sea.' One character, one career, one human life, counts for so little. There are so many other lives crowding all around. Tragedies are so common that they have lost their significance. The fortunate cannot help all, so they either help none or else give a little inadequate help to the most persistent.

Amongst the early settlers of a young colony there is a strong feeling of neighbourliness. When any sudden calamity befalls one of the community, friends are sure to come to the rescue and give the sufferer a fair chance of starting again. But in London the unfortunate have few or no friends. Here the battle of life is fiercest, and there is no quarter given. Nowhere else is success so successful, and failure so hopeless. In New Zealand, when the old intimacy and hospitality could no longer be universal, legislation was soon called in to supplement individual kindness. There has been plenty of humanitarian legislation in other countries, but the distinguishing feature in New Zealand is that it did not come so much from the benevolence of the richer towards the poorer, as from the active self-interest of the working classes. The man of the people works for the people in the Colonial Parliament, not because he pities them,

but because it is their power that put him in his place. The democracy are not led by big names or feudal traditions or by questions of foreign politics which do not concern them. They vote for the man whom they think likely to do the most for them, and when he is elected, they watch to see what he is doing. The roughest labourers and artisans show surprising shrewdness and information when it comes to a matter of regulating the conditions of labour or the incidence of taxation. A traveller will find on rugged back country, on sheep or cattle farms, amongst mining prospectors and tributers, amongst settlers and shearers, intelligence and practical ability of a far higher order than shows itself in most English villages. That is the main reason why our social outlook is brighter. The salvation of the poor lies with the poor themselves. If they do not help themselves, outside help will be useless.

We of the New World have been so often taunted with experimenting, that it is only fair we should explain our own point of view. The untravelled Englishman resents new ideas. Though he has not the least expectation of succeeding in dealing with poverty, he still continues in the old ways in which he has so long and so comfortably failed, and he regards with profoundest contempt the hope of succeeding by unorthodox methods. At the bottom of his soul he believes poverty to be one of the institutions of Providence. In the colony there is a resolute determination, as strong outside as inside the ranks of the Government, to establish sounder and more wholesome social conditions than those which have for centuries bred want and dependence and degradation. Socialist laws may fail, but behind the laws is the spirit of the people. All their best energies are given to the one task. Humanitarianism is with many Colonials a religion in practice, with some a popular sentiment to be exploited for their own benefit, but for all alike the main force in political and social life. Through all its experiments, the democracy has had one steady and consistent policy, and its objects have from the first been clearly conceived. An acute but by no means partial critic says of the New Zealanders: 'Au fond d'eux-mêmes on trouverait probablement cette idée que la politique après tout n'est pas chose si compliquée qu'on a bien voulu le dire et qu'il suffit d'un peu de courage et de décision pour accomplir les réformes dont la vieille Europe a si grande peur.' The best answer to this delicate piece of satire is that courage and decision have already accomplished great and sweeping reforms. There is something to be said for the 'Faith Cure' even for the worst diseases of the social body.

To sum up in one sentence: the cardinal difference between the problem of poverty in the Old World and in the New is that in the New World there is more hope and more ground for hope; in the Old it seems to a stranger all but hopeless. These views can claim only to be taken from the outside, and not from the inside of

London life. But outside impressions have their own uses. If I have seemed to describe the 'Cloudland' of the Antipodes as altogether Arcadian, I must admit that it wears this aspect only in contrast with the sin and suffering in the City of Dreadful Night. New Zealand is very far from having realised any Utopias, but it can justly claim to have refounded society on a sounder and more equitable basis, and in a cleaner and brighter moral atmosphere.

EDITH SEARLE GROSSMANN.



THE FORERUNNERS OF CHAMPLAIN IN CANADA

'HUMANITÉ, tu es quelquefois juste, et certains de tes jugements sont bons'—Renan's famous words rise involuntarily to the mind as the time approaches when representatives of great and powerful nations will meet at Quebec to do honour to the memory of Samuel de Champlain. In thus commemorating not only the founder of New France, but the tercentenary of the Canadian people, history renders justice—as in the long run is her habit—to a son the greatness of whose achievement has been lost in obscurity for many generations. Imagination is touched by the contrast between the arduous life and little recognised labours of Champlain, and that illustrious gathering at Quebec this summer, when the fruits of those labours will be set forth before the whole world. It was not given to Champlain to foresee the far-reaching results of his life's work; no factitious triumph insured an ephemeral popularity for him among the men of his own generation. Champlain, faithful servant of thankless kings, has no place among those fugitive figures of history whose fame burns up straw-like for a day, to be lost ever afterwards in darkness. There are heroes whose claims destiny would appear deliberately to overlook for a time, and the light of whose greatness rises but slowly above the annals of mankind. But such fame once achieved is eternal and is proof against the shocks of time and change. Posterity winnows finally the chaff from the grain, and in the end it is those who have sown in faith and truth who come again with joy and bring their sheaves with them. Among such men Champlain assuredly takes high rank. His life was not only strenuous but full of trial and disappointment. Fired with visions of a great transatlantic empire for France, his personal realisation of such a dream was confined to the establishment of one small settlement on the banks of the St. Lawrence, hard pressed between the inclemency of nature and the ferocity of man. But the measure of Champlain's vision was the measure of his service to New France, not that of his material achievement. When the ironclads of three great nations thunder forth salutes beneath the citadel of Quebec, they will testify to the ultimate triumph of that vision, if the manner of its fulfilment has changed in character. At the point where Champlain

cast anchor from his weather-beaten ship, and the little company of immigrants gazed with anxious hearts at the great precipice of Quebec; the leviathans of the deep, three centuries later, will assemble to acclaim the founder of the city and his inauguration of a work the magnitude of which no dream of his had ever compassed. Servant of France and of her kings, it is the heir of an Empire greater than any known to Champlain whose royal hand will lay the laurel wreath upon his unknown grave—lay it in the name of two great united races from whom a new nation has sprung.

Few chapters of history are more romantic than those which tell of the first discovery and colonisation of America; few, for some curious reason, are more unknown to the general reader. France, it must be owned, has done less than justice to the memory of the brave pioneer and adventurers who laid the foundations of French rule in Canada. French historians have devoted little attention to what, nevertheless, remains a striking and honourable page in their national annals. It is thanks to the brilliant pen of Parkman, an American, that the obscurity, in a large measure, has been dissipated into which such men as Cartier, Champlain, La Salle and Frontenac had been allowed to sink by their own countrymen. But Samuel de Champlain, though founder of the first permanent settlement in Canada, was not the original discoverer of the St. Lawrence. He possessed notable forerunners in the task of exploration, whose services are eminently worthy of recognition at a moment when public interest is centred on the dawn of Canadian history. It will be the object of the following article to sketch the life and work of those men who were distinguished figures in an earlier period of discovery, a period connected with vital issues in the development of human knowledge. The roots of Canadian history in reality go back much farther than the seventeenth century, and, like those of the whole American continent, lie deeply imbedded in the life and thought of contemporary Europe. Child of the Renaissance and the Reformation, two of the greatest movements which have vitalised history, to judge the New World in true perspective we must never lose sight of the mighty forces which stood around its cradle. If we would understand rightly the spirit brought by explorers and pioneers to their task, we must first realise the intellectual and political ferment of the age which gave them birth, an age of struggle, when obstinate questionings on either hand had resolved themselves into the fiercest convictions, political and religious.

• To what has been well termed the tree of genius in that Saturnian land, Italy, we owe the great explorers of the New World. The keen spirit of activity and research infused by the revival of learning into every branch of human thought and action, threw up, so to speak, travellers and adventurers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, no less than the masters of art, literature and science. Geographical discoveries entered into the *Zeitgeist* of the time, were part of its

splendid fruits. The bonds of the Middle Ages were burst, and man awoke to the existence of two vast new worlds—the inner kingdom of the mind and the great regions beyond the western seas. At the same time, the very gradual character of the discovery of America is a fact to be remembered. That discovery was no isolated or brilliant feat, for which exclusive glory must be claimed by one or two great names. It is nearer the truth to affirm that neither Columbus nor Cabot grasped the real magnitude of their own work, and had little idea that they had touched the shores of a new continent. The very name of the West Indies, and of the term Indian, as applied to the aborigines, proves the intense preoccupation of the early explorers with Asia rather than America. Columbus probably died in the belief that he had landed on the eastern coast of the former continent. Cabot was no less earnestly concerned with the search for Cathay. Long years were to pass before the physical character of the New World was in any sense grasped by its European discoverers, to whom the existence of a great barrier continent was an unthinkable idea. More than a century later we find the early French settlers in Canada labouring under the same Asiatic delusion—a delusion to which the name of a suburb of Montreal, *La Chine*, still bears witness. Whatever confusion, however, may have existed in the minds of the early navigators as to the actual goal they had reached, such confusion in no sense reflects on the fame which attaches eternally to the prosecution of their hazardous enterprises. The dying Beowulf speaks of the ‘sailors who drive from afar their tall ships through the mists of the ocean’—a fine, almost prophetic image of those dauntless seamen of the fifteenth century steering their frail vessels into the wastes of unknown waters.

The pre-eminence of Italy in the task of exploration is as undoubted as her pre-eminence in other matters during this brilliant epoch. In the study of scientific geography and cartography she had no equal. But it is a curious and suggestive fact, and one which illustrates strikingly the lack of any homogeneous national feeling among the Italian States, that Italy, numbering the most famous of the explorers among her sons, nevertheless sent no expedition to the New World. It was in the service of foreign princes and borne by alien keels that the intrepid Italians of the fifteenth century first touched the shores of America. Columbus and Cabot, natives of Genoa, found their patrons respectively in the monarchs of Spain and England, and their discoveries were the basis of Spanish and English claims in the New World. Similarly, the explorations of Verrazano, a Florentine, won fame for France; and to the services of Amerigo Vespucci, merchant of Seville and Pilot Major to his Most Catholic Majesty, the whole Western hemisphere bears witness by its name.

The final break-up of the Greek Empire in 1453, and the dispersion like winged seeds throughout Europe of that knowledge and civilisa-

tion which, even in the hour of decadence, found shelter at Constantinople, was an influence profoundly affecting the later Renaissance. It had an effect no less important upon geographical discovery and commercial development. The unconscious influence of the Turk upon the history of exploration is one of the most curious factors in the development of modern Europe. The practical closing of the great Eastern trade routes after the fall of Constantinople, the commercial paralysis resulting from the wave of barbarism which had submerged the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, forced merchants and traders to bend their energies to the discovery of fresh channels of commerce. With the Turk in victorious possession of the East the eyes of Europe began to turn eagerly to the West. The spirit of adventure was abroad; the adventurers themselves were at hand; it rested with the Turk to give a determining direction to their voyages. The discovery of the West Indies by Columbus in 1492 revolutionised the commercial venue of Europe. For the first time in history the centre of gravity shifted from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic Ocean. Little by little the commercial importance of the Mediterranean cities began to dwindle, while for the nations along the Atlantic seaboard, Spain, Portugal, France, England, a new era set in. Among the silent revolutions of history none has been more weighty in its consequences than this.

The part played by England in the early exploration of North America is somewhat insignificant, and bore no proportion to the ultimate influence she was to wield in the New World. A variety of reasons had combined to leave her in the rear of that great forward movement which marks the golden age of Portuguese and Spanish maritime discovery. At the close of the fifteenth century the country was in a state of political and economic exhaustion, thanks to the chaos resulting from the Wars of the Roses. Commerce, population and finances were at their lowest ebb. The first of the Tudors, a cautious, commercially minded monarch, was concerned primarily, and, be it added, rightly, with the restoration of law and order in his distracted realm. Henry the Seventh was in no sense attracted by adventure for the mere love of adventure. Like all the Tudors he excelled at a bargain, but his bargains were devoid of that touch of *panache* and genius which in Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth dignified and excused much royal huckstering. His services to the realm, nevertheless, were very great. By his restoration of order and settled government, even by the somewhat inglorious peace he effected, breathing-space was obtained, in which the country was able to make good the devastations of prolonged civil strife and to prepare for the struggles and triumphs of the coming century. Obviously, however, the Court of such a monarch, unlike those of Spain and Portugal, held out little encouragement to adventurers with schemes for the discovery of Cathay. Hence Henry the Seventh turned a deaf ear to the proposals of

Columbus when the latter, in search of a patron, made overtures that his American enterprise should be undertaken under the protection of the English king. But, in spite of so many inauspicious omens, the destiny of England bore her forward at this moment. To her, in whose hand lay the future sovereignty of North America, the glory of the first discovery of the mainland was not denied, even though her eyes were long holden to the true bearings of that discovery.

The success of Columbus in 1492, and the stories at once set on foot of fabulous wealth in these new regions, encouraged Henry to listen with more attention to the schemes of John Cabot, born a Genoese, but a naturalised Venetian, who in the last decade of the fifteenth century appears to have settled with his wife and family at Bristol. Bristol in the fifteenth century was one of the most important cities in England. What maritime enterprise the country possessed at this time—and it was at a low ebb—found its headquarters on the Bristol Channel. The fishermen of this district were known as a hardy and a courageous race, and the rank and file of American exploration was for many years recruited among them. It was a Bristol ship manned by Bristol seamen that first cast anchor on the shores of the American mainland, five years after the discovery by Columbus, far to the south, of the outlying islands, and more than a year before his subsequent voyage to Venezuela. English and Italians, between whom in latter days so close a tie of sympathy exists, will remember gladly that an Italian led an English company on the initial stages of a great destiny, and that the Lion of St. Mark floated by the Cross of St. George when the symbol of British rule was first raised on the shores of Canada.

History has preserved but meagre accounts of the voyages of the Cabots. Their significance and importance were but little appreciated in the England of the day. In March 1496 Henry the Seventh granted a patent to John Cabot and his sons to undertake a voyage for the discovery of Cathay and the countries of Northern China. The agreement between the English monarch and the Italian adventurers was one of those characteristic bargains at which the Tudors excelled. The Cabots took all the risk and the King graciously shared the profits. In May 1497 Cabot set forth on his perilous journey from the port of Bristol. His vessel was of that minute tonnage common enough in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but appalling to the imagination of latter-day travellers who have experienced Atlantic storms on a modern Atlantic liner. The *Matthew*, Cabot's ship, registered 60 tons and she carried a crew of eighteen men. How these small and often untrustworthy vessels ever came to their journey's end must remain one of the standing marvels of exploration. The women of the period must, indeed, have required stout nerves to endure the disappearance for months and years of those dear to them, and the absolute silence in which their perilous

ventures were shrouded. Mr. Dawson, in his exhaustive and scholarly work on the *St. Lawrence*,¹ points out how much greater were the difficulties which beset the task of Cabot even than those which had fallen to the lot of Columbus. Columbus had the immense advantage of sailing in fair weather latitudes, where night by night the stars rose in a clear sky. Cabot, on the contrary, following a northerly course, found himself in a region of stormy seas, thick fog, and adverse winds. Both men alike steered by the compass, but the greater variation of the magnetic needle in northern as compared with southern latitudes was not as yet calculated, and this fact must have added a fresh element of perplexity to Cabot's task. In spite of all difficulties, however, the *Matthew* beat her way steadily across the Atlantic in the space of about fifty days. Authorities have differed as to the exact point on the Canadian shore which marks Cabot's landfall, but the latest evidence points to the eastern coast of Cape Breton Island, a beautiful and fertile portion of the present Dominion of Canada. The climate is extremely temperate for so high a latitude, and Cabot must have arrived at the height of the brief but beautiful Canadian summer. The mildness of the summer climate no doubt served to confirm him in the delusion that he had reached the shores of Cathay, that land of marvels which Marco Polo at an earlier date had described to an astonished Europe. Satisfied on so important a point, Cabot, whose first voyage was nothing but a reconnoitring cruise, set sail and hurried back to England. He was welcomed by the nation after a prosperous and rapid return journey with real enthusiasm. The imagination of even Henry the Seventh was stirred by the prospect of a new trade route to China, and money and honours were conferred on the successful explorer.

Cabot's hour of triumph was doomed to be but brief. An expedition of five armed ships, to which the king contributed, sailed from Bristol the following spring, the London merchants sending stores of goods, including silks and laces, with which they aspired to open up a profitable trade with the inhabitants of Cathay. Expectation ran high as regards this expedition, but its fate is shrouded in complete mystery. It is not supposed that actual disaster overtook the ships, but that the venture ended in an absolute fiasco from a commercial point of view is certain. Cabot must have pursued a more northerly course than on his first voyage. The scanty references to this abortive enterprise in the literature of the period speak of the icebergs and icefields in which his ships were involved. After skirting the shores of Labrador he would appear to have turned south, followed the coast as far as the 38th parallel, and then returned to England. We know no details of that homecoming, the anger of the disappointed merchants, the probable wrath of the king. The expedition simply disappears without comment from English history, and with it John

¹ *The Saint Lawrence Basin*, by Samuel Edward Dawson.

Cabot vanishes entirely from view. Sebastian Cabot, his son, held high rank in the naval service, first of Spain, and then of England, but as to the fate of his illustrious father contemporary records are silent.

Thus in gloom and disappointment ended the preliminary venture of England in the New World. The mood of the people, as already stated, was thoroughly unheroic at this moment. The gentlemen adventurers of a later date were yet unborn, and the nation, crippled by long and exhausting civil strife, was in no condition to prosecute hazardous enterprises the benefits of which were doubtful. The first-fruits of Cabot's great discovery fell to the ground unheeded, and the prize won back eventually through fire and sword was doomed to pass for nearly three hundred years into the keeping of France. This period of maritime depression in England was but brief. The vigorous national consciousness given to their country by Henry the Eighth and his great daughter little by little redressed the balance, and brought the English navigators into the front rank. For the moment, however, the laurels of discovery pass elsewhere, and the golden age of Elizabethan adventure is not concerned with Canada, but found its theatre far to the south.

Expeditions to the New World undertaken by Portuguese, by French, and by Spaniards had followed closely on the wake of Cabot's discovery. Some of these voyages were private ventures, some were undertaken under royal charter; all practically were haunted by visions of the much-sought-for North-West Passage. These royal expeditions bore useful fruits of a geographical character, but commerce rather than the caprice of kings was pushing the task of exploration in North America. Newfoundland was the point round which it centred. The name *Bacallaos* (stockfish) applied to the island by the early navigators at once explains the presence of fishermen in this locality. The Newfoundland fisheries have been famous from the first moment of American discovery and played a great part in the opening up of the continent. The waters swarm with codfish, and in the days of a Catholic Europe, when the fasts of the Church were strictly kept, the demand for dried fish was considerable and created a most profitable trade. These fisheries were first opened up by Portuguese and Breton sailors; but the navigation laws of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth prove that these monarchs were soon alive to the importance of pushing British trade in this part of the world. In a statute of Elizabeth's reign we can almost catch the ricochet of the religious disputes of the time, when her Majesty prescribes that the fleet shall eat fish twice a week for the benefit of the fishing trade, adding, however, with Tudor peremptoriness, that any person daring to connect the eating of fish with the service of God would be most severely punished. The marvellous wealth of the sea was a prize for which all nations strove alike off the Newfoundland shores, and by the middle of the sixteenth century we find the banks frequented by English sailors

no less than by Portuguese, Spanish, Breton, Basque and Norman fishermen. Fierce strife reigned as a normal condition of affairs between the various fishing fleets. Probably no one particular bone of international contention has maintained its character unimpaired for so many centuries as that of the Newfoundland fisheries. They enter history in an atmosphere of broil and disturbance, and for centuries they have proved a fruitful source of discord to all the nations concerned. Treaty after treaty has dealt with the subject, but to this hour they remain a very difficult element in the threefold relations of England, Canada, and the United States.

To the Newfoundland fisheries, therefore, we must look for the causes which encouraged and stimulated the American voyages of the sixteenth century. The yearly cruises of the fishing vessels, the tales of strange lands brought back by the hardy mariners, created an atmosphere which, especially in England, harmonised well with the new temper of the people. The Reformation was abroad, and the strong religious and political feeling of Elizabeth's age caught and reflected the enthusiasm of the merchant adventurers. The struggle against Rome involved the struggle against Spain, her handmaid, and Spain was at that moment incomparably the most wealthy and prosperous of American Powers. The harassing of Spanish Catholic colonies was, therefore, an obvious policy for a Protestant maritime nation whose very existence was at stake. Hence the increasing preoccupation of England with the New World as her maritime power and her national consciousness soared into being together. But, thanks to the struggle with Spain, the thoughts of England were diverted during the Elizabethan age far from the shores of New England and Canada, to the West Indies and southern portions of the continent, where Philip and his viceroys held sway. France, accordingly, with whom the real struggle for supremacy finally was to be waged in the New World, established herself quietly on the shores of the St. Lawrence without opposition of any kind.

France had entered the field of exploration with the voyage of Verrazano in 1524. Francis the First was in no way minded that his country should be wholly passed over in the race for the New World. Brilliant, dissolute, fickle, proof against the promptings of that spirit of British respectability which possibly may have inspired Henry the Eighth's spasmodic and unsatisfactory ventures in holy matrimony, Francis the First was, nevertheless, a true patron of art and letters, and his Court was a centre of learning and culture in Europe. His lifelong enmity with Charles the Fifth turned his thoughts to the New World, whence the Spanish monarch was deriving so much of wealth and prestige. 'God,' so the King declared caustically, 'had not created America for Castilians alone,' a judgment which history has fully ratified. Verrazano, therefore, on behalf of Francis the First, went forth to confound the Emperor by the discovery of the North-

West Passage, and his exploration of the American seaboard added much to the geographical knowledge of the day. Verrazano was eager to follow up his first voyage, but the moment was thoroughly inauspicious. In 1524 Francis was involved in the humiliations and disasters of the Italian campaign, culminating in his defeat and capture at Pavia. Verrazano disappears from the scene during the confusion and exhaustion of this period, and ten years later the transatlantic enterprise is resumed by that first pioneer of France in the New World, to whom belongs the honour of the discovery of the St. Lawrence.

With Jacques Cartier the exploration of Canada assumes a definite aspect. Not even the greater fame of Champlain should obscure our admiration for this gallant Breton sailor, in whom courage, simplicity, and modesty united to form a character of a singularly attractive nature. From the beginning we find France sending forth two distinct classes of Canadian explorers: on the one hand, worthless courtiers, vain, idle, profligate, reared in the atmosphere of a corrupt Court, and proving a source of unmixed mischief to every expedition with which they were connected; on the other, those sturdy sailors and adventurers who laid the foundations of New France, and live in history as admirable examples of all that courage and heroism can effect. Many high-born and gallant gentlemen, it is true, went forth in the service of France, and have left distinguished names in Canadian administration. But the professional courtier of the period is one of the most despicable types in history, and the interference of such men from first to last in Canadian affairs brought nothing but ruin and trouble on the struggling settlements.

Jacques Cartier was born at St. Malo in 1491. He was a navigator of tried experience when, in 1534, he set sail for Canada, holding a royal commission. As France began to recover from the exhaustion of the Italian wars, schemes of American exploration were pressed upon Francis the First by Philip de Chabot, Admiral of France, a high-spirited noble and an intimate companion of the king. De Chabot was fired with the idea of French colonies established in America as a counterpoise to the influence of Spain, and in Cartier he found a suitable agent for so great an enterprise. Cartier's first expedition to Canada, which was but a reconnoitring cruise, consisted of two small ships and a company of sixty-one men. Needless to say that, like his predecessors, the great prize on which the leader's hopes were set was the discovery of the North-West Passage. No previous navigator had more solid grounds than Cartier for believing that he had solved the mystery. Sailing to Newfoundland, he passed through the Straits of Belle Isle and made a complete circle of the St. Lawrence gulf, landing on Gaspé, where he raised the *Fleur-de-lis*. Misled by Anticosti, he appears to have turned north without actually entering the river itself; but little wonder if his hopes ran high at the

discovery of this great waterway to the west, obviously leading into the interior of the continent. The season was too far advanced to admit of further exploration, and Cartier, favoured by westerly winds, made a rapid journey back to France and laid his report before the Court. The scale of the second expedition proves the attention paid to his story by Philip de Chabot and the king.

Cartier's second voyage to Canada, in 1535, is the one with which his fame is principally concerned. First of all Europeans he pushed his way westwards from the lower waters of the Gulf along the actual stream of the St. Lawrence. Cartier's route is that practically traversed by the mail steamers of to-day, and it is one of the most interesting in the world. The St. Lawrence route is eminently the pathway to be followed by all pilgrims who journey for the first time to America. From the moment the Straits of Belle Isle are sighted the traveller is in touch with islands, lands and seas famed in story, and to which the roll-call of both French and British fame bears witness. Cabot, Frobisher, Humphrey Gilbert, Davis, Henry Hudson, are names which rise involuntarily to the memory as the eye rests to the right on the bleak coast of Labrador, and to the left on the famous French shore of Newfoundland. The great waterway itself is no less dignified by memories of the dauntless Frenchmen who won for France an empire in the West, memories Englishmen in these latter days are proud to incorporate with their own in the traditions of a joint people. Whoever has sailed past the peninsula of Gaspé, with its white houses and wooded hills, gazed on the sombre portals of the Saguenay, where the gulf yields place to the river proper, felt in the night the mysterious welcome of a new land as the St. Lawrence bears him right into the heart of an unknown continent, finally awoke at dawn to see the citadel of Quebec revealed by the morning light, has enriched his memories by one of the greatest experiences in travel.

Cartier's second expedition, consisting of three ships, provisioned for a cruise lasting more than a year, excited the keen hostility of the St. Malo merchants. Royal expeditions to Newfoundland waters were little to their mind, when royal rapacity, as they shrewdly guessed, might result in royal absorption of a lucrative private trade. Cartier, however, was not a man to be turned from his purpose by commercial intrigues, and with the King's commission at his back and de Chabot's support he bore down all obstacles. The expedition, fated to play so great a part in the destinies of France, sailed from St. Malo on the 19th of May 1535. Cartier with all his company had assembled first in the grey, weather-beaten cathedral to receive the Sacrament and the episcopal blessing. A devout Catholic, the simple faith of this brave sailor is an outstanding feature in his character, and one all the more refreshing in an age when religious fervour was generally allied with religious bigotry.

Cartier met with bad weather : his vessels were dispersed by violent

gales; but all three eventually reached the rendezvous off the Straits of Belle Isle. Cartier hugged the Labrador shores, and on the 10th of August ran for shelter against contrary winds to a land-locked harbour opposite Anticosti. It was the festival of St. Lawrence, and the name given by Cartier in honour of the day to his harbour of refuge gradually extended to both gulf and river. From two Indians met at Gaspé the previous year, who acted as guides and pilots to the present expedition, Cartier learnt that a great river, called the Hochelaga, led into the interior of the continent, and that three 'kingdoms'—tribal hunting-grounds were the better name—Saguenay, Canada and Hochelaga, lay along its banks. Canada is a Huron Iroquois word signifying town, and the Canada of Cartier's narrative was a district comprising an Indian village named Stadacona, on the site of Quebec, Hochelaga being situated where Montreal now stands. It will be seen in how haphazard a manner the Dominion has acquired its name and that of its great river. The generic word applied to the Indian encampment near Quebec, for some unknown reason, became extended over the whole country, in the same way as the Labrador harbour gave its name to the St. Lawrence.

Cartier sailed up the river to the Isle of Orleans, and Canada in the early days of September smiled her fairest at him. The beauty of the vegetation, the green meadows and lofty trees, all these things must have rejoiced the hearts of the wanderers as the great rock of Quebec finally came into view. Cartier decided to pass the winter at Quebec, and a camp and stockade were built on the St. Charles River, which falls into the St. Lawrence at this point. Friendly relations were established with the Indians and their chief Donnacona. The success of France in dealing with the aboriginal tribes of North America, and the humanity generally shown by her pioneers in all their relations with the natives, is a remarkable feature of French colonial history. It is to the eternal honour of France that she showed more sympathy towards these hapless races, and won their confidence and affection in a way which has no parallel among the other European colonists, the followers of Penn excepted. Cartier was anxious to pursue his explorations higher up the river and to visit what the Indians called the 'great town' of Hochelaga. On the 2nd of October his little company reached the Indian hamlet, now covered by the site of Montreal. The journey up the St. Lawrence had necessarily proved in a measure one of disillusion to Cartier, for on reaching fresh water his hopes of the North-West Passage, which had run high in the lower gulf, naturally were shattered. We find, however, that the idea of the North-West Passage in a slightly changed form is at the root of all exploration for many years to come. As little by little hope of a direct saltwater route to China was abandoned, a navigable river flowing by an easy course to the western coast of America was sought after with no less diligence.

Cartier landed at Hochelaga, and was received by the Indians with that touching faith and confidence usually extended by the aboriginal tribes to the first advent of the white man. How shameful in most cases was the betrayal of that trust is an ugly page in the history of exploration, on which no European can care to dwell. France, at least in the first instance, is free from this reproach. Cartier visited the native town and was received as some semi-divine personage. The inhabitants crowded round him, entreating that he would touch their sick and suffering and so cure them of their ills. Religion was no matter of state obligation or superstitious observance in this Breton sailor, but the active principle of his life. Moved with infinite compassion for these poor people, he fell on his knees and prayed devoutly for their welfare, before reading aloud to them certain portions of Scripture. For the first time the great and mysterious words of the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel were heard on Canadian soil, and Cartier in his simple way went on to expound the Passion of the Saviour to the silent and attentive natives. 'It was a happy augury for the fair city of future years,' writes Mr. Dawson in the work to which reference has already been made, 'that the opening words of St. John's Gospel and the recital of the Passion of our Lord inaugurated its appearance on the field of history. Might it perchance be that some charm lingered on the slopes of Mount Royal and spread up the diverging streams of the great valley, for in all that land persecution has never reared its hateful head, and there are no arrears of religious violence and bloodshed in its history to be atoned for.'

Cartier, like all tourists who have succeeded him, ascended the mountain at the base of which was situated the Hochelaga of the sixteenth century and Montreal now stands. Montreal, like Quebec, is fortunate in its natural scenery. The view from the hill to which Cartier gave its name of 'Royal' is superb, ranging from the Laurentian mountains on the north to the Adirondacks to the south. A busy scene of life and commerce now animates the banks of the stately river, but Cartier looked north, south, east and west on nothing but vast, illimitable forests, the desolate, impenetrable character of which not even the glorious colouring of a Canadian autumn could wholly dispel. Sixty years were to pass before Samuel de Champlain gazed from the same spot over the great wastes of the unknown exterior—sixty precious years lost to France owing to the devastating wars of religion in which the nation was now engulfed. Had Cartier's journey of exploration been followed up at the time (as he hoped) by a definite scheme of colonisation, the French would have established themselves in Canada nearly two generations ahead of the British in New England. What that advantage might have meant to France in the closely contested struggle for supremacy with Great Britain can only remain now as a conjecture of incal-

culable importance. But the gods decreed otherwise. The opportunity was allowed to slip. Cartier's schemes were abandoned, and the first permanent British settlement at Jamestown, in 1607, was to coincide almost to a year with Champlain's first permanent settlement at Quebec in 1608.

Cartier returned immediately to his camp on the St. Charles River, for the season was too far advanced to admit of a lengthy stay at Hochelaga. The rigours of a Canadian winter now set in, and the sufferings of the intrepid band were severe. It was with a sadly diminished company that the leader sailed for France early in May, and nothing but disappointment awaited him on his return. It is impossible not to regret the one blemish on Cartier's record in Canada—his abduction of Donnacona, monarch of the wigwams of Stadacona, and that of the other Indians, who were carried off to France for the benefit of the King's curiosity and to illustrate the story. These men were kindly treated and their bodily no less than their spiritual needs well cared for. It was Cartier's full intention to restore them to their homes the following summer; but political strife in France postponed his next voyage to Canada for five years, and in the interval all the unfortunate Indians perished.

Cartier's third journey to the St. Lawrence ended disastrously. Like many a brave man before and after, he was doomed to see the fruits of his labours dissipated by the caprice of a monarch and the ignorance of a favourite. Philip de Chabot had fallen into disgrace, and when, in 1541, Francis turned his thoughts once more to the colonisation of Canada, it was to place Cartier under the orders of an ignorant and reactionary nobleman, who was given charge of the expedition. The Sieur de Roberval sallied forth to found a colony, his complete incapacity for any such task fortified by the grandiloquent titles of Lord of Norambedo, Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpent, Labrador, the Great Bay and Baccalaos. But colonisation is too stern a matter to be compassed by titles, however lofty. Cartier's commission was revoked, and Francis, in a burst of generosity, placed the scourings of the state gaols at Roberval's disposal; 'pitiful rascals,' who put us in mind of Falstaff's famous defence of his disreputable band. With such a *personnel* the expedition was foredoomed to failure. Cartier, who had been sent on ahead to Canada, flung up his work at an early date and returned full of mortification and disgust to France. With the departure of the one capable man qualified to lead the expedition Roberval's luckless colony was soon overtaken by disaster. He reached Canada with a company of 200 people, including women and children, no less than gaol birds, soldiers, and well-born adventurers. Roberval himself was a type of the French nobleman already referred to—harsh, autocratic, imperious, and withal devoid of the smallest colonising instinct, from whose maladministration Canada in years

to come was to suffer much. The expedition disembarked at Cap Rouge, a point some miles above Quebec. Being badly provided with the elementary requirements of colonists in a strange land, the sufferings of the unhappy immigrants were terrible. One-third of the company perished from scurvy, and after a winter of misery the emaciated survivors found their way back to France the following year, such energy as their wretched bodies still possessed being devoted to shaking the dust of the New World off their feet.

With this fiasco French colonisation in America collapsed for many years to come. Where Cartier had failed Champlain was to succeed, and it is a happier chapter of history which reopens in 1604 with his first Canadian colony, not on the St. Lawrence, be it noted, but in Acadia. Cartier, it appears, lived for many years at St. Malo, a popular, honoured citizen, sharing heartily in the life and simple pleasures of his birthplace. His portrait hangs in the town hall of the old Breton port, and though modern criticism has thrown doubts on its authenticity, visitors to St. Malo probably prefer to think that the canvas with the keen, watchful face and steady eyes preserves the lineaments of the famous navigator to posterity. Canada was fortunate in the character of her early explorers, of whom the brave and simple Cartier is a fine example, and the celebrations at ~~Quebec~~ this summer have a special value in bringing before modern Canadians a fuller realisation of their own possessions in this respect. We the Mother Land recognise with gratitude our obligations to Saxon and Norman and Dane in the making of the race; and Canada, too, can point with pride to a national life all the richer because drawn from the sources of more than one great nation. The band of gallant adventurers, well termed by Parkman the forest chivalry of New France, have enriched the Dominion by traditions valuable in the life and development of a young country. A national heritage to safeguard becomes a shrine whence men may seek inspiration when hard pressed by the idols of the market-place. But Canada as she praises famous men will not forget the services of John Cabot, who first drew the veil from her unknown shores, and not even the greater lustre of Champlain should wholly dim the fame of Jacques Cartier, first pioneer of France in the New World and discoverer of the St. Lawrence.

VIOLET R. MARKHAM.

L' ITALIA FA DA SE

SIXTEEN years ago there appeared in the pages of this Review an article entitled '*L' Italia non farà da se.*' A member of the Italian House of Lords put forward, in a valuable pamphlet, reasons for disagreeing with this conclusion, and forwarded his pamphlet to every member of the Upper House. He was not very sanguine, and indeed at that date there was no possibility of being sanguine; and he finished somewhat in the conditional mood. His conclusion was, in fact, that if only a kind Providence would send Italy a good financier, '*grideremmo in barba al signor inglese, "L' Italia fa da se."*'

The act of penance may sometimes be agreeable; it is so in this case. It is with the greatest pleasure that I give the Senator and all his brother peers who may think me worthy of their attention the fullest permission to '*gridermi in barba "L' Italia fa da se."*' Not that there was a word to withdraw in the article; but there was much to add if any one had known it. Nor was the Senator right in praying for a heaven-born financier. Italy needed no miracles, as we shall see; but it would not be possible to arrive at the present conclusion without a good many years of study, observation, and reflection. Those conditions being fulfilled it remains to state the conclusion, and, at the risk of being wearisome, to give reasons for that conclusion.

Bankrupt municipalities, ruinous finances, an emigrant population, languishing trade, absurd adventures abroad, a disordered currency, an unsound legal system, railways idiotically mismanaged, an enormous army, grinding taxes, a wholly unnecessary quarrel abroad, and a wholly unprofitable alliance to balance it—these things, combined with a notable lack of discernible capacity in public life, spell ruin. At least they would have spelt ruin in any other country but Italy at the close of the nineteenth century. In that country and period all these symptoms, which appeared to be so grave in 1892, were hardly more than the process of desquamation after the fever of 1848-70.

We may profitably begin with matters of detail; and, through them, approach more serious reflections. One well-kept horse does not imply much, but a thousand well-kept horses imply a good deal. If one never sees an ill-kept horse, or one with a sore, or over-worked,

the conclusion is not only that there is a great improvement in the horses, but also that there is a great improvement in the drivers and owners. The chubby, active little animals squealing with beans and fun are a pleasure to look at. Their gay harness tells of the driver's love for his beast; their willing paces testify, perhaps, to the activity of the S.P.C.A. But whatever the cause, there is the result; the very donkeys look as if they were enjoying their day's work. All this is nothing less than a transformation scene. The traditional beast of burden, ghastly with sores, and worked to a skeleton by his light-hearted tyrant, is as much of the past as the brigand of tradition.

Railways impress the traveller most; and here, again, we have another transformation scene. How well one remembers a feed of fried octopus and red ink at Castellamare Adriatico twenty years ago—

. . . a base repast;
It makes me angry yet to think of it.

Not that red ink and fried octopus is more loathsome in reality than many a feed wherewith the traveller is punished and plundered in rural England; but this was thought good enough for an important train, officially styled an express, and fitted with steam ~~locomotives~~ ^{locomotives} would not work, broken windows, and hot and cold water supply, all the taps of which were broken, for which fraud one paid heavily and was conveyed at the rate of about fourteen miles an hour.

All this is swept away. Modern Italy does not waste much on rolling stock, but what there is is sound and fairly comfortable.

There are no sensational runs, but one reaches Naples from Rome in a little over four hours (about 150 miles), and is admirably served on the way. Not even the Canadian Pacific, that model for all railways, is more attentive and efficient. One hears a great deal about pilfering on Italian railways. For the sake of the experiment I sent my kitbag unlocked from Naples to Rome. It arrived untouched. One strong administrative order has sufficed to stop this abuse. Why not have issued the order earlier? is a natural inquiry, the answer to which is a matter of Italian history.

If the great lines were badly served in days gone by, the profits derivable from local traffic were almost completely neglected. To-day by the simple expedient of lowering the fares the traffic in the neighbourhood of great towns is hugely multiplied, to the vast profit of the line and the pleasure of the public; and this is but the A B C of administration. But then there was a time not so long ago when it seemed as if the Italian declined to learn the A B C of administration.

Wherever we turn we see the same tendency. Everywhere is change, sometimes change of lightning rapidity, sometimes change so deliberate that we wonder if the abuse is really observed. That is, we should wonder if we had not already learnt the mistake of sup-

posing that Italians were indifferent because they were slow in taking action. Nowhere is stagnation, everywhere more happiness—an air of composure, as of contented people in settled conditions, as indeed the Italians are. The very beggars at the door of S. Lucia have the air of pursuing their calling as amateurs. The once verminous ‘Villa’ is charming and gay; the reasons for having only marble seats exist no longer.

‘Resolute profundity’ is the temper in which the Royal House entered on its gigantic and heroic task of making Italy; the same spirit prompted the purchase of the field of Cannae. We shall understand nothing thoroughly in modern Italy unless we keep in mind the leadership of the House of Savoy, unless we remember that other, and more significant ‘Risorgimento,’ the resurrection of the monarchical idea. Some history, if tedious, is indispensable.

Of course the institution is eternal, and will outlast all temporary expedients, but it will be subject to occasional occultation, and in our time 1848 was its abject nadir. 1848 was also the darkest hour of Italy. The resurrection of Italy and the Monarchy (the two are inseparable) began with the sublime abdication of Charles Albert. This is an uplifting memory. This is an age devoted to mediocrity instead of having no standard of behaviour but a commercial standard. Naturally the vulgar denounced the King for ‘running away,’ it being incomprehensible to them in their ignorance that any man should give up anything. It is cheering to remember that it did not matter what the vulgar and ignorant said. The act was itself noble; and being done in the grand manner that the House of Savoy commands it struck the heroic note—the note that dominated Italian public life for twenty-two years. The Romans do well to inscribe on his statue—

Il popolo Italiano riconoscente.

If the broken-hearted King had prophesied to his son on the night of Novara the course of the next twenty-two years, it must certainly have been said of him that misfortune had driven him mad. Thrown into the form of an ancient vaticination, history would have been thus foretold: ‘Thou shalt drive forth the Hapsburg, the Bourbon, and the Bonaparte; kings shall flee from before thy face, and thou and thy son and thy son’s son shall dwell in the city of Rome for ever and ever.’

With Radetzky (aged 89) and Ward, the Cavour of Absolutism (aged thirty-nine), in the full tide of success such an outpouring would have sounded like sheer insanity, whereas in fact it was but the barest outline of the triumph of the monarchy. The work of Victor Emmanuel and his successors has two epochs. The first is the epoch of heroic endeavour, for which heroes were needed and were forthcoming. The second epoch is the period of business; for which, at

first, business men were not forthcoming. The first epoch closed in 1870; the second, and far greater, task had to be faced. This task was nothing less than to make the nation; to undertake huge administrative labours without administrators, and to carry out great public works by the agency of men wholly strange to sound traditions of public life. This explains why the article '*L' Italia non farà da se*' was a false prophecy. The statistics were correct; and they lied as only statistics can lie; they even corresponded at the moment with the facts of life; but the facts were the facts of a transitory stage of the nation's life and not the symptoms of its permanent condition.

Leaving these considerations for the moment let us very briefly consider the heroic period; we shall then be able to understand the well-nigh overwhelming difficulties which beset the Monarchy after 1870. Radetzky could not live for ever; Ward was summarily dismissed by the Duchess Regent, and died four years later: the rise and collapse of the farcical Roman Republic was a set-off to these advantages. The year succeeding Ward's death saw the alliance with Imperial France; and the campaign of Solferino was followed, as we all remember, by the downfall of the Duchies and the disappearance of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In another ~~year~~ ^{year} the acquisition of Venice, and in yet another four the entry of Italian troops into Rome. These epochs of intense and dramatic life lasted a very short time. A young officer who smelt powder for the first time on the field of Novara would hardly have been in command of a regiment by September 1870.

These years are the record of a number of lugubrious prophecies, and of their falsification. Thus it was said that the House of Savoy 'would never' recover from Novara, or supplant the Austrians, or absorb Central Italy. Even Cavour was concerned at the rapidity with which his master's responsibilities increased when Naples and Sicily were added to the Italian kingdom. Savoy rose easily to this as to every other responsibility. In no single case were the prophets of evil so vociferous as in the case of Rome. They shouted defiance. 'Never' would the House of Savoy 'dare' to go to Rome. 'Never' could they hope to occupy the 'Eternal City,' still less to make it their own. The House of Savoy dares everything. To Rome the King went, strong in his courage; and not even the traditional and personal piety of the Royal House was allowed to interfere with the fulfilment of an historical necessity: even the Vatican thundered in vain.

Events of this immeasurable importance have one result—they produce heroes; they also produce a number of people who are not at all heroic but who may catch the heroic pose for a time. After 1870 what Italy needed was a large supply of business men and administrators. Heroes had been needed to make noble speeches and conquer kingdoms, but when all the kingdoms were conquered,

and the fewer speeches that might be made the better, it became apparent that Italy's hard times were before her.

To begin with, 'Italy,' though no longer a bare 'geographical expression,' needed making. The Piedmontese had to learn that he was only a favoured subject, not the conqueror of a subject people. The Neapolitan had to learn that he was an Italian first and a Neapolitan afterwards. The most potent instrument to this end was the army. A civilian does well to keep silence about military matters; but even a civilian may claim to appreciate the educational influence of a standing army on a civilian population; and the more of us who publicly repudiate the pernicious—nay, poisonous—nonsense talked about 'militarism' and a 'blood-tax' the better. The great standing army of Italy, then, has been the most potent of all beneficent instruments in the making of the Italian people. That it was 'too large' is the opinion of many soldiers who had opportunities of observing it at close quarters; and that opinion one naturally accepts from the military point of view, with the reservation that in point of fact Italy did not think it too large. As an instrument of education it has been, and is, admirable, and can hardly have been too large.

It has, however, been criticised adversely; but as the details of maritime warfare are even more intricate than those of an army one cannot pretend to follow them. At least, however, one can take the statesman's point of view, although it is not 'obvious' and in fact requires a good deal of study and patience. From the statesman's point of view, then, it is clear that, after 1870, every form of activity needed to be cherished. Much of the Italian population consists of seafaring folk, who learn more easily at sea than anywhere else that they are Italian subjects, with duties to Italy. Besides the immediate advantage of preserving and cherishing their activity there was (and is still more to-day) the probability that with increasing population and wealth Italy might become a first-rate naval Power. With this point in view Italian seamanship could not be allowed to atrophy in the interest of temporary economy. In almost all matters of civil administration—posts, railways, justice, the civil service—it was inevitable that, from the first, the task of the monarchy should be terribly uphill.

We have in our time come to lavish admiration on mediocrity; we use the most extravagant language about very small performances. In fact we have almost lost the sense of proportion, or retain only enough of that sense to recognise and decry grandeur.

Consequently when one talks about the field of Cannae and 'resolute profundity' one mistrusts one's own language instinctively. Only after contemplating the work attentively are we reassured. Here we have a people nominally one, really a loosely knit half-dozen States with thirty millions of inhabitants. Of these thirty millions perhaps one-fifth have had a short experience of constitutional govern-

ment: the rest have been accustomed for many centuries to despotic government by aliens. In England we have experienced periodical anxiety at the risks which we were running in 1832, 1867, and 1885. What were those risks to the experiment of Constitutional Italy? Absolutely nothing. In Italy everything had to be created; the machinery was the easiest to forge; but what was the machinery without the men and the spirit? 'Resolute profundity' seems a pedantic and inadequate expression in the face of the solution of this problem. We have distinguished between the heroic period and the period after 1870, but in fact, for the Monarchy, it was all heroic. 'Superhuman resolution and foresight' alone seem fitting terms for the sagacity of the House of Savoy in facing what for many years must have looked like defeat, and in winning through innumerable defeats to victory. One wonders that the country moved at all; without the Monarchy to guide and steady it, it certainly would not have moved. The marvel was not that things should occasionally have gone wrong, but that they should ever have gone right.

Inflexible courage, the example of devotion to duty in the highest places, mutual confidence between King and people, a patience truly Italian, which said in effect at every blunder, 'The next generation will do better'—these are the noble qualities which justify and inspire the phrase so often blasphemed, so often made ridiculous by the incompetent, 'L' Italia farà da se.'

We note one distressing circumstance after 1870—that Italy, who owed so much to France, has become estranged, and soon afterwards enters into intimate alliance with the direst foes of France.

Between 1866 and 1870 there was an incident. It was only a telegram of six words, but while it was potent enough to strengthen the growing sense of Italian nationality it did so, alas! at the expense of making every patriotic Italian feel that he had a personal quarrel with France. The telegram ran, 'Les chassépots ont fait des merveilles.' The Englishman and the Italian have much in common; they understand each other instinctively. They are supposed to differ, in that the Englishman is credited with a short memory. In fact he has as good a memory as anybody else; but he does not think it dignified or profitable to cherish an ancient grudge when an immediate advantage can be secured by forgetting it. The Italian is the same: forty years are long enough to have remembered an affront: the telegram is now pigeonholed and the relations of France and Italy are excellent. It is impossible to imagine Italy marching 300,000 men into France under inspiration from abroad.

On the north-eastern frontier Italy is in alliance with her neighbour. What will become of that alliance is a subject for much facile speculation, but it seems unlikely to develope into hostility.

Practically secure from complications abroad, Italy has ample leisure in which to work out her destiny at home. The theory of

Italian public life is, and has been, that it is better for an Italian to do a given piece of work and to do it as badly as possible than for a foreigner to do it and to do it as well as possible. This is not pig-headedness or conceit, but profound wisdom. Blunders teach. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. To appreciate the wisdom of this policy we have but to visit Rome. Enthusiasm about Rome is natural to Englishmen. It is, as a rule, either ecclesiastical or antiquarian by origin. It has been my good fortune to listen to many visitors to Rome just returned from their travels. They all reason in the same way, men or women. Either they say, 'Henry the Eighth had six wives; *therefore* Anglican orders are invalid; *therefore* Rome ought to be restored to the Papacy,' or else, if absorbed in the study of antiquity, they denounce 'modern Rome' as 'shoddy,' 'overbuilt,' and 'uninteresting,' averring that Italians have 'no sense of art' and are afflicted with 'megalomania.'

Mediocrity contemplating magnificence. So imposing is modern Rome that it is hard to begin the task of doing justice to the Royal City. It is not large, as we estimate size, but it is none the worse for that. Some flesh is good on a man's bones, but we do not adore ~~Rome~~ Rome the more stately for not being bloated. It does not really matter where we begin, so let us take a map of Rome to the Pincian and study it there.

As we might through the Trastevere there has been driven a boulevard traversing four squares, viz. Piazza della Libertà, Piazza Cola di Rienzo, Piazza dell' Unità, and finally at the very gates of the Vatican Piazza del Risorgimento. It would be impossible to proclaim more loudly the fact that Rome is irrevocably Royal Rome, even if the fact were daily proclaimed

. . . with great pomp, and blare
Of bannered trumpets in St. Peter's Square.

From the way in which many English people talk it would be supposed that the House of Savoy was in Rome more or less on sufferance. This does not look like it. As for 'no sense of Art' we English live in so frail a structure ourselves that we should do well to avoid throwing stones. Modern Rome breathes art. We mark the Ponte Garibaldi. By-and-by we shall descend from the Pincian and look at the two pillars standing by the bridge. They bear these simple words, which (for those who can understand them) convey an epic of emotion:

S.P.Q.R.

MENTANA 1867

DIGIONE 1870.

To explain, to amplify, to comment is to reduce oneself to banality; let no one say that he understands Rome or Italy who can contem-

plate unmoved this poem in marble. And the people who erected this monument have no sense of Art !

In this pellmell of joyous impressions it matters little what we take next. Let us take the trams. We may not all be well read in Italian history, or possess a sense of art, but anybody can understand a tram. The Roman tramways are the best in the world. In other cities there may be more spent on upholstery, and the trams may run faster, but no city can be better served. And yet, they say, Italians are not practical. They are at least practical enough to have turned the Rome of Monte Cristo into a glorious city, well paved, well drained, well policed, convenient, and stately.

We return to the Trastevere to look at the new Courts of Justice facing the Tiber by the Castle of S. Angelo. These are very magnificent. We recall in silent misery our own Courts of Justice, where everything is wrong, from the site to the internal lighting, including such details as style and construction. The sites on the Tiber are nothing like so fine as the sites on the Thames, but the Italians make the best of theirs and we make the worst of ours. There can hardly be a building in Europe so harmonious as this. The mass, the balance, the ornamentation, the decoration are all as noble as possible, and the whole is imposed to the last degree.

Probably the memorial to King Victor Emmanuel will be still more imposing when it is finished. Its position in front of the Campidoglio gives a vista the whole length of the Corso, from the Piazza del Popolo.

It is no part of the scope of these few pages to do a de-book of jottings on Rome, but only to point out that Royal Rome gives an moves in its magnificent life, the only surviving Roman Rome. Moreover, we have to remember that only forty years separate us from the Rome of *Lothair*. In so short a time have so great things been done. One often hears, among other disparaging remarks, the statement that modern Italians are 'Vandals'—in evidence of which we hear that they are pulling down so much of ancient Rome.

It depends to some extent on what we agree to call ancient ; but, in effect, dirt is not always picturesque ; all things old are not good ; modern Italians cherish whatever is genuinely classic. When streets have to be condemned for any reason they are dealt with promptly. Thus in Naples the streets where the cholera broke out twenty-four years ago have been swept away ; a broad boulevard has been driven through the space. We may be fairly sure that wherever we see a change the change was necessary ; moreover, the talent shown in taking advantage of natural sites, and in making the most of space and vista, is quite remarkable. We must perforce dwell long on Rome, because Rome is a summary of modern Italy ; and of the three Romes—Royal Rome, Ecclesiastical Rome, and Pagan Rome—Royal Rome is the greatest ; in fact, it is Rome, having easily absorbed the other two.

With respect to the question of the Church it is extraordinary to observe that in England the intellectual (and sometimes the lineal) heirs of the people who shouted for Garibaldi fifty years ago are shouting to-day for the restoration of Rome to the Holy See.

The difference between the Italian and the English points of view on this question is worth noting. For the Italian, whatever attention is paid or refused to the Pope outside Italy, within the country he is undoubtedly the head of the Italian Church. Thus all the questions of 'alien interference' and their kindred which have agitated English minds for centuries are, for the Italian, occasions of mild boredom; hard to understand and tedious in so far as they are intelligible. Moreover, to the Italian, whatever else the Papacy may be, it is, essentially, an Italian institution.

It is quite a common thing, for example, to hear men grumble at the 'over-representation' of Italy, as they call it, in the Sacred College. It seems to them quite reasonable to demand that the governing body of the Universal Church should be composed of 'Nations,' represented in more or less exact proportion to their population and their contribution to the resources of the Vatican. To the Italian such a proposal appears not only ridiculous but rather outrageous. This ought not to be hard for an Englishman to understand. Let us suppose, for example, that England had been the seat of orthodoxy, and that Italy had 'protested' in effect throughout us suppose that for centuries England had supplied the Sacred College with an absolute working majority of the Sacred College's Piazza daemen. What should we say to the pretensions of those Italian Risorgimento had 'found salvation' to anything like 'proportionate representation'? Incontestably in so far as we took such pretensions seriously we should call them impertinent, and perhaps worse than impertinent.

Such is, precisely, the feeling of the Italian towards the Englishman who talks about the restoration of the Papal authority over Rome. With respect to this general question of the discussion of public affairs the Italian and the Englishman are very much alike. Both nations have their reservations; English people grow restive when their monarchy is criticised; Italians are growing sensitive in the same direction as they come to realise the debt which they owe to their own monarchy; and in the meantime they are (most naturally) touchy about Rome.

Ecclesiastical Rome is, then, intensely Italian, and therefore a subject of pride and rejoicing for all good Italians. In so far as it claims to be something else than ecclesiastical it is no longer possible, as we see by the majestic assertiveness of Royal Rome. Spiritually, Ecclesiastical Rome is at a standstill, if a visitor is qualified to express an opinion. Hardly can a comparison of St. Peter's with St. Paul's be avoided. St. Peter's is larger, but St. Paul's is more harmonious,

as the natural result of being the work of one architect. Owing to the radiant atmosphere of Rome St. Peter's is cleaner; it might have been built yesterday. St. Paul's is dirty, and it has even been suggested that the chief of the Fire Brigade might occupy the spare time of his men (if they have any spare time) in cleaning St. Paul's—i.e. in removing its rich *patina*—a barbarous thought. The lavish employment of gold and the faithful observance of classical traditions of decoration enhance the grandeur of St. Peter's. Many of us admire, and many deprecate, the mosaics of St. Paul's. Which-ever view may be just, it can hardly be maintained that the mosaics increase the sense of size. As to the music, musicians appear to be agreed that the service in St. Paul's is the noblest in the world. St. Paul's is vastly more interesting, not only on account of the interest of individual monuments, but because those monuments proclaim the church to be the church of the land; the arid ecclesiasticism of St. Peter's shrivels the soul. St. Paul's, 'in streaming London' central roar,' really dominates the city, in spite of every thwarting of Wren's designs; it seems to consecrate the strenuous toil of the great capital. St. Peter's dominates nothing; hardly even the Trastevere certainly not Rome. If any monument is to celebrate Rome, be the monument to King Victor Emmanuel.

Pagan Rome is the Rome to which the world renders lip service daily with a loud voice. Whether the homage to Pagan Rome is more than lip service prompted by the claims of 'vestal virginity' is a fair question. Let us, however, assume it to be so. Let us assume that the devotees of classical learning were really like to do something to prove their gratitude to Rome. There are (if one is rightly informed) 400 universities in the United States alone. They might not all subscribe, but perhaps it is not extravagant to assume that we might count upon 500 faculties throughout the world contributing 10*l.* apiece annually to a fund for the rebuilding of the Forum.

Rome could do something with half a million sterling, which would take a century to collect at this rate. But long before the century was reached, or even the half-century, or probably twenty-five years, we should have large donations falling in, so that the difficulty would be not so much to raise the money as to content the ardour of donors and subscribers who would want to see the completed work as soon as possible.

Architecture and archæology have been so attentively studied that quite a large number of people must know exactly what the Forum was like in the days of its grandeur. There are, however, two conditions to be maintained; the first is that the work should be under the immediate sanction, patronage, and control of the King; and the second is that there should be no nonsense about 'international commissions.' That being done, many of us might live to see realised the atmosphere of De Quincey's dream: 'at a clapping

of hands would be heard the heart-shaking sound of *Consul Romanus*; and immediately came "sweeping by" in gorgeous paludaments, Paullus or Marius, girt around by a company of centurions, with the crimson tunic hoisted on a spear, and followed by the *alalagos* of the Roman legions.'

One might even venture to suggest a dedicatory inscription:

A ROMA

IL MONDO RICONOSCENTE.

1950.

There could be nothing derogatory to the pride of Romans in this willing tribute, and the completed work would appeal to their poetic and historic sense. The Forum would be the most impressive building in the world; a noble demonstration of the oneness of history, of incalculable value and delight to the erudite and the student. In their present condition the ruins are a truly deplorable sight, the most distressing spectacle imaginable; one prefers Wandsworth Station.

But they do not have a very considerable area of Rome, and of course it is not hard to imagine the advent of some terrible 'practical' person who will call for the building of flats in this eligible building site. The theoretical person would have a good many sound arguments to show that it would be no more than 'practical' to anticipate him. Piazza del Campidoglio to give him time and opportunity to become a free republic. Risorgimento.

This argument might be indefinitely extended. It might include statistics; but statistics are most treacherous auxiliaries, as the author of 'L' Italia non farà da se' knows well; and modern Italy is too great for statistics.

If one who has vaticinated and recanted may still be allowed the privilege of private judgment, he would say that the Risorgimento is the most successful revolt of the spirit against modernism—which is the deification of mediocrity. It behoves the good throughout the world to offer to Rome the tribute of their gratitude and admiration.

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

THE EMPIRE AND ANTHROPOLOGY

SOME twenty years back in the volumes of Mr. Punch may be found a characteristic Du Maurier drawing of a pretty woman interrogating a pompous personage in evening dress.

He says, 'I am—ah—going to the Anthropological Institute.'

'And where do they anthropolodge?' is the smiling question that follows this announcement.

They—the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (at that period)—possibly still 'anthropolodged' in two or three little rooms in a part of St. Martin's Lane long ago rebuilt.

One could imagine the hitherto untravelled German, French, Italian, or American nationality who by reading had acquired some fair conception of that stupendous fact—the British Empire over 400,000,000 of human beings, of every known race or species of the human genus—the second of the capital of the Empire, and turning his attention first and foremost to the headquarters of anthropology.

He might fairly expect to find that branch of scientific research occupying the whole of the magnificent buildings of the Imperial Institute, or endowed with the Crystal Palace, or the new Victoria and Albert Museum of South Kensington, or some one or other of the Palaces of London. As a matter of fact, he would discover the science of anthropology—the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland—established in one and a half rooms on the second floor of No. 3 Hanover Square, where it enjoys the somewhat limited hospitality of the Zoological Society.

If the intelligent foreigner had studied the British Empire sufficiently to have gauged what should have been the immense scope of its Imperial anthropology, he would have learnt enough about our odd way of doing business not to be surprised that we should spend millions of pounds on horse-breeding (half of which is for no other purpose than that of carrying on a pernicious form of gambling), hundreds of thousands, very wisely, on cattle and sheep breeding or less wisely on fancy dogs, and with problematical benefit on the promotion of tariff reform, imperial cricket, sectarian warfare in religion or education; and yet from out of the gigantic wealth in the home country and capital of the Empire only be able to raise

fifteen hundred pounds annually for a science dealing with the bodies and minds of the 400,000,000 living men and women who are passing their lives under the rule of King Edward the Seventh.

The scientific study of anthropology—the science of man, the attempt to understand the bodily and mental conditions of earth's ruler—may be said to have begun in this country at the end of the fifties of the last century, under the direction of Sir Charles Lyell, T. H. Huxley, E. B. Tylor, Sir John Evans, Francis Galton, Colonel Lane-Fox-Pitt-Rivers, Sir John Lubbock, Dr. John Beddoe, Sir A. W. Franks, Sir Edward Brabrook, Dr. Charnock, Sir Richard Burton, Moncure D. Conway, and others. Dr. Prichard had written interestingly but unscientifically on the races of mankind in the pre-Darwinian days of the middle-nineteenth century, when a slavish interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures still clogged research into the past history and present classification of mankind.¹

and others (including, I believe, one of the ablest and most modern of these pioneers in anthropology, the late Edward Norris, Librarian of the Foreign Office) had founded the Ethnological Society in 1843; but, as Professor D. J. Cunningham has recently pointed out, the membership, though distinguished, was and remained very small.

In those days (if I may quote the very interesting address recently delivered by Professor Cunningham) 'anthropologists were looked upon with some suspicion and regarded as men with advanced ideas—ideas which might possibly be dangerous to Church and State. In London, as indeed might be expected, no official sanction was offered to the formation of the Anthropological Society, but the first attempt to found a similar Society in 1846 was rendered futile by the intervention of the Government, and when finally, in 1859, the Anthropological Society of Paris was formed, Broca, its illustrious founder, was bound over to keep the discussions within legitimate and orthodox limits, and a police agent attended its sittings for two years to enforce the stipulation. The same fear of anthropology, as a subject endowed with eruptive potentialities, was exhibited in Madrid, where the Society of Anthropology, after a short and chequered career, was suppressed. It is indeed marvellous how, in the comparatively speaking short period which has elapsed, public opinion should have veered round to such an extent that at the present day there is no branch of science which enjoys a greater share of popular favour than anthropology.'

The 'popular favour' to which Professor Cunningham alludes may be accorded [to what should be the first of sciences] in France, Germany, Austria, Spain—Spain has made up for lost time in this respect

¹ It is scarcely necessary to point out that the Churches soon became reconciled to and even enthusiastic supporters of anthropological research. Remove the contributions to anthropology from members of the many Missionary Societies and you knock the bottom out of the science. One of the best periodical Reviews on this subject is *Anthropos*, conducted from Vienna by the Rev. Dr. P. W. Schmidt, and supported by Roman Catholic Missionaries throughout the world. Nor are the clergy of the Church of England, the Presbyterian, Baptist, or Wesleyan Churches in any way behind the Church of Rome in their fifty years' contributions to anthropology.

² In his presidential address of January 1908 to the Royal Anthropological Institute.

—Italy, Belgium, and Portugal. But there is little sign of it in Britain or in the British Dominions beyond the Seas. The total membership of the only Anthropological Institute in Great Britain and Ireland—to which the King has recently accorded the title of 'Royal'—scarcely reaches to five hundred. There are, I believe, no anthropological societies in Scotland (except that of Aberdeen) or Ireland, though there may be efficient bodies for dealing with archæology, folklore, and philology. Yet the importance of the detailed study of the existing tribes and races of Scotland and Ireland can hardly be over-estimated both in regard to our reading of history and our understanding of modern political questions.

In 1863 the Anthropological Society was founded in London, apparently to assume a more militant rôle in those eager young days of the new birth of research (revolutionised by Darwin's theories) than had been taken up by the staid Ethnological Society, which was less anxious to *outrage* the clergy of all denominations than young men filled with the new wine of the evolution theory. The real difference perhaps between the two was that the latter wished rather to confine themselves to the collection and state of bare, and sometimes very dry, facts, whereas the former desired to riot in theories, sometimes with no more fact to supply them than the anthropology of the Theosophists or the history of the book of Mormon. The anthropologists for eight years had a fluctuating membership of five to seven hundred; the other topics, thorny problems in sociology, religion, music, the rights of the negro, the Adamites and pre-Accademics, then the membership began to dwindle, a movement towards union with the ethnologists was made, and that great man of science, the late Professor Huxley, as President of the Ethnological Society, proved the bond of union. The two London societies dealing with the science of man were amalgamated in 1871 as the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, a title to which his Majesty graciously added the prefix of Royal in 1907.

Since 1871 the (Royal) Anthropological Institute has always been a society poorly equipped in funds and spending its last penny in scientific research. But its output of work has been splendid and most stimulating, especially since the last ten years. Yet the wolf, in the form of a possible deficit, is always at the door. The response to occasional pressing necessities in past times on the part of the few among its members who are persons of means has been generous, and even the rank and file consented some little while ago to an increase in the subscription. Unfortunately, anthropology as a study

³ Anthropology is the accepted general term for the Science of Man, but it is usually also employed in a specific sense to cover the physiological study of man as a mammal: in contradistinction to Ethnology ('The Science of the Nations'), which deals with all the aspects and results of man's mental development.

has not yet become a fashionable foible, as is happily the case with zoology in general or with horticulture. Existing professional anthropologists (though of the very elect and some day to be revered among the early saints in the church of science) are scarcely ever blessed with large incomes, and to many the limits of their annual money contributions to scientific research has already been reached. Of late, therefore, it has been felt by not a few members of the Institute that the time has arrived when the Imperial Government might see its way to making a small annual grant—say, 500*l.*—to the Royal Anthropological Institute, on the same grounds as those on which it makes a similar grant to the Royal Geographical Society.⁴ The Institute has carried out an immense amount of anthropological research in all parts of the British Empire at its own expense or at the personal expenditure of time and money on the part of its associates, and without any cost whatever to the nation at large. Its gratuitous instruction it has often imparted to Government servants, and has been of undoubted utility in encouraging that growth of sympathy and understanding between the governors and the governed which is one of the necessities of an Empire like ours.

There may possibly be the same peevish objection that nearly every new movement creates as its backwash. Some may say, 'If you are going to endow the Anthropological Institute, then the Royal Geographical Society next will be asking for State funds,' and so on. But for the Anthropological, British Ornithologists' Union, Royal Asiatic, and other societies——' And why not? All these institutions do no harm, absolutely no harm, and have rendered services of very considerable economic importance to the city, the kingdom, the Empire.

I wish some abler, more authoritative pen than mine could bring home to the mass of the voting populace (and they, in their turn, force the knowledge on their representatives in Parliament, who can unlock the doors of the Treasury) the immense economic importance of 'pure' science. At the best these institutions are regarded with amused tolerance by the masses and classes on the 'keep-the-people-out-of-the-public-house' line of thought. Blamelessness is typified in comedies by a visit to the Zoological Gardens, the British Museum, and Madame Tussaud's. An evening spent at the Linnæan Society is considered to be decorous to the point of ostentation, but dull.

⁴ The Royal Geographical Society in return for this modest grant places its magnificent library and collections of maps at the disposal of the Government, and further engages to impart practical instruction in surveying and other requirements of the explorer. The Royal Anthropological Institute could render like services to the Government in regard to the science of anthropology. It could instruct Government employes and others, and issue certificates of proficiency.

⁵ At present the Zoological Society does receive this much assistance from the State, that its rental of a small portion of Regent's Park is—compared with existing values—calculated at a low figure. Fortunately popular support does the rest.

The fact is, that the time has come—if we are really going to be governed intelligently by intelligent people—when scientific research will have to be heavily endowed; in the same way that a Church or a religion was endowed with properties and tithes in order to place it above penury and the risks of popular indifference and vacillating support. In the course of centuries the people, as a whole, came to see the value of religion as a social factor and rallied to its assistance of their own free will. Gradually the popular contributions to the faiths enabled endowments to be redistributed or capitalised, and subsidies to be withdrawn, without the least detriment to 'pure religion and undefiled,' as defined in the imperishable words of the Apostle James. The time may come when the mass of the people will flock to the discussions at the Royal Anthropological Institute or the Entomological Society as they now crowd the music halls. When that happy advance has been reached science may safely be dis-endowed, unsubsidised.

Twenty years ago it began to dawn on the educated classes as a whole that anthropology in its many branches led to practical issues of application (fitness for the Army and Navy, finger identification, &c.). Before that, the study of physical and racial attributes of man, his past history and his future possibilities, was looked upon by Society as a boring fad, associated, it might be, with white whiskers, white waistcoats, and respectable professions. If you were a baronet whose younger brother collected stamps, but still a somewhat foolish pastime ranked in the family with stamp-collecting: in any case a stuffy pursuit. No one would not be surprised at a novel depicting 'real life,' in which the hero was young, handsome, marriageable, and a Double First in Anthropology, who at the end of the book is rewarded with an appointment of two thousand pounds a year as head of the Anthropological Department of the Crown Colony of Barataria. The time will come, I believe, before long, when all candidates for all branches of service under the British Crown connected with the affairs of men and women of any human race will be as much required to be examined in anthropology as in reasonable mathematics, geography, history, and modern languages.

Policemen, magistrates, judges should pass examinations in this science from 'elementary' to the most recondite, in correspondence with the importance of the office they hold: they already have large and useful doses of it in the form of medical jurisprudence and anthropometry. Juries taught the simple truths of craniology at school would at once fix their attention on the shape and proportions of the prisoner's or the witness's skull and face, and disregard the conflicting evidence for the safer intuitions of the physiognomist.

Statesmen might form a correct opinion on the negro question: they acquired some exact information as to how and in what degree

the anatomy of the negro differed from that of the northern Caucasian, and whether in any one of his many stages of mental development he is above or below or on a level with the average white man. We do not yet know enough to speak dogmatically as to whether he shall mingle his blood with ours, to the detriment of American or European races, or whether the two divisions of humanity shall grow up side by side with absolutely no commingling.⁶

We do not yet know (though we may perhaps hazard a favourable opinion) whether the physical difference between the Euramerican and the Amerindian is so slight that the American peoples might be encouraged to absorb the Indians into their midst, with no more shame or lowering to the white man's ideal of physical beauty and fitness than has been occasioned by the absorption of the Gipsy and the Semite. Are the Amerindians of Canada to be allowed to remain and develop apart on different lines, as a race by themselves? Is home intervention (if it counts for anything) to secure just treatment for the red or yellow man of North America (so far as he is under the British flag) or is he a negligible quantity, to be allowed to drink or to die of the white man's diseases? (Canada, as a matter of fact, owes a great duty to the Amerindians on her territory.)

What is to be done with the black Australian and the Papuan? Fusion, extrusion, or isolation to be fostered in this case? Is intermarriage (assuming such to be contemplated) to be allowed without remonstrance from the Metropolis? If the hybrid, *Piazza d' Australasian* negroid with early types of Caucasian can produce a good half-breed as the Polynesian, may not the latter be encouraged to enter the white fold in the building up of great Australian nations? Or is the black Australian or the Papuan to be treated as the northern Caucasian races have seemed inclined to treat the negro—an equal to be respected but not to be absorbed? What, in short, are the plans which the Commonwealth will adopt for the black Australian's future?

Then there are the tremendous questions of India, racial questions that daunt one with their complexity and with the awful degree of happiness or unhappiness that may result from success or failure in their solution.⁷ Once more the problem arises here in regard to the Eurasian half-breeds, who have merited so well the consideration of the British Government for the splendid support they have given to British rule in India.

'Is Uganda to be granted wider and bolder facilities for self-government?' may be the question to be considered by a British Legislature

⁶ This much anthropology has taught us: that there is an ancient negroid element pervading the highly civilised Mediterranean, and that the negro makes a magnificent hybrid with the Arab or the Moor.

⁷ In referring to India, attention might be drawn to the excellent work which is being done under the State of Mysore in an ethnographical survey conducted by H. V. Nanjundagya, M.A., M.L.

a quarter of a century hence, when sleeping-sickness has been eliminated by European science.

Are there to be local parliaments in India? Is there ever to be a confederation of the black West African Colonies and Protectorates, with larger measures of self-government? Is the Sudan to be wholly separate from the future of Egypt? Can we safely leave Egypt without a British garrison? Can we encourage France, Spain, and Italy to resume and continue the work of Rome in North Africa, or will the failure of our allies to do so involve us in an awkward position? Are we to encourage negro settlement in British Honduras, or is there any chance of the indigenous Amerindian multiplying and sufficing for that country's industrial development?

Shall Trinidad, like Mauritius, become a land of Indian Coolies? If we allow and encourage the millions of Chinamen to replace or supplement the sparse Malay and Negrito populations of the great Malay Peninsula and Borneo, shall we still be able to govern them in the interests of the British Empire and of the world? What can we make of Somaliland? Dare we aspire, if the Empire breaks up, to become the controlling power in Arabia? Can Persia contain the elements of regeneration—can she be formed into a strong, self-governing civilised Asiatic State independent of the help or control of England and Russia? Can we hope some day to receive her into the comity of the higher nations, as we have Japan, and as, after many years of French and English rule, we may receive Morocco and Egypt?

All these are questions in which the opinion of the anthropologists would be well worth having.

Perhaps our anthropological studies should begin at home.

A great field lies before us most insufficiently worked. Elementary anthropology should be taught in all the State and public schools of Great Britain and Ireland, besides being far more widely and efficiently dealt with in secondary education and at the Universities.

A knowledge of the anthropology of the British Isles would—or should—clear up the Irish question. It would show, for example, that the Irish, like the Welsh and Scots, are composed in somewhat different proportions of the same racial elements as the British. It would also bring home to all of us the idiosyncrasies of the diversely constituted blend of Proto-Caucasian, Iberian, Kelt, Dane, and Saxon which now forms the people of Ireland; it would interest us, or should do so, much as we were formerly interested in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, in the remarkable Keltico-Iberian languages of prehistoric features which are still spoken or remembered in Ireland, Man, Wales, Cornwall, and parts of Scotland, and which were once the speech of England itself.

It is preposterous that the dominating English people should for thirteen hundred years have ignored the two Keltic languages still

remaining in these islands—Goidelic and Brythonic. They are at least as interesting as Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit, and far more so than Hebrew. In their structure and vocabulary is locked up a great amount of useful 'prehistoric' history; these languages representing in varying degrees the combination in vocabulary and syntax between the Aryan speech of the invading Kelts and the probably antecedent Iberian language. (This last may have been connected with the Berber group of North Africa, or with Basque, which was spoken in France and Spain by the pre-existing peoples who were conquered by the Gallic Kelts.)

By reason of this neglect on the part of men of science, modern Irish, Gaelic, and Welsh have become transcribed and spelt in the most ridiculous and barbaric fashion, with far less reason in the use of the Roman letters than is even the case with modern English.*

Anthropological researches on the lines of statements recently published by Dr. Frank Shrubbsall (of the Hospital for Consumption, Bromfield Road) would show the results of town life under present conditions, and this or that racial element in the British population: for example, tall blonds are best suited to a life in the country, while brunets are better adapted to resist the bacteria of towns. While in the last ten years or so anthropology has been turned to practical uses in most parts of the civilised countries in the matter of identification by finger-prints, it is also coming into play in regard to the health of the children, the checking of certain diseases in early youth, and neglect might permanently enfeeble the individual.

Natural History, Medicine and Surgery have long been associated with Anthropology. So far as Comparative Anatomy exists in these islands, it may perhaps be said to have been founded by the great John Hunter, whose collections of comparative and human anatomy are permanently established in the remarkable museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn.

This is the only museum, at present, that exists in the British Isles which deals effectively with the exposition of the anatomy of man, and in which it is possible for the student correctly to compare human anatomy with that of other mammals or other vertebrates. Nearly

* It must be admitted that the Irish, Highlanders, and Welsh have apparently gloried in this obscurantism, and in these uncouth transliterations of languages which are by no means difficult of pronunciation to any Englishman who is capable of talking another language than his own. A Government movement should be set on foot to establish authoritatively the standard pronunciation and phonetic spelling of Irish and Welsh, just as, for example, the Spanish Academy in the eighteenth century set to work to obtain and establish in a most sensible and logical fashion the correct phonetic spelling of Castilian. The modern Irish alphabet and orthography, due to monkish invention about thirteen hundred years ago, are rabid nonsense; equally unnecessary and absurd is the spelling of Welsh with y's, w's, ll's, dd's, ff's, &c., &c. The correct phonetics of these tongues should be ascertained by a select commission, who should forthwith establish a simple logical spelling in the Roman alphabet as laid down by Lepsius. These remarkable Keltic languages should then be taught throughout the United Kingdom as a branch of history.

a century of thanks is due by the British public to the College of Surgeons of Great Britain for their gratuitous assistance to the study of anthropology and of comparative anatomy in general by the institution and maintenance of this magnificent museum, the germ of which was the Hunter collection.

So far as public exhibits and displayed information are concerned, we are very much in arrears on the score of anthropology (the study of man as a mammal) compared with the museums of France, Germany, Belgium, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. Ethnographically, perhaps, we stand well, with our magnificent collections in the British Museum, though therein is all too little space for the adequate display of those collections which illustrate the primitive culture of the still-existing races of savage men or the gorgeous developments in art of the Caucasian and Mongolian peoples. The collections are there, the skill and zeal in exhibiting them in an educating way are decidedly present in a staff of exceptional ability, but the nation, as represented by the Treasury, still finds it impossible to meet the cost of further exhibition-rooms.⁹

But as regards the other side of the question—Man—above British man—considered physically: our efforts are most inadequate. Putting aside the private help afforded to students at the College of Surgeons, all that we know of Man as a mammal at the British Museum (Natural History) is crammed into a small part of the uppermost galleries, up (I cannot remember how many) of the fatiguing stairs. The greater part of this gallery is of necessity devoted to the exposition of apes, monkeys, lemurs, and bats. The remainder is given up to cases containing a valuable collection of skulls (perfectly exhibited for want of space), a few skeletons and bones, a placard refuting palmyristy by an appeal to the gorilla's foot, and a not particularly good collection of photographs of certain savage tribes. As to the types of the British Isles, they are conspicuous by their absence. Go to France, Russia, Germany, Belgium, and Austria-Hungary, and in the public museums you will find magnificent collections of photographs (or life-sized models) of all the physical types of men and women in those countries, giving you some idea of the race or races to be found therein. Nothing of the kind that I know of exists in the British Isles, and all published works on anthropology avoid the subject, and reduce British anthropology to a few paltry paragraphs, illustrated by one or two picture-postcard photographs of fishermen or Welsh cottagers, wearing

⁹ A British anthropologist, to whom I showed this article, writes in regard to this paragraph: 'Berlin, with 500,000 objects and 6000*l.* a year for purchases, beats the British Museum hollow; Dresden has nearly as much stuff, I should think. Hamburg, Cologne, and Leipzig are perhaps smaller, but with grants of 1000*l.* a year and upwards for purchases they will be dangerous rivals in the very near future. Do you know that France has now actually started an Anthropological Bureau for Government information?' We may rejoice in German emulation in such a good cause without slackening our own efforts.

stage costumes, together with some monstrously faked sickly-sweet 'types of English beauty' (in some cases amiable ladies of the stage whose birthplace was on the Continent of Europe).

But after attending in an adequate degree to the illustration of the Anthropology of the United Kingdom, the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland—if it were only properly supported and subscribed to by the nation as a whole—might get into touch with the educational establishments of the Daughter Nations, of the Crown Colonies or Protectorates, or of India. It would incite where they do not already exist (and this is hardly anywhere) the establishment of Anthropological societies or departments in all the great centres of population throughout the British Empire.

It would induce a desire to create an Anthropological society at Malta to describe the wonderful past and to delineate the present racial character of that most interesting and intelligent people the Maltese, whose language, like Irish and Welsh, locks up so much unexplored history. It—the parent Anthropological Institute of Great Britain—should urge on a much-needed anthropological survey of the British West African Colonies and Protectorates; of the Falkland Islands, where a new and interesting type of white man is being slowly developed; of Cyprus, where there are several layers of Mediterranean races; but above all of *South Africa*. Seeing that for nearly four centuries the ruling power in the South African sub-continent has been in the hands of a people whose use of our opportunity for enriching the knowledge of the world in regard to the past and present negro peoples of South Africa.

So far as Government action is concerned, there is scarcely anything to record. Fortunately there was once a Governor of Cape Colony with a strong love for science, Sir George Grey. Under his instigation Livingstone and Dr. W. I. Bleek collected much information as to perishing tribes—Bushman, Hottentot, and Bantu.

The Colonial Government established—and still maintain—a small fund wherewith to maintain a librarian and a museum curator at Cape Town, but in the National Library of Cape Town are still preserved in manuscript most of the important anthropological and ethnological studies of Livingstone, Bleek and others, which this great Colony has either been too poor or too uninterested to publish.

There are in pigeon-holes somewhere the very valuable Reports of Mr. Palgrave, the Commissioner sent in the early 'seventies to examine Damaraland (the anthropological photographs obtained on this expedition—most creditable to Mr. Palgrave, considering the epoch in which he worked—are in the collection of the Royal Geographical Society).

So far no great Afrikaner has arisen who has displayed any scientific aptitude for the study of the Negro races of South Africa. Almost all the recorded work has been done by outsiders—British, *German*,

French, Swiss, and Norwegians. Yet what links in the chain of evidence of the evolution of humanity as a whole or of branches of the Negro species in particular are concealed in this southern prolongation of the Dark Continent!

The little research stimulated and paid for by the Cape of Good Hope Government has revealed the remains of a vanished race—the Strand-loopers—who are probably akin to the Bushmen, but of a less specialised and more primitive type.

Is there any truth in Professor Keane's account¹⁰ of the Vaal-pens or 'Ashy-bellies,' based on the stories of travellers and writers who assert them to be a very primitive race still lingering in the Northern Transvaal, and perhaps descended from the aforesaid Strand-loopers; whilst other authorities, like Mr. F. C. Selous, deny their existence, or at any rate account for them as some starved remnant of an out-cast Bushman or Bantu stock?

Private British enterprise, even on the part of people of very small means, has certainly done something to illustrate and explain the manners and customs of the South African Bantu races. It has gathered much recent information under this head to the writings of Mr. Dugald Kidd and Miss A. Werner, to a number of missions of the London Missionary Society, the Scottish missionaries of Nyasaland, the Rev. Father Torrend of the Zambezi, the Universities Mission, and to the Anglican bishops of South-Eastern Africa; but considering the importance of the place that Trans-Zambesian Africa occupies in the scheme of the British Empire, our knowledge of its ethnology and ethnology, and even the languages, of its five chief divisions of negroes is pitifully small. The Government of Cape Colony has done something for which it should receive due credit; the other Governments have done practically nothing, and the Imperial Government has been the most indifferent of all. A good deal of what we do know has been derived from the results of explorations subsidised by the Governments of France and Germany.

Where in the whole range of *British* South African literature can we find such a work as that of Professor Leonhard Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*? It is practically a description of man and nature—the anthropology, above all—in the N.W. parts of Cape Colony, subsidised by the German Government.

Crossing the Zambezi northwards, look at the way in which the German Government has enabled Dr. Fülleborn and others to illustrate the anthropology of German East Africa and Nyasaland, and consider what impetus or assistance the Imperial Government has shown in dealing with the anthropology, the native codes of law, the languages,

¹⁰ Popular anthropology— I mean anthropology popularised— owes much to the labours and researches of Professor A. H. Keane and (more recently) of Mr. T. Athol-Joyce, of the British Museum, and Mr. Northcote Thomas; also to the publishing enterprise of Messrs. Hutchinson, Macmillan, Cassell, and Archibald Constable.

myths, traditions, institutions of British Central Africa, British East Africa, or Uganda. Such work as has been done by British pens has been for the most part carried out by missionaries, or by Government officials at their own expense, or by travellers and explorers not always of British nationality.

Our own Government is quite willing, if necessary, to spend millions on warfare in Africa and (*very properly*) millions on railway construction; but it has not held up a finger of encouragement or provided a pound to lay the foundation of a sound study of the anthropology of regions wherein—even more than in South Africa—it is necessary for the administrative white man to know most thoroughly the minds and bodily characteristics of the Negro and Negroid races with whom he has to deal.

Private enterprise just enables the Royal Institute of Anthropology to be established. A Government grant of 500*l.* a year from out of the Exchequer revenue of the United Kingdom would place it above all risk of failure, and the fact of its being put some day into its one-pair back at No. 3 Horse Guards Lane would enable it with a lighter heart to extend its branches and its practical instructions to those about to travel.

Private enterprise has likewise started and kept going the Royal Asiatic Society (which, I believe, receives a small grant from the India Office), the Central Asian Society, the African Society; and I know of a Chinese Society; there ought certainly to be one for dealing with the Malay races of our vast Malay possessions. The Royal Asiatic Society outdistances all these other societies by the length of its existence. Its journal, in many volumes, contains a most candid accumulation of Eastern lore. Unfortunately this is *carved* to the general mind; some Harmsworth, some Saleeby, some Hooper is required to come along some day and—with due permission and participation of profits—boil down the researches of the Royal Asiatic Societies of London, Calcutta, and Bombay into palatable ethnology, and thus get them consumed, digested, and assimilated by the British public.

It has been of late the fashion to scoff at the efforts of the *Times* or of Carmelite Buildings to invigorate knowledge by hypnotising the British public into the purchase of encyclopædias, histories, and self-educators. In my own humble opinion, these agencies have by such means increased the general education of the upper and middle classes by at least one-fifth. The ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* may or may not have been slightly out of date for the *fine fleur* of intellect of the year 1900, but it was quite new enough knowledge and sound enough for nine-tenths of the population to whom it had been more or less inaccessible.

In the same way—if I may venture to offer an opinion of my own—one would like to see some such publishers as those mentioned above induce the British public to take in a great work on anthropology—

on the anthropology, let us say, of the British Empire, in twenty-four volumes, with an index and an atlas. It would be a beneficial work because it would go a long way towards educating the British public in the cares, opportunities, and responsibilities of the Empire.

Comparative anthropology has not yet come into existence in complete form—that is to say, no individual or group of scientific men have yet had the means or time or knowledge to compare carefully and conclusively the anatomy of each racial type, species, or sub-species, one with another. In a limited manner this has been done through the comparison of skulls—shape, length, and breadth; capacity and facial angle; and, in a much less degree, by the proportion of the bones of the skeleton, the poise and curve of the spine. Comparisons have, at any rate, been made between such extremes as the highest type of Caucasian and the negro or Australasian.

Some comparisons have also been made in the head—whether it is round, oval, or elliptic in section; its color, brightness, or tendency to curl. But in a general way, as far as our intimate knowledge of the comparative anatomy of the different species of cat, of horses, asses, and zebras, of *canis familiaris* does not go, we are still most remarkably uninformed as to the comparative anatomy of mankind. Such types as the fair-haired Caucasian races of Europe and America are as well known to us in all the details of their structure and physical condition as we could expect to be a century and in the inheritors of the science that began with Aristotle but what has been definitely recorded as to the anatomy of the Arab, Tartar, Chinaman, Negrito, Papuan, Hindu, Ainu, Esquimaux, Malay, Australian, Amerindian, Veddah, and even most types of negro? In mean, in comparison to the white man of northern Europe and America.

As regards the negro, we are better informed than about any other human race than our own, because for at least a century the physical structure of the Aframerican has undergone careful scientific investigation by the surgeons and anatomists of the United States; but the negro after two or three centuries of settlement in the New World may have already begun to differ in blood and bone, bowel and muscle, from the aboriginal native of Africa. Already he finds himself as prone as the European to suffer from the diseases of Africa, should he return there. He has lost the *relative* immunity to malarial fever of an African type which his West African forefathers possessed.

We know, in short, so little about the structure of all the living races of mankind (as compared one with another, and again with the forms nearest allied to humanity amongst the apes) that I return to my first assertion in stating that the science of Human Comparative Anatomy has scarcely yet been established on a sound basis.

We know so little on this subject that we are not able to decide whether all the living races of mankind are merely local varieties of a

single species, whether some of them are to be elevated to the rank of a sub-species, or whether three or more types are sufficiently divergent to be considered separate species of a single genus—of the isolated genus *Homo*. Anthropology, however, brings out forcibly the fact that all men are brothers under their skins ; the study of this science therefore is the best corrective of intolerance, cruelty, racial arrogance, and narrow-minded conceit. It is perhaps in our own country—it should be everywhere—the science of kings and rulers.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

INDIAN FAMINES AND INDIAN FORESTS

EVERY one who has made any sort of impartial study of, or enquiry into, the causes of the disastrous famines with which various parts of our Indian Empire are so frequently cursed and blighted agree that they are due to one cause alone, the failure of rainfall. This is a cause arising from the influence of the strength or weakness of the currents, the south-west and the north-east monsoon and the greater or less amount of rainfall that these winds bring entirely on conditions existing outside of India, and beyond the control of either the Indian Government or the Indian people. India has been, and still is, mainly an agricultural country. Out of its total population nearly two-thirds, or about two hundred million souls, are dependent on agriculture for a livelihood; while the farms are usually small, and the cultivated area is only a little more than one acre per head of the total population. And in many parts of the country agriculture is carried on under extremely uncertain and precarious conditions as to the natural supply of a sufficient amount of soil-moisture being provided by these otherwise fairly regular monsoon winds. The south-west or summer monsoon, after sweeping, saturated with moisture, across the Indian Ocean, generally bursts over Burma in May and over India in June; and this marks the beginning of the agricultural year, following two to three months of intense heat, during which the bare earth has been scorched and torried under the fierce glare of a blazing sun in a brazen, cloudless sky, which bakes the soil hard and makes it sterile through lack of moisture.

As soon as the thirsty land gets sufficiently softened by rainfall ploughing begins, and during the next two to four months before the monsoon ceases, in September or October, or later in Burma, the various crops of millets and rice are grown for the autumn harvest, the more important for the food-supply of the people. The choice between these two main classes of crops depends chiefly on the local average amount of rainfall; in each case, however, successful agriculture depends not only on the total amount of the rainfall, but also on its favourable distribution. Heavy rains flood the low-lying tracts, while deficient rainfall and long breaks in between good showers cause drought on the higher lands. In October the ploughing and sowing

for the spring harvest begins, which includes wheat, barley, and pulses among foodstuffs in the north, and millets in the south; and these crops are dependent on the north-east or winter monsoon rains, which break late in November or early in December along the Madras coast, and about Christmas in the other parts of India which they affect.

As the result of these climatic conditions, governed by circumstances entirely beyond human control, the vast territory of the Indian Empire, about 1,100,000 square miles in area, is naturally parcelled out into more or less well-defined zones of average annual rainfall, which determine the character of the agricultural crops that can be raised. The coasts of Bombay and Burma, upon which the south-west monsoon winds first impinge and deposit much of their moisture, and the thickly wooded mountain tracts in the north-east of India and in Assam, have an annual average rainfall of over 100 inches. In the immediate vicinity of these three zones of heaviest rainfall, extending all along the base of the Himalayas and through the plains of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra in the Bengals, and the plains of the Lower Irrawaddy, the Sittang, and the Lower Salween, the average rainfall varying from fifty to a hundred inches; and in these areas the cultivation can be carried on with this abundant water-supply. Fringing this belt of ample rainfall along the coast, including the whole of Oudh, then stretching north-west only for a few miles, but reaching down to the Ganges delta, and thence extending across the whole of the rest of Bengal proper, the Central Province, Rangoon, of the Central Indian States, and the northern part of Madras, lies the zone of thirty to fifty inches, whose north-western limit forms roughly a convex arc drawn from Baroda, at the head of the Gulf of Cambay, to not far above Allahabad, where the Jumna effects its junction with the Ganges, while its north-western limit describes a very sinuous line from the Tapti River to the mouth of the Kistna. In the rest of Southern India, comprising the Deccan and the greater part of Madras, the average rainfall varies between ten and thirty inches, and beyond the north-eastern limit similar averages obtain for the greater part of the United Provinces, the south-eastern Rajputana States, and the Punjab; while the Thar or Rajputana desert to the west of Bikanir and all the lower Indus valley and westwards across Beluchistan form an arid zone having under ten inches of rainfall. A large part of Central Burma forms a zone of thirty to fifty inches, while the core of the province forming the middle of the old kingdom of Ava has even less than that.

So far as variations from the normal average rainfall are concerned, the tracts blessed with fifty inches or above are much more likely to suffer from inundation than from drought; but throughout the whole of the rest of India—and that means over about four-fifths of

the total area, or nearly 875,000 square miles—there is always, except in irrigated tracts, a greater or less danger of a weak monsoon current failing to bring sufficient rainfall to satisfy the minima requirements for successful agriculture.

Naturally, too, the highest average temperatures occur in the arid tracts, the climax being attained in the Rajputana desert, which falls within the high isotherm of 90° Fahr. Another result of this widely differing rainfall is the extreme variation in the distribution and the character of the remaining woodlands, which still cover 250,000 square miles, or nearly one-fourth of the total area of India. In wet zones having a fall of over seventy-five inches evergreen tree-forests prevail; in the tracts with from about thirty to seventy-five inches the quasi-evergreen and purely deciduous forests vary greatly according to rainfall, elevation, soil, configuration, &c., while in the dry and the arid tracts with less than thirty inches the vegetation is usually scrubby and more or less scrub-like.

As has been briefly indicated above, any irregularity in the rain-bringing monsoon currents, and especially in the south-western monsoon which profoundly affects the whole of India except the eastern portion of Madras, is bound to influence the cultural crops to a greater or less extent, and the Indian peasant dependent solely on rainfall. Whenever any considerable irregularity occurs, and more particularly when there is a short season or a failure and consequent scarcity are bound to be the immediate results. And this not only affects the large land-owning and tenant occupiers, but also the poorest labouring classes who work in the fields for hire, as then there is less work for them. But when there is a scarcity, this does not necessarily mean that famine is about to ensue. Extremely thrifty as a rule, the Indian peasant can generally survive with admirable equanimity the loss of one bad season; and by means of the good railway-net, food-grain can now be easily poured into tracts where scarcity is announced. But not being a capitalist, and the individual holdings being usually small, his credit with the local money-lenders soon shrinks when a harvest fails. And when, as is unfortunately now so very often the case, there has been a succession of years of drought, then the resources of the patient and resigned Indian peasant soon become exhausted, and famine appears with all its horrible sufferings and their terrible after-effects in the shape of epidemic diseases. On their crops failing the poorer agricultural classes first try to eke out a scanty livelihood by gathering and eating wild fruits and roots in any neighbouring jungles, and it is only when the hard pressure of actual want becomes keenly felt that they can bring themselves to quit their fields and go to the test works opened by Government for famine relief. And so strongly is the Indian peasant bound to his ancestral holding by caste and by all that he believes in, that he absolutely declines to remove from his

habitual surroundings to other parts of his province, or other parts of the empire, where vacant land is still easily obtainable in fertile regions well provided with water either naturally or artificially supplied.

In former times, when the Mahrattas and Pindaris laid waste and terrorised the whole of Central India throughout the eighteenth century, and down to the time when the entire empire came under British rule, matters were much worse than they now are, when so much has been done to improve the old systems of water-storage in tanks, and to provide abundant water perennially by vast irrigation canals. But while oppressive misrule and war have been put an end to, the blessings of peace have to a very serious extent aggravated the difficulty needing so often to be dealt with. The suppression of female infanticide, the maintenance of peace, the saving of life by such means as hospitals, improved sanitation, endeavours to restrict and overcome epidemic diseases, and famine relief on a vast scale during outbreaks of famine, all tended to increase the population very largely. And as this increase is not being balanced by a proportionate industrial development, or by the Indian Empire, or by emigration from congested provinces with precarious rainfall to non-congested provinces, like Burma, with abundance of vacant virgin soil and unfailing rainfall, it is not surprising that whenever or wherever irregularity or shortage of rainfall is apt to produce scarcity there is all the greater danger of this becoming a famine.

and as yet the only means of artificially providing irrigation, of course; and the inquiries made by the Commission of 1901-3 showed that, with its total population of nearly 300,000,000, about 53,000,000 acres, equal to 17·6 per cent., were ordinarily irrigated out of the total cultivated area of about 300,000,000 acres. And of these irrigation methods canals supplied 19,000,000 acres, wells 16,000,000, tanks 10,000,000, and other sources 8,000,000. For British India alone, with its population of about 220,000,000, and an average area of 226,000,000 acres annually cultivated, the area ordinarily irrigated was 44,000,000 acres, or 19·5 per cent.; and of these irrigated lands 18,500,000 acres were watered from State and 25,500,000 from private irrigation works. The areas thus protected against climatic shortcomings, and secured as regards a sufficient water-supply for agriculture by means of irrigation, are mainly those which lie within the operation of the large canal systems of the Northern Indian rivers and the deltas of the Madras rivers, and those which can be amply supplied with water from wells. But outside of these artificially protected areas and of the tracts with an assured rainfall there must always be a recurring danger of scarcity through insufficient natural moisture, and a consequent risk of famine; and this means that by far the largest part of India is continually exposed to this danger, the most frequently afflicted parts being the great Deccan plateau, forming the central portion of the peninsula of

Southern India, and the adjoining portions of the Central Provinces and the Central Indian States, although Western Bengal and Orissa, the United Provinces, and the Punjab have more than once been the scene of very severe famines, and are now again thus afflicted.

In olden times transport was primitive, and when famine occurred the people just wandered and died. Thus in 1769-70, when famine afflicted Bengal, the loss of life was estimated at 10,000,000. Without reckoning years merely of greater or less scarcity, parts of Madras have throughout the last 150 years been visited by eight famines, extending over eighteen years; and it was in connection with a scarcity which threatened to become a famine there that relief works were first opened by the British in 1792, although the obligation to provide relief for all who sought aid was not recognised till over forty years later, during a severe famine in and around Agra and Delhi in 1838 when a fixed famine wage was given (230,000*l.* being *to* spent). But regular relief works under professional control were not into operation till the great Bellary (Madras) famine in 18

It was not until after British India had passed u government, however, that anything in the shape of a was considered. Agra and Delhi having again, along with Rajputa in 1860-1 suffered from famine extending ov with a population of 20,000,000, a special inquiry, the first of the kin ordered by Government, was carried out by Colonel Baird Sm which showed that stability of tenure and canal irrigat improved the people's power of endurance. And wh Orissa and Bihar in Bengal and the Bellary and Gan Madras were in 1865-7 blighted with a famine affe 180,00 square miles with a population of 47,500,000, and severe scarcity also extended all along the south-eastern coast and into the Bombay Deccan and Central and Western Bengal, a Commission of investigation was appointed under Sir George Campbell, which effectually aroused the attention of Government to the responsibilities resting upon them.

From this time may be dated the humane modern relief-policy which has been gradually developed during the last forty years, and which has now become so far perfected as to be a great safeguard in preventing serious loss of human life, *though it does not in the very slightest degree attempt to improve the local conditions as to climate and soil-moisture, except where irrigation is practicable in areas lying lower than the beds of the great rivers at the points where these can be utilised as sources of water-supply.*

Almost immediately thereafter the great famine on the eastern side of the peninsula was followed by another equally severe famine on the western side, affecting 296,000 square miles with a population of 44,500,000, and centring in Ajmer and Rajputana, also a land-locked area. It was during this famine that Sir William Muir, Lieutenant-

Governor of the North-Western Provinces, issued his oft-quoted order that 'every district officer would be held personally responsible that no deaths occurred from starvation which could have been avoided by any exertion or arrangement on his part or that of his subordinates,' in spite of which the mortality was high, owing to the great immigration that took place into British territory from the Native States.

When the next famine broke out, in 1873-4, affecting 54,000 square miles in Bihar with a population of 21,500,000, the vast expenditure of 6,750,000*l.* was incurred in somewhat indiscriminate gratuitous relief. Two years later another Southern Indian famine occurred, in 1876-8, which in its second year included not only Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, and part of Bombay, but also extended into the Central and the United Provinces and the Punjab, affecting a total area of 157,000 square miles with a population of 58,500,000. Sir Richard Strachey was then sent down as Famine Commissioner to assist the Government and to ensure that suitable precautions should be taken against such reckless expenditure as had been incurred in the former administration was much stricter, and a famine wage of one pound of grain plus one anna per man (known as 'the Temple measure') afterwards found to be insufficient except under favourable conditions. And though these measures cost about 5,250,000*l.*, yet the extra famine mortality in British territory alone was reduced to 5,250,000.

Madras and Bombay were still suffering from this famine when it began in 1876, and then extended to the United Provinces and the Punjab in 1877-8, modern relief policy became definitely outlined by the Secretary of State's declaration in 1877 that 'the object of saving life is undoubtedly paramount to all other considerations. But it is essential that . . . you are bound to adopt precautions . . . similar, so far as the circumstances of India permit, to those with which in this country it has always been found necessary to protect the distribution of public relief from abuse.' This was the key-note struck when the appointment of the first Famine Commission was ordered in the despatch of the 10th of January 1878, 'to collect with the utmost care all information which may assist future administrations in the task of limiting the range or mitigating the intensity of these calamities.'

This first Famine Commission was appointed on the 16th of May 1878, with General (afterwards Sir Richard) Strachey as president; and it submitted its long report on the 31st of July 1880. If there was any previous doubt about the matter, it established beyond further question the fact that all *Indian famines are caused by drought*, and 'that *Indian famines are necessarily recurring calamities, against which such precautions as are possible must be taken beforehand, and that it is the duty of the Government to do its utmost in devising some*

means of protecting the country, and to persevere in its attempts till some solution of the problem has been obtained.' It therefore recommended the adoption of 'a definite system of procedure, to be embodied in a famine code,' and urged the importance of improved meteorological observations and the dissemination of the useful information thus obtainable in advance. These recommendations were embodied in a Provisional Famine Code, which was circulated in 1883, and under which Provincial Codes were drawn up for future guidance and action.

Among the questions on which the Commission's opinion was asked was one concerning the influence which the denudation of forests may have upon the rainfall and on the subsequent retention of the rain-water in the soil, and its effect on the permanence of springs or flowing streams. This was, in point of fact, the renewal of a very important question which had been brought before the notice of the Government thirty years previously. In 1846 Dr. Gibson, then acting as Conservator of Forests in Bombay, had pointed out the serious effects that were already ensuing from extensive clearance of forests during the previous fifty years. He had, in a letter dated 10th of March 1846, clearly stated that unrestrained clearances had diminished the fertility of neighbouring gardens and rice-land, and of the surrounding tracts generally, and that if continued they must necessarily have the disadvantageous effect of considerably increasing the mean annual temperature and the aridity of the climate. As proof of this he showed that since extensive clearances of forest had taken place in the South Konkan the people asserted that the springs dried up in the uplands, and that the climate had become much drier and the seasons more uncertain, and the land less fertile. This and other similar representations led the Court of Directors to send out a despatch (No. 21, dated the 7th of July 1847) asking the Government of India to ascertain 'the effect of trees on the climate and productiveness of a country, and the results of extensive clearances of timber.' The Government of India at once took action; but the times were troublous, and only three reports from Madras collectorates were published. These gave valuable evidence about the drying up of springs after forest clearance and the effect of this on water-storage at the base of hills, the rapidity of forest denudation since the introduction of railways, the injurious effects of extensive clearance on climate and soil-fertility, and the assertion of the cultivators in Trichinopoly that where the forests had been cleared the heat and wind were much increased, and that dry cultivation had extended greatly owing to a diminished water-supply in the tanks and wells. Among scientific bodies at home, too, the forestal question in India was arousing serious attention, and in 1851 the British Association appointed a Committee to consider the probable effects, from both economical and physical points of view, of the destruction of forests; and this Committee reported urging forest conservancy and planting operations.

No definite reply was ever officially given to the very important questions raised in that despatch of 1847. But this matter had now again come before the Government of India in Sir Richard Temple's report on the Madras famine of 1877, in which he said—

We cannot but reflect whether the uncertainty of season, which often proves so disastrous in Southern India, is not becoming worse and worse; whether there may not be some physical causes at work to render the rainfall precarious; and whether such causes can be ascertained and obviated. It is hard to conceive a question more practically important than this. The discussion of it would be beyond the scope of this minute. But, connected with it, there is one particular matter which may be mentioned forcibly, though briefly. The Southern Peninsula of India has been or is being denuded not only of its forests but also of its jungles, its groves, its brushwood, its trees. The denudation has been, as I understand, going on near the sources and in the upper courses of the many rivers which water the country. This, perhaps, is being in some degree checked. But with the progress of coffee-planting, and with the assertion of communal rights on behalf of the people, the utmost vigilance will be needed to keep it within bounds. If it were to proceed unchecked, there would be the danger of the rivers running dry. . . . And, as these rivers supply the great irrigation systems, this danger has only to be mentioned in order to be felt. The same argument applies in a lesser degree to the tanks or lakes, which depend only to the canals in usefulness for irrigation. It has already been pointed out how precarious is the question of these reservoirs, even with one year's drought. In the midst of cultivated tracts there are to be seen bare, sterile hill-sides said to have been forest-clad within living memory. In such localities the climate is supposed to have been changed for the worse. Beyond the ghât of the Narmada, between Bellary and Kurnool, the treeless, shrubless aspect of the country is as mournful as it is melancholy. These are the very districts where famine has been locally epidemic and where scarcity has been almost endemic.

This subject was therefore referred to the Famine Commission in 1878, and the results of their investigations are contained in three pages (177-9) dealing with 'Forest Conservancy' (*Report*, part ii. chap. vi. sect. ii.), which may be summarised as follows so far as they bear on the particular points at issue :—

1. . . . Whether the presence or absence of forests has any direct effect on precipitating rain is a much disputed point, which we shall not attempt to decide; but there is before us a great amount of evidence from all parts of India that the destruction of forests is believed to have acted injuriously by allowing the rain waters to run off too rapidly. They descend from the hill-sides in furious torrents, which carry down the soil, cause landslips, and form sandy deposits in the plains, so that the surface drainage, which, if gently and evenly distributed over an absorbent soil protected by vegetation, should furnish a perennial supply of fertilising springs, passes rapidly away, and the streams into which it collects quickly cease to flow, after causing mischief instead of good. . . .

2. The action of the State, which certainly was too long deferred, has everywhere been much hampered. . . .

7. . . . but the Indian Forest Act of 1878 has at length given the Executive ample powers to arrest further waste and denudation, and to administer the forest resources to the greatest public advantage.

9. . . . *We think it probable that some of the least productive tracts now under the plough might be managed with greater benefit to the community as protected forest for village uses than as arable land.*

10. So far as any immediate advantage is to be sought from the extension of forest in respect to protection against drought, it will, in our opinion, be mainly in the direction of the judicious inclosure and protection of tracts . . . from which improved and more certain pasture may be secured for the cattle of the vicinity, a supply of firewood secured which may lead to a more general utilisation of animal manure for agriculture, and a possible addition made to the power of the subsoil to retain its moisture, and to the prospect of maintaining the supply of water in the wells. . . . As to the protection of the higher hill-slopes from denudation, it may confidently be stated that they will, in any case, be more useful if kept clothed with wood than subjected to the wasteful and destructive process by which they are brought under partial and temporary cultivation, and that, whether the expectation of an improved water supply as a consequence of such protection is fully realised or not, there is on other grounds sufficient reason for arranging for the conservation of such tracts where it is practicable.

In the main portion of the Commission's report, however, no reference whatever was made to forests, and the Forest Department was not even mentioned in that part of it (par. 120) which urged the 'co-operation of all departments . . . apart from the manifold arising in relation to direct measures of relief.'

Further light was thrown on this most important subject by the Dr. J. A. Voelcker, consulting chemist to the Royal Agricultural Society, was sent out in 1892 to study and advise on agricultural matters, and embodied his opinions in a *Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, 1893. In the chapters dealing with 'Crops' and 'Wood' he made very valuable observations concerning the relation between agriculture and forests; and he gave particular appreciation to the work of the Forest Department, which was even then still accursed in the eyes of many district officers. With regard to wooded lands he said—

38. . . . I would point out that their real influence and value consist in their lowering the temperature, and thus causing moisture to be deposited where it would otherwise pass on. . . . Thus, a given quantity of rain will be distributed over a greater number of days, and its value to the agriculturist will be thereby largely increased. . . . Though immense tracts of country have been denuded in the past there are still considerable areas which can be taken up and rendered serviceable for climatic ends, and the Forest Department has stepped in none too early in the endeavour to save those wooded tracts which are still left. From climatic considerations alone the work of the Forest Department is, accordingly, of importance. . . .

180. Having instanced sufficiently the need of more firewood for agricultural purposes, I must now express my concurrence with the views that have been expressed both by Governments and by individuals, that the way in which the supply of wood to agriculture can be best increased is by the creation of new enclosures for the purpose of growing wood, scrub jungle, and grass. Such enclosures are now denominated 'Fuel and Fodder Reserves.'

182. The question was often asked by me, why the Forest Department has not created more 'Fuel and Fodder Reserves' . . . Undoubtedly progress is hampered by an insufficient staff, but I consider this important question must not be longer delayed.

197. Such 'reserves' should be primarily adapted to serve agricultural ends.

There is a considerable amount of land which might be taken up for this purpose, in others land must be purchased. The results must not be gauged by financial considerations alone, but by the benefits conferred on the agricultural population, the keeping up of the soil's fertility, and the maintaining of the Land Revenue to the State. Enquiry is needed in order to ascertain exactly what the requirements of each district are in respect of fuel, &c., and how these may be met. Continued encouragement should be given to the spread of Arboriculture. The Forest Department is certainly undermanned, and the present financial check placed upon its further development in an agricultural direction should be removed.

The first-fruits of Dr. Voelcker's report appeared in a Government of India resolution in October 1894, when it was formally declared that 'the sole object with which State forests are administered is the public benefit'; and this has been the policy adopted since then. Very soon hereafter a striking example of the direct utility of forests in providing the roots and fruits and fuel for the relief of the labouring masses and of the advantages obtainable in granting them free collection of fuel for their starving cattle, occurred in 1894 during serious scarcity in parts of the Central Provinces. 'Nothing that was done for the benefit of the people,' the resolution thereon stated, 'is said to have been more appreciated than the concession made in this respect.' The first serious test to which the Famine Codes were put came in 1896. In the Bundelkhand district of the United Provinces the summer rainfall of 1895 was scanty and the winter rains failed, and the rains were begun early in 1896. The monsoon of 1896 was also weak, and famine soon spread over between a quarter and one-third of all India. The whole of Central India was famine-stricken, together with parts of Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal, and Upper Burma, the afflicted areas aggregating about 307,000 square miles with a total population of 69,500,000, of whom 4,000,000 had to be given relief whilst the famine was at its height. Never before had famine relief operations been so extensive. Over 820,000,000 units received relief, at a cost of nearly 6,000,000*l.*, besides large remissions of revenue and loans afterwards made for the purchase of plough cattle. But in British districts alone the famine mortality was about 750,000 before the autumn harvest of 1897 ended the general distress, which was followed by an exceptionally heavy death-rate from fever and other epidemic diseases always following in the wake of famine.

As soon as this great distress was ended a second Famine Commission, of which Sir James Lyall was president, was appointed on the 23rd of December 1897, to examine and compare the various systems of relief adopted locally and the results attained, and 'to make any enquiries and record any recommendations or opinions which it is thought will prove useful in the case of future famines.' Under the Provincial Famine Codes special arrangements had been made for the withdrawal of restrictions tending to exclude persons in distress from the full benefits of the natural products of the Reserve Forests or waste lands containing an important supply of edible produce

and also for the protection of cattle, when the pasture was about to fail, by sending them to the nearest Reserves that could be opened and by supplying them with fodder and water on the way there. The only direct mention made of the forests in this Commission's report, dated the 20th of October 1898, is with regard to Bombay, where—

141. The operations undertaken by the Forest Department, with the object of supplying the distressed districts with grass, cut and compressed in the more favoured parts of the presidency, constituted an important departure from the prescriptions of the local famine code, which are confined to measures for throwing open the forests for free grazing and the collection of edible products. Effect was given to these measures both in the distressed tracts and in adjoining districts. But in the distressed areas the drought affected equally the forests, and the agriculturists refused to send their cattle to distant forests. The fodder operations involved a net loss . . . but it is claimed that many valuable cattle have thereby been kept alive, and that the results of the experiment will be of great use in future droughts.

Similar evidence had just before then been published in the Madras Relief Fund Committee's report for 1897 (vol. ii. p. 373).

The solution which promised the best hopes of success . . . was to throw open to free grazing all the forests in the Ceded districts . . . in the Deccan, where the cattle numbered about three million, and where the forest area exceeded 3,810,000 acres, much of which was, owing to the drought, from the parched condition of the plains and lower hills] . . . The proposal was . . . to induce the ryots to club their cattle into herds under appointed drovers who should take the cattle into the reserves under the supervision of Revenue inspectors, and keep them there till better times came. This plan was in accordance with old native custom, and is believed to be by far the best. Under a sky of brass a wind like scorching fire was sweeping over the Deccan, and the fate of its cattle—all but the large stall-fed bullocks of the richer ryots—depended upon the promptitude with which the herds were rescued. . . . The second requisite was the opening of every forest reserve for free grazing. These reserves cover an area . . . capable of carrying a million head of cattle. . . . All the ordinary herds could be driven to these reserves. . . . The reserves were at last all opened towards the end of May. And nearly 700,000 head of cattle benefited thereby.¹

Hardly had the Commission reported, however, before another and even a more widespread and serious famine broke out. Beginning in Ajmer in 1898, it spread all around in 1899, affecting an area of 475,000 square miles and a population of 59,500,000, of whom 6,500,000 were receiving relief in July 1900, while the total number of units relieved exceeded 1140 millions. It was at once the most widespread and the most terrible famine that had ever occurred in India, and over 7,000,000 were spent in Government relief measures.

To inquire into this a third Famine Commission was appointed on the 20th of December 1900, with Sir Antony MacDonnell as president. So far as forests were concerned, its report, dated the 8th of May 1901, drew serious attention to the exceptionally high mortality of far over four million cattle which had been a marked feature of this famine.

¹ *Madras Famine Report*, 1898, vol. i. p. 37.

205. The great mortality of cattle in the recent famine has pushed to the front the question of their preservation in times of drought and dearth of fodder. Such fodder famines are fortunately rare. In an ordinary famine, when the crops fail at a late stage of their growth, there usually remain sufficient straw and grass to save, at any rate, the useful cattle; but the recent famine has been abnormal in this respect. It is estimated that nearly two million cattle, local and immigrant combined, died in the Central Provinces and its Feudatory States, and that an equal number died in Bombay. The mortality was also great in Berar and in Ajmer, in which latter district no effective measures were taken to prevent it. . . . In their efforts to save their cattle the Gujarat agriculturists expended all their savings, themselves enduring great privations; they sold their jewels and even the doors and rafters of their houses, we are told, in order to purchase fodder. Their efforts failed, their cattle died, and with their cattle all their accumulated wealth disappeared, so that Gujarat became a stricken field.

206. . . . In the Central Provinces, where the conditions were very favourable to success, well-considered and sustained action was taken by the authorities. The free cutting of grass was allowed; the means of watering were provided, as far as possible; forests were thrown wholly open to grazing; and grass was given in large quantities. The province had, in fact, as a whole, more than sufficient for its requirements, and exported large quantities both of grass and cattle. And yet the cattle died in immense numbers.

In Bombay relief measures were conducted on a scale hitherto unknown . . . but the conditions were such . . . that no efforts . . . could have more than a partial success.

Regarding the deportation of cattle to the forests this Commission did not think it advisable to put pressure on the people, as in Gujarat and Berar large numbers of stall-fed cattle thus deported had died on the way, while 'the coarseness of the grass, the change of water, or, again, the scantiness and insufficiency of the water-supply, as well as the neglect of the hirelings in charge, are fatal to carefully reared and stall-fed beasts.' But, they added: '216. We think, nevertheless, that the forests should be opened to all who are prepared to take the risks.'

In the second Famine Commission's report of 1898 there was one very ominous sentence (par. 404): '*Viewed as a whole we consider that . . . the areas over which intense and severe distress prevailed in the famine of 1896-97 were greater than in any previous famines.*' And yet the next famine, immediately thereafter, was still more widespread and distressing. Now, this very sad and serious state of affairs is hardly to be wondered at. Ever-widening areas of scarcity must become the rule, unless far more is done than has ever yet been attempted to afforest all waste lands and the poorest classes of agricultural soil, and to plant and manage them solely for the benefit of the surrounding agricultural population and their plough-cattle.

During the fifty years previous to the assumption of government by the Crown there were four famines and four periods of scarcity; and during these last fifty years since then there have been twelve great famines, including the two most extensive and disastrous that have ever occurred, and six periods of serious scarcity. Indeed,

within the last ten years there have been three great famines, and serious scarcity has now become almost an annual occurrence in some part or another; while the famine of 1907-8, that has for over a year been blighting Upper and Central India, has already proved of long duration and great extent. Now, there can be no doubt that the previously existing relations between woodlands and waste jungle-covered tracts on the one hand, and cleared agricultural land on the other, have been greatly disturbed and entirely altered during the last sixty years since the Court of Directors' despatch was sent out in 1847. Whatever beneficial effects extensive wooded or shrub-covered areas can possibly exert on the temperature and the relative humidity of the air, and on the temperature and the amount of moisture retainable within the soil, the sum total of such benefits must necessarily have become greatly diminished through the vast clearances made for permanent and temporary cultivation under British rule during many years of peaceful occupation and of rapidly increasing population, railway development, and trade. During the last few years under Crown government the agricultural situation in the cleared tracts has, despite the benefits of extensive irrigation in tracts where the lower than where the great river-courses can be tapped, been aggravated by an increase in population certainly exceeding 60,000,000 and probably amounting to 80 or 100,000,000 souls, and by correspondingly vast clearances of lands formerly covered with trees or shrubs, and these clearances for cultivation must inevitably have simultaneously decreased the capacity of the soil for retaining moisture and increased the actual aridity of both the soil and the atmosphere. So far, therefore, as any sort of opinion is justifiable in default of a careful scientific enquiry it may be presumed that these extensive clearances of woodlands and the pressure of a population of 300,000,000 now requiring to be supported must inevitably have tended both to induce and to prolong the now more frequently recurring periods of scarcity, and also to increase the danger of scarcity becoming famine.

Although the Reserved and Protected Forests amount to nearly 25 per cent. of the total area of India, yet the percentage of their distribution varies enormously (Burma 75, Assam 45, Central Provinces and Berar 21, Madras 13½, Bombay 12, Bengal and Punjab 9, United Provinces 4, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier 2); and this means that in the hottest and driest parts and in the most densely populated provinces, where woodlands and scrub jungles would afford the greatest benefits to agriculturists and their cattle, the forests now exist only in an inverse proportion to the need for them.

I have before touched incidentally on this matter in an article on 'The Forests of India' (see this Review, February 1907), but I would here plead for more attention, a more specialised scientific and especially botanical enquiry, and more money being devoted both to the consideration of and also to actual experiments connected with the

question as to whether or not the Government cannot do something to relieve the situation by (1) afforesting all still existing waste lands and also acquiring many of the lowest grade cultivated lands, which are the first to become affected by and the last to recover from the effects of drought, and (2) by endeavouring so to plant or sow them with any sort of trees, bushes, coarse grasses, or even desert plants as can possibly be made to grow there.

Thirty years ago the Secretary of State (despatch of the 10th of January 1878, par. 9) said: 'It is of still more essential importance to ascertain how far it is possible for Government, by its action, to diminish the severity of famines, or to place the people in a better condition for enduring them.' Never yet, however, has science been properly asked, except to a partial extent through Dr. Voelcker in 1892, to assist in ameliorating in such manner the lot of the patient agriculturist and of his dumb, helpless cattle. The Famine Commissions of 1897 and 1901 were enquiries by practical administrators, and only considered forests as the means of possibly providing edible roots and fruits for grazing for cattle in time of scarcity. And the Indian Commission of 1901-03 did not investigate the influence of forests on rainfall and water-storage. Nor is the Agricultural Department in a proper position to make the searching investigation and the authoritative recommendations that seem called for.

I would emphasise what Dr. Voelcker said in 1893 (*op. cit.* p. 159):—

It is very clear, from the instances I have given, that there is a good deal of land on which 'fuel and fodder reserves' might be formed, and if only systematic enquiry be made it will result in showing . . . that there is very much more land available than has been stated. In almost every district [in the North-West Provinces] there are uncultivated spots among existing cultivation which would grow *babul* or similar wood perfectly well.

And, in addition to trees, bushes, and grasses indigenous to India, experiments should also be made with the flora of the drier tropical and sub-tropical parts of Africa, America, Australia. Here science can and should aid India, and it rests with Government to take the necessary steps to obtain such assistance. The results would, of course, not be of immediate benefit; but the necessities of future generations call for the immediate commencement of experiments to try and ameliorate even to a small extent the existing precarious conditions.

Far be it from my intention to say anything that may be taken to imply that little or nothing has been done in the directions indicated by Dr. Voelcker (see p. 155); but I do urge that nothing adequate has yet been done, and that much has been left undone which might well find even its financial justification in the splendid and ever-increasing annual revenue accruing from the work of the Indian Forest Department. Even now there are great possibilities of doing much good in this direction. The uncultivated areas are still in many

parts very extensive, and these waste lands receive little or no attention from Government. And although the Forest Department was considerably strengthened in 1907, yet it is still undermanned considering all the extra work it ought to be called upon to do in the interests of Indian agriculture, and of the patient, uncomplaining millions engaged in the toilsome and exceedingly precarious cultivation of the soil throughout by far the greater portion of our Indian Empire.

Even in Burma, the best wooded and one of the best watered of all the provinces, with its 75 per cent. of woodlands and its thin population, the results of disturbance of the water-supply have already been recently felt so strongly as to have necessitated active measures being taken to restrict and regulate hill clearances. And if that be the case there, then it is certain that the other parts of India need measures going very much further.

No Secretary of State for India could be more sympathetic than Lord Morley or more willing to consider informal representation now made regarding matters concerning the welfare of Indian agriculture. In his famous first budget speech on the 20th of July 1906, in which he highly eulogised the work of the Forest Department, his attention was drawn to the fact that no proper reply had ever been given to the despatch of 1847, and that possibly such an enquiry as would now be necessary to probe this economic sore to the bottom may probably show that the afforestation and improvement of waste tracts for the partial amelioration of agricultural conditions in future might well be considered a fit object towards which to devote a fair share of the splendid surplus annually accruing to the provincial and imperial treasures from the forests of India. Preliminary action has already been taken in so far that a circular has been issued by the Government of India calling upon the Provincial Governments to enquire and report upon the influence of woodlands and scrub-covered jungles on climate, soil-moisture, water-storage, and agriculture. And simultaneously therewith, in *Notes on the Influence of Forests on the Storage and Regulation of the Water Supply* (Forest Bulletin No. 9, August 1906), Mr. Eardley Wilmot, Inspector-General of Forests, has touched on this matter as regards some of the drier parts of India. But he could not possibly deal fully with the subject, and what is needed is a thorough scientific enquiry.

When these reports are published they will form the first full and complete official answer to the question asked by the Court of Directors in 1847. But they will then only be merely a preliminary enquiry; for it is not to administrative and executive officers, but to scientific specialists that Government must look for that particular kind of aid that Indian agriculture has long stood so much in need of.

J. NISBET.

THE UNREST OF INSECURITY

The man in the street, the man in his club, and the lady in her boudoir asking what it is all about.

I want to know what is the meaning of all these leagues and associations which are being formed and supported by men of various shades of political opinion and in various walks of life; all of them trying to have for their object the awakening of the country to a sense of its insecurity; and all prescribing their own special schemes for national defence; without which we are told that we are now—as a nation—dangerously insecure, and liable to some great national catastrophe which may cost us untold miseries and humiliations, with the probable loss of our freedom and independence.

What does it all mean?

Are these men who support these leagues and associations all cranks and nervous alarmists?

Or are they vulgar practical jokers, trying to 'get a rise' out of their fellow-country-men and women (for the women have just as much interest in this matter as the men)? Or, finally, are they for the most part level-headed Englishmen, who, having given some thought to the course of the history which we are now 'making,' have reluctantly come to the conclusion that our ancient weapons of defence have become rusty and obsolete, and that it behoves us to adopt new ones, and that speedily, while the day of grace is still ours?

We have the 'Navy League,' in fact we have two navy leagues: the original one, and the revolted branch, which has assumed the title of the 'Imperial Maritime League.' Both of them working towards the same goal, though by different methods. Both of them strenuously urging their fellow-countrymen to maintain at all costs an indisputable naval supremacy over all our rivals, either singly or in any probable combination against us.

Then we have the 'National Defence Association,' containing, amongst others, such distinguished names on its committee as those of Lord Roberts, the Duke of Bedford, Sir Vincent Caillard, Lord

Castlereagh, M.P., the Earl of Dundonald, the Earl of Erroll, the Right Honourable Walter Long, M.P., and many others.

This Association holds periodical meetings, and discusses such important national subjects as 'The blue-water school,' 'The problem of invasion,' 'The citizen's duty in defence,' 'The state of the Navy,' 'The defence of India,' 'The county associations and their work,' &c., &c.

Then we have the 'National Service League,' headed by our veteran soldier Lord Roberts.

This association, which bears on its roll fifty-two admirals besides a very large number of generals and colonels, shows thereby that even professional seamen who have spent all the best years of their lives in the Royal Navy and might be expected to belong entirely to the 'blue-water school,' are yet so firmly convinced that the country cannot be defended by the Navy alone that they spend their energies, and their money in striving to awaken their countrymen to the danger they incur by entrusting—as they do now—the defence of the British Empire entirely to the Navy, without an adequate Army to back it up.

It is probably known to most of our readers that the National Service League was formed a few years ago for the purpose of advocating the compulsory military training of all able-bodied young men in these islands, for the purpose of home defence. The general idea being that it would be very good for the young men themselves (irrespective of the feeling of security which it would produce in the country) if every British youth of sound physique and ordinary brain-power were put through a short course of military training and rifle shooting, as the logical complement of compulsory education in 'book-learning.' That it would be at least as good for the wealthy and so-called 'idle' classes of the community as for the industrial and working classes. That, in short, it having already been proved in free and democratic Switzerland that universal military training for home defence is highly beneficial, both to the individual and to the country, there is no reason to suppose that it will not be equally beneficial in free and democratic England. And, further, that so far from universal military training being likely to produce a spirit of aggression and jingoism, exactly the opposite sentiments will probably be developed; and when every family knows it may have to put one or more of its members into the fighting line, that knowledge will have a sobering effect upon the nation and prevent further exhibitions of that music-hall patriotism which has on more than one occasion detracted seriously from our reputation for dignified self-control and British coolness, showing us to our neighbours more in the guise of some of those Southern races whose demonstrative excitability we have always affected to despise.

The case was admirably put by Lord Roberts when he said :

I wish I could make it clear to my fellow-countrymen that the universal obligation to share in the national defence is the surest guarantee against a spirit of wanton aggression and that kind of irresponsible jingoism which shouts for war on the slightest provocation, the shouter knowing full well that he will not have to risk his own skin.

Those who are opposed to anything in the shape of compulsion for military training ask those who advocate it to show the necessity for it at this particular juncture in our national life. The request, at first sight, sounds reasonable, as it is not usual to make fundamental changes in long-established institutions without good cause shown for doing so. Yet in the present case it is not possible, and never will be possible, to show the 'necessity' for the change advocated until after some terrible national catastrophe has happened ; and then, of course, it will be too late. But it is submitted that even if we wade through our next war with our present antiquated system of patriotism by proxy, it will not prove that we could not have done better and cheaper had the manhood of the nation been trained to fight ; nor will it prove either that such universal training is not a 'necessity' for the safety and independence of the country in the near future.

But although it may not be possible to demonstrate the 'necessity' beforehand in the same way that we prove a proposition in Euclid, it is surely reasonable and wise to deal with such an important subject as national security in accordance with the probabilities arising out of the international situation which we have to deal with.

Men insure their houses and their goods not only against what might be called the 'probabilities' of fire, but against the 'possibility' of loss by such a catastrophe as the burning down of their houses or stores. Is not such a precaution equally incumbent upon a very rich and much-envied nation, or, rather, world-wide Empire ?

'True,' say our critics ; 'but we *are* insured : our all-powerful Navy is our insurance, and if that should suffer defeat, all the home armies of millions of trained men that we could possibly muster would not save the country, as we could be starved into submission in a few months ; for our food supplies would be cut off directly our Navy was defeated.'

'True also,' replies the National Service League ; 'but your Empire can be destroyed *without* the defeat of the British Navy ; and if during some future great European war you tie your Navy to the shores of these islands, and never allow the bulk of your battle squadrons to be more than forty-eight hours' sail from the North Sea (as certainly will be the case under approaching conditions), you will lose your Empire.'

It is confidently submitted to the mature judgment of the readers of this Review that it is the duty of the manhood of the nation to be

ready to defend their country from invasion; and if we are too short-sighted, or too misguided by silly sentiment, to insist that our young men shall prepare themselves for this duty while the day of grace still lasts, our Navy will be paralysed from the day that war breaks out or becomes imminent.

That there should be any question of the invasion of these islands is humiliating in the last degree, and absolutely inconsistent with our proud boast of being the greatest Empire that the world has ever seen.

Wherein lies the wisdom of boasting that we own a fifth part of the habitable globe, and that three or four hundred millions of men and women of various shades of colour are subject to our Imperial but beneficent rule, whilst all our neighbours are well aware that if we were to find ourselves at war to-morrow with an ambitious rival across the North Sea we should stand trembling in our shoes, in fear of a successful invasion of these two little islands—the heart of the Empire?

And why? Simply because we continue, as a nation, to take such a distorted view of that much-abused word ‘freedom’ that we place the freedom of the individual on a higher level of sanctity than the freedom of the State. Thus deliberately neglecting to make due provision for carrying out the first law of nature—self-preservation—as a State!

In other words, whilst we compel the rising generation of lads and lasses to receive education of a more or less useful kind, whether they like it or not, on the broad principle that it makes of them useful citizens, we totally neglect to complete the education of the lads by instructing them in the most useful and most important of all duties—the duty of preparing themselves to defend their country; with the result that just nine-tenths of them shirk this duty altogether, to their own loss, both physically and morally, and to the ever-increasing danger of the land they live in.

The precious freedom of the British hobbledohoy is so sacrosanct that it is considered to be wiser and more patriotic to allow him to follow his own sweet will; to shirk his most obvious duty to his country in order that he may have plenty of time to follow his own private business or pleasure; to smoke his pipe at a football match (not to play that or any other manly game, but merely to look on and applaud); to slouch about at street corners and the precincts of public-houses; and to brag about his liberty as a free-born Briton.

Many deeds of crime and folly have been committed in the sacred name of liberty, though perhaps none more foolish, none more short-sighted or more dangerous to the future of the integrity and independence of these islands, than that folly which we are now committing in its name by allowing nine-tenths of our lads to grow up into manhood without instructing them and preparing them to assume when

necessary, and qualifying them to undertake, the most obvious and most sacred duty of defending the land they live in and call their own : whose institutions they profess to be proud of, whose laws they are always ready to invoke for their own protection or advantage, but whose liberty and inviolability from foreign aggression they are not ready to defend. In short, they claim their 'rights' without acknowledging their duties and their obligations, and they are quietly allowed to do so by the law of the land. What a travesty of the word 'liberty'!

Great Britain and the United States of America are generally supposed to be the two most peace-loving nations on earth, and they have every reason to be so. They are both of them rich, and they both have (practically speaking) as much territory as they want; at any rate as much as they can comfortably manage. They desire therefore the *status quo* : to be left alone by their neighbours to enjoy their inheritances in peace. The United States, from their geographical position, are, for the present at any rate, relieved from all fear of foreign aggression. They are safe from outside attack, and the only national troubles which could possibly overtake them must hence arise from internal dissensions and disruption. A great national army would not protect them against this danger; in fact, might have exactly the opposite tendency.

The case of Great Britain is different, and there is no rational comparison between the two countries in this respect. The British Empire, from its geographical position, is more open to attack than the territories of any other nation on earth. It is rich and prosperous, and naturally excites the envy of its neighbours. Its foundation is upon the sea—an unstable element—and not only the defeat but even the partial paralysis of the British Navy would bring the Empire tumbling down like a house of cards.

This paralysis will certainly take place if we have not sufficient land forces to protect these islands from invasion at the time that Germany issues her challenge. That she will challenge us as soon as she is ready and sees a good opportunity there can be no reasonable doubt; in fact, we have had fair warning to that effect—'Germany's future is on the ocean,' 'The twentieth century belongs to Germany,' 'We must have a navy of such strength that the strongest navy in the world will hesitate to try conclusions with it,' &c., &c.

Germany will be perfectly justified in challenging us. She is now desirous of doing, and has a perfect right to do, what we ourselves have been doing for the last two hundred years. That is to say, engaging in that operation euphemistically known as 'expansion.' We have, practically speaking, come to the end of our expansion, as previously noted; but it is well to remember that some of the lands which we 'expanded' into were not waste and unoccupied lands. In fact, many of them were very thickly peopled: but this fact did not

hinder us from annexing them. It never does when nations think they are strong enough to take something they want; and they can always find some more or less plausible excuse for doing so—'Peaceable penetration,' 'The advancement of Christianity,' 'The benefits of civilisation and commerce,' 'The abolition of slavery,' 'The necessary compensation and salutary punishment for the murder of an explorer or a missionary.' Any of these is quite sufficient excuse for the annexation of a tract of country, always provided that you are strong enough and that your jealous neighbours will not object and interfere with you.

There are, no doubt, many excellent, honest, amiable, and thoroughly sincere public men in this country who firmly believe that we shall be able to avoid war in the future, if we are only sufficiently conciliatory, courteous, and perhaps yielding towards all our neighbours. There are many such men in our present Parliament, engaged in making laws for the government of this great Empire and in voting or raising supplies for the naval and military services, which are maintained for its defence. These excellent people—'men of peace,' as they call themselves—are endeavouring to persuade their fellow-countrymen that if we could only bring about some international agreement for the limitation of armaments war would become less likely, and might perhaps be eventually abolished altogether. 'They preach the exact opposite to the well-known maxim *'Si vis pacem para bellum,'* and they tell us that if we wish for peace we must *not* be prepared for war. They go even further than this, and, with the view of carrying out their theories, they suggest—and try to enforce—that Great Britain should set the example by reducing her expenditure on the warlike services. And they even venture to prophesy (like Cobden did about Free Trade) that our neighbours will speedily follow our example.

The proposal seems to be somewhat rash, and the assumption that our neighbours will follow our example even rasher. We may search all history in vain to find any warrant for assuming that a rich, prosperous, and essentially commercial nation rendered itself immune from attack by reducing its armaments for defence. Moreover, our neighbours have good reason for doubting our sincerity in this matter when they hear a responsible Minister declaring in the same breath that he has reduced expenditure on one of the warlike services and at the same time added to its efficiency by means of wiser administration of its resources. This statement was naturally regarded abroad as a piece of insincerity—not to say hypocrisy. In this country it was understood as a rather clever method of squaring two opposite schools of thought in the right honourable member's constituency, one of which desired efficiency first and economy second, and the other economy first and efficiency second, and of thus redeeming some glib election pledges.

The two Peace Conferences at The Hague raised hopes in the breasts of a few enthusiasts which have been somewhat rudely dashed to the ground. 'Peace Conferences' they were called, though as a matter of fact they were war conferences. They did nothing whatever to bring universal and perpetual peace one day nearer to the nations wishing for it. The later conference did something, though very little, to settle some of the so-called practices of war; but in so doing it brought to light and accentuated in an alarming degree some of the opposing and quite irreconcilable interests of those nations which are now struggling for naval supremacy.

Our recognised peace apostles abused the British delegates at The Hague in unmeasured terms. The latter were alluded to as incompetent blunderers who had totally disappointed the hopes of their country, and had done nothing whatever to further the cause of peace.

The latter accusation is undoubtedly true; but it would seem to be about as reasonable to charge our greatest mathematicians with incompetence because they have failed to square the circle as to find fault with Sir Edward Fry and his colleagues because they have failed to alter human nature by a display of their persuasive eloquence.

Far wiser, far deeper in thought, far more practical in their conclusions, are the comments of the Chinese Ambassador at the Hague Conference. They are so direct, so honestly free from all cant and make-believe, so quiet yet so earnest in their evident object as an exhortation to his country (the oldest civilisation on earth) to wake up and adopt new methods for its defence, that they will become quite classical as a contribution to the discussions on the subject of universal peace; and a few of them are well worth quoting here.

After pointing out that while at the first Hague Conference twenty-six independent nations were represented, forty-five sent delegates to the second, his Excellency Chien-Hsün proceeds:

In most cases the leading representatives were either statesmen or lawyers, with naval or military experts to assist them. In no case were their arguments and representations trivial in character, and each and all did his best to advance his nation's interest; but, inasmuch as nations differ in status and power, proposals made by one nation would not commend themselves to another, and heated arguments would follow, moving the whole assembly to excitement, each representative insisting on his nation's sovereign rights, and with the result that the proposal would be dropped half way, or suspended in a void of empty theories.

What a delightfully honest description of a Peace Conference! Chien-Hsün then goes on to say:

The first conference was nominally intended to effect the limitation of armaments, and on this occasion England made this her main suggestion, but on proceeding to discuss it the members of the conference could not refrain from smiling; for, when every Power is competing to the uttermost, which of them is likely voluntarily to impose checks upon its own martial ardour?

Which of them indeed?—with the single exception of England, who seems to be fairly on the road to being taken in by the old-fashioned and oft-exposed confidence trick: stinting and saving money on her defensive services in order that she may be able to pauperise her working classes.

His Excellency further reports to the 'Son of Heaven' that—

It was expressly declared, in addition, that Great Britain, Germany, France, America, Italy, Austria, Japan, and Russia are the eight Great Powers, which plainly indicated that all other nations are to be regarded as small Powers.

And he proceeds to give considerable point to this remark by adding a little further on that—

The Great Powers naturally availed themselves of their power to benefit themselves by coercing others on the pretext of law. When they wished to carry some proposal they tried to sway the assembly by an oratorical appeal to each other, and when they wished to defeat a proposal they secretly exercised power of obstruction to promote disagreement.

This last is a somewhat grave indictment against the Peace delegates, and we can only hope that the Chinese Ambassador is exaggerating, or, at any rate, adding a little more gall than necessary to his remarks, in order to emphasise his disappointment at not being included amongst the representatives of the 'Great' Powers. For if there is any truth in what he says, it constitutes a scathing criticism of those gentlemen who went to The Hague with peace upon their lips, but envy, hatred, and malice in their hearts.

There is something quite pathetic in the expression of Chien-Hsün's concluding remarks, when speaking of his own country. He says:

If she could at the next conference win a position among the Great Powers such as that which Japan holds at the present day, what an unspeakable blessing it would be for our country! But the time soon passes by, and the consequences involved are very great.

China gave up militarism some centuries ago, and public opinion in the Celestial Empire has since then despised the military art, and treated the soldier and all connected with his calling as debasing and degrading and only worthy of the contempt of a highly civilised race.

Perhaps China was right—theoretically; but it did not work out in practice, and, unable to defend herself and her territories by force of arms, she has been fleeced, bled, insulted, and forced to submit to the most humiliating conditions of the foreign intruder ever since she came in contact with more warlike nations.

There are many indications which show that this great and sleepy Empire, secure in her isolation until quite lately, is at last beginning to wake up to the idea that perhaps practice is better than theory in the affairs of nations; and there is a store of worldly wisdom in the concluding remarks of the Chinese delegate at The Hague, quoted above, to the effect that if China could only become like Japan (*i.e.* a

warlike nation) 'what an unspeakable blessing it would be for our country !'

The disciples of Confucius may still have to recognise, and act upon, that most profound and fundamental truth of history—that the warlike races inherit the earth.

The present position of Great Britain may be briefly summed up as follows : She has not had to fight for her life for more than a century (1805).¹ The safety of these islands having been assured since that date by the maintenance of an all-powerful Navy, the warlike qualities of the British race—those qualities which made of us a *Great Power* and founded the Empire—have steadily deteriorated. A fair warning of this deterioration has been given to us by the disclosure of our military impotence during the Crimean and Boer wars. It is true that our small professional Army maintained its reputation for discipline, devotion to duty, and individual acts of personal valour, which any army might well be proud ; but the military impotence of the nation—as a nation—stood revealed to all the world. And at the conclusion of both those wars the martial power of Britain stood at a far lower level amongst the nations than it did at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars.

Riches, ease, inordinate luxury, and devotion to amusement and trivial gossip in one class ; the race to be rich, the absorbing devotion to commercialism and money-making in another class ; the jealousy, the discontent, the unrest and the struggle to secure for themselves, by fair means or foul, a larger share of the wealth produced by the combination of capital and labour in a third class ; and the misery, hopelessness, and consequent recklessness and despair of yet a fourth class of our population, have effectually undermined, if not destroyed, those warlike and heroic qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race which brought us into power, prosperity, and opulence.

This dauntless and heroic spirit—the foundation of all great nations, including America—appears to have passed on, for the present, to Germany and Japan ; and our Teuton relations have calmly and confidently told us that it is now their turn, and that, in accordance with that indisputable law of the survival of the fittest, they intend to take our place in the world as the leading commercial and maritime Power of Europe. And Japan is obviously preparing herself on the same foundation—the foundation of military and naval power—to assume the commercial and maritime hegemony of Asia.

And what are we doing by way of preparation for holding our own in the world ?

Well, we have just reduced our very small regular Army by 21,700 men. We have put our *irregular* Army (Militia and Volunteers) into the melting-pot, and it is not quite certain what will come out of it ;

¹ It has been truly said that we fought for our lives at Trafalgar, and for the establishment of the peace of Europe at Waterloo. Napoleon gave up all idea of the invasion of England after the defeat of the combined fleets at Trafalgar.

though there are already rumours that large numbers of Volunteers are resigning, as they naturally decline to give more of their time and trouble towards acquiring increased military efficiency (as they are now being asked to do by Mr. Haldane) whilst they see nine-tenths of their able-bodied comrades skulking and flatly refusing to do anything at all.

With regard to our Navy, we have virtually given up the two-Power standard, and the annual output of battleships which was quite recently announced by the Board of Admiralty as the 'irreducible minimum consistent with safety' has been reduced to less than half; and yet the naval members of the Board have not resigned their offices. Party and place before consistency and national safety.

On the 2nd of March a motion was brought forward in the House of Commons for a still further reduction in our armaments, and, notwithstanding that it was rejected by a large majority, the speeches of Ministers were obviously in sympathy with it. Mr. Asquith told the House and the country that 'We on our side had no reason to view with suspicion or apprehension any naval expansion there [in Germany] or elsewhere, which should simply correspond to the economic needs of the country,' &c., &c.

But the so-called 'economic needs of the country' consist of a sustained national effort to take their place in the world as a leading maritime commercial Power; about which no secret is being made, but preliminary to which the astute Germans are perfectly well aware that it will be necessary for them to build a navy of such strength that, concentrated in the North Sea, as it will be, and supported by a numerous and well-equipped torpedo flotilla, it will be able to wait and watch for an opportunity of taking England at a disadvantage and of striking a swift and deadly blow at the heart of the Empire. This opportunity will, in all human probability, arrive long before the German Navy has acquired equality, or anything approaching to equality, with our Navy, as we have to watch and guard many seas beside the North Sea. In the meantime the Germans are rapidly gaining on us, and their ultimate object has become so obvious to all the world that some of their public men have begun to express alarm lest we should strike before they are ready; but there is not the slightest danger of this. We shall wait until they are quite ready and allow them to choose their own time.

In the same speech above alluded to the present Prime Minister told the country that 'We must safeguard it, not against imaginary dangers, not against bogeys and spectres and ghosts, but we must safeguard it against all contingencies which can reasonably enter into the calculations of statesmen.'

The proposition is indisputable, so far as the wording of it goes. No sane man wishes to guard against anything beyond reasonable contingencies; but a strong difference of opinion at once arises as to what are and are not 'reasonable contingencies'; and it would

certainly help to clear the air if Mr. Asquith were to explain what he means by bogeys, spectres, and ghosts. Invasion is constantly alluded to as a bogey, and in fact that school of optimistic thought to which Mr. Asquith belongs rarely, if ever, alludes to it otherwise. It will not be unfair, then, to assume that invasion is one of the numerous bogeys or ghosts which it is not necessary for us to guard against.

The national dangers to which a country may at any time be liable are always very largely a matter of opinion; and the value of opinions must be assessed in accordance with the position, the knowledge, the experience, and the authority of those giving them.

The great Napoleon did not think the invasion of England impracticable at a time when the British Navy held a far greater superiority over that of France than it is likely to do over that of Germany in ten years' time.

The German General Staff of to-day do not think the invasion of England impracticable, as they have all the plans and the details made out for carrying it into effect, and they are kept well informed and up to date by an admirable system of spies in the shape of German soldiers now serving as waiters (as the Japanese did as barbers at Port Arthur) in all our principal hotels and restaurants.

Many of our leading soldiers, including Lord Roberts, do not look upon the invasion of England in the near future as either a bogey, a spectre, or a ghost; and they ought to know nearly as much about the subject as Mr. Asquith. One of Lord Roberts' latest public statements is as follows:

I am sure the most important point to bring before the public is the possibility of an invasion. Until they clearly understand that this may some day happen, nothing will induce them to listen to our appeals for a national army. I found this on every occasion I have spoken, and unfortunately none of our leaders nor the Press ever do anything to arouse the people to a sense of our danger from not having a sufficient and efficient land force.

Is Lord Roberts, V.C., with his glorious records of service to his country, to be regarded as a nervous alarmist, easily scared and frightened by bogeys, spectres, and ghosts?

Finally, the fact that fifty-two of our most thoughtful admirals have become members of the National Service League would appear to indicate that even the Navy itself does not believe the country can be defended by the Navy alone.

The 'unrest of insecurity' will continue, and in all probability rapidly increase under approaching conditions, until England not only 'expects' but 'insists' that every man shall do his duty.

C. G. PETROSE FITZGERALD,

Admiral.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.

THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER



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*THE INSECURITY OF OUR HOME
DEFENCE TO-DAY*

As the country generally seems to be not in the least alive to the present unsatisfactory state of the Defence of our Home, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity afforded me of putting forward in this Review one aspect of the condition of that Defence as it appears to me to-day. That aspect is its *precariousness*. And in so doing I may at once warn sailors and soldiers that it is not they that I hope may give a few minutes to the perusal of what I am writing, for they know already quite as much, and perhaps more about the subject than I myself do. It is the civilian educated Englishman—aye, and what I may call the civilian educated Englishwoman—that I hope will give me a hearing. And I purposely include the latter, for all history tells us of the vast influence which womankind can exert even on great matters of state; of the power womankind can bring to bear when the defence of hearths and homes comes before them, no longer as a theory, but as an actuality. The other day, in a somewhat southern county, a highly educated lady, the wife of a landowner, whilst speaking of Mr. Haldane's scheme, put to me the question 'And what if our County Association

does not really interest itself in the matter ? ' The reply seemed to me obvious, and I gave it at once : ' That is *your* look-out ; *you* will suffer hereafter.' And possibly, afterwards, her husband may have discounted my views, though in this particular case I doubt that he did so, by pointing out to her that those views came from a soldier, or, rather, an ex-soldier, and that all men of that kind are alarmists. Both Viscount Wolseley, when giving evidence about the Channel Tunnel, and Earl Roberts, only very recently in the House of Lords, emphatically admitted that, with the country generally, the opinion of a soldier on military matters goes for little, simply from the fact that he is a soldier. It is not so with other professions. If a man, credited with knowledge of what he is talking about, calls public attention to the dangers to health and life arising from some insanitary or other conditions, or even from the hitherto unsuspected presence of a new microbe in an article of food, his warnings are accepted as having some foundation, at all events. And why ? Because it is to self-interest of a personal and individual character that the warnings appeal, and it is the instinct of personal and individual self-preservation that insures their not being treated with utter indifference.

But, as has been pointed out over and over again, this personal self-interest is, in the earlier stages of civilisation, subordinate to, and merged in national self-interest, whilst in later stages, although the calls of national self-interest are still recognised as the first demands on national life, the recognition becomes somewhat nominal, the demands are apt to be ignored, and personal self-interest becomes the real and predominant factor in national life. I have admitted the fact of the recognition of the calls ; it was shown in this neighbourhood and elsewhere by outdoor fêtes and rejoicings on what is called ' Empire Day ' ; but in what way ? By treating some hundreds of children to tea, gingerbeer, buns, and cakes. What practical effort was being made or shown by the manhood of the district to rise to Imperial calls, or what self-sacrifices it would make to meet those calls, would be difficult to discover. National self-preservation no longer really comes home to the individuals of this nation as a personal matter for each ; but it needs to be brought home, and I am trying here to bring it home.

And now, putting on one side the larger questions of defence of the Imperial kind, about which there is doubtless much legitimate difference of opinion, I will turn to that of Home Defence. At present there are, and for some years there will be, only two nations that could venture on the attempt of an attack on our Home ; they are France and Germany. And the reasons are, firstly, that they, and they alone, are sufficiently near at hand ; secondly, that they, and they alone, have always ready, at the briefest notice, the mass of troops sufficient for the land operations involved in the attempt. At present we are quite safe from the catastrophe ; but how long that security may last, whether for years, or for months, or even only for weeks, no one can

possibly foresee ; it may be for any one of the periods. And the reason for the uncertainty lies in the distressing but undeniable fact that the continuance of the delay in putting an end to the period of security will not be determined by ourselves, but depends on events which are either beyond our own control, or are under the control of others. So long as the political barometer keeps steady at 'Set Fair'; so long as India and the Mediterranean route to India make no fresh demands on our land forces ; so long as the Admiralissimo of our fleets has one and only one available employment for those fleets, namely, practising the protection of our shores against a non-existent hostile foe, so long may Britishers buy and sell, marry and be given in marriage, and carry on their ordinary normal occupations with confidence. But in these days of nations topographically far apart, yet, owing to the practical annihilation of space, actually jostling against each other in their rivalries, the political barometer is liable to great and sudden fluctuations, and may at any moment fall to 'Stormy.' The East may make large demands on our small force of well-trained troops at home ; the Admiralissimo may have to show the mobility of his fleets far away from our shores against living, bitter and determined enemies, and then, it may be in a month's time, how about the defence of the heart and vitals of the Empire against France or Germany, or perhaps both ? For to either of them the temptation to aggression may be insurmountable. What is hopelessly impracticable to-day may have become hopefully practicable to-morrow. Which of these two countries is destined to be the first to terminate its present friendship with us, and to adopt in place of it a hostile attitude, would be impossible, in the whirligig of international politics, for any one to predict. But even the best and most intimate personal friends sometimes quarrel unexpectedly, and so do nations. And the unexpected may come at any moment. The issue then depends mainly on which of the friends quarrelling has been best prepared for the disagreeable eventuality.

How France stands in her preparation for possible quarrels with other nations I do not know ; but I do know something of how these matters stand in Germany, and therefore, and for this reason alone, I propose to restrict my remarks to that country. Germany is, in this respect, certainly formidable, owing to her always steadily keeping in view the possibility of any 'hopefully practicable' arising within her sphere of action, and to her quietly preparing accordingly for its advent. From the earliest days of the gradual recovery of Prussia from the crushing blows delivered on her by the Great Napoleon, up to to-day, her military policy has been one and the same, namely, look well forward ; prepare thoroughly, the more quietly the better, for what lies in the future ; do not rest on laurels gained, nor be satisfied with only the deeds of the past. On Germans, it is the present and the future that have the pressing calls. And Germany

knows right well that preparation for war is not only one of the principal factors of success in war, but is an equally powerful factor in maintaining peace, should peace be considered at any time preferable to war. So she is always preparing for war, constantly, steadily, without break or pause, and her preparation is thorough. Those who have seen anything of the German Army in peace time cannot fail to have been struck with the constancy and the thoroughness of the preparation. But the preparation is not always for purposes of offence; and the thoroughness has to be paid for with a great expenditure of personal time, labour, and self-sacrifice. I have seen, in my many visits to Metz and Alsace-Lorraine in past years, many instances of this thorough preparation; and I was much impressed on one occasion with the reply given to me by my old friend the late Lieut.-General von Wright, himself an Englishman by birth, when I expressed my great admiration for the system; his reply was to the following effect: 'Yes, you English officers quite rightly admire our incessant preparation; thorough it is, and it is universal in the army; but on us Germans it imposes burdens heavy to bear; and what makes us individually willing and ready to bear them is the instinct of *self-preservation*.' And this self-preservation was identical with national self-preservation.

To one branch of this preparation, not however involving any self-sacrifice, I have lately called attention elsewhere, and I refer to it again here. It is the acquiring and amassing details of the local topography of any possible future theatre of war. The knowledge possessed of these details by the Germans with regard to the United Kingdom is remarkable. One of my friends, touring in the Black Forest, was surprised to come across Germans who seemed to be well acquainted with a district at home which he knew; and he told me of the surprise of a priest of the Catholic Church in Ireland, at finding in Germany people who knew the large town which was his cure of souls, quite as well as he himself did. The priest assigned to itinerant German bands the credit for obtaining the information.

But they go, these Germans, in my opinion very wisely, and quite legitimately, much further than this. Somebody, apparently in a state of alarm, as if he had discovered something new, questioned Mr. Haldane some days ago in the House of Commons as to foreigners having been discovered engaged in reconnoitring in this country. Probably the foreigners were doing so, as other foreigners had done before them. Only a year ago an officer entering a railway carriage found it occupied by British brother officers returning home from a staff or regimental ride. They had only one topic of conversation, the extraordinary fact that, whilst engaged in the work, they had tumbled clean and plump into a party of German officers engaged in identically the same occupation. The scene of the ride seemed to possess equal attractions for the military officers of both countries.

Comment is needless, for the inference is obvious, even to what is called the 'meanest capacity.' And the Germans know well the value even for pacific purposes of the acknowledged possession of the powers for offence. It is well, however, to be wise in time. What can't be cured must be endured. Spies and spying and scares do not enter into the matter at all; but surely if a present friend is found or known to be preparing to become a possible foe, it is only common sense to regard the friendship, however much valued, as liable to conversion into hostility, and to prepare, *pari passu*, to meet it. To ignore the possibility of the conversion would be suicidal.

And it seems to me that just now, with liability to complete change at any moment in the present international situation, such as I have already depicted it, we should, if that change comes, be found either absolutely defenceless at home, or, to obtain security at home, we should have to rely solely and entirely on the Admiralissimo, and have to ask him to sacrifice his mobility, and pay no attention to Imperial calls, but to stay at home and take care of us, for we have not a sufficient number of efficient trained men and of the best modern military material for us landsmen to be able to take care of ourselves. Not to respond to the Imperial calls may mean the dissolution of the Empire; yet to comply with them may mean paralysation of its heart. But can we trust solely and entirely to the power of the Admiralissimo unaided to insure us protection, not only sufficient but permanent? Not even the Admiralissimo—in fact no Admiralissimo—can foretell with certainty the issue of a naval battle between the vessels, large and small of to-day. No one can predict the national defensive value of any fleet after one great battle, even if it emerges from it the victor. And, if I mistake not, this state of things would inevitably have been accentuated by the adoption of Mr. Haldane's original scheme, founded on the quaint, truly original and almost comical idea that our army for Home Defence should commence its preparation at the outbreak of a great war, but would not be efficient until six months had elapsed after that outbreak. Whether that scheme still holds good, or has been consigned to its appropriate place, the waste-paper basket, no one seems to know. Whether the combatants in the great war would politely and idiotically leave us six months for the preparation of a force, which would have to be taken into account by them, after their exhaustion in a six months' campaign; or whether they would be rude and ill-mannered enough to disturb it during incubation, does not seem to have been considered.

However, we must take things as they stand to-day, our defencelessness, save what defence the Admiralissimo may be able to afford us. This is the point I desire so much to impress on those civilians, women as well as men, who may read these words; the *precariousness* of our defence of our home. And then, if they do but realise this, let them look, be they Unionists, Liberals, Radicals, members of the

Labour Party, Socialists, or anything else, at the strange conduct of the rulers who are now in power, and with whom rests the adoption or maintenance of measures for their security.

The Secretary of State for War has now devised a scheme for meeting all our military needs, and that scheme has been adopted. I am not going to discuss the scheme itself; possibly it has within it great potentialities, but they are potentialities only. The scheme has, however, unfortunately, one vital weakness, namely, the time required for full fruition, the time that must elapse before it can produce power sufficient and sufficiently trustworthy for the Land Defence of our Home. Until that fruition comes, we are defenceless, save by reducing our Naval Forces to a condition of immobility, in which they must remain, however pressing, urgent and important may be the calls on them from elsewhere. To introduce his scheme Mr. Haldane has already got rid of a certain amount of fairly reliable defensive power of the same kind as that he purposes to eventually substitute for it; and in so doing he has thrown away birds-in-hand for others which are still in the bush, and which, for aught he knows, may elect to stay there. He has gone even further; we had at home a certain amount of really reliable defensive power, in regular artillery and regular infantry, but he has reduced greatly the amount of both and, if report speaks true, more may be thrown away at the first opportunity. Surely, if Mr. Haldane had a private house resting on foundations fairly sound, but which he considered unsuitable, he would not remove the old foundations until those to replace them were ready for use. Yet for home defence he has gone, and is going, on diametrically opposite principles. He and his colleagues know perfectly well that whether there would be time for the replacement of the house foundations depended entirely on meteorological conditions. If storms and gales did not set in, the work might be completed in time, and the house be even more stable than before, but it is on this *if* that everything, everything, depends. Similarly the satisfactory building up of Mr. Haldane's new Defensive Force depends entirely on an *if*, and an *if* only. In the case of the house, it would be a risk of merely a private character. In the case of Home Defence a similar line of conduct seems to be nothing more or less than a national political gamble, more shameless, more unprincipled, and more iniquitous than are any of those that are perpetrated inside and outside the Stock Exchanges and Bourses of Europe. It may purchase votes, and may hold together a heterogeneous majority in the House; as regards national interests it is little less than a betrayal for a time-serving purpose.

In a leading article in a high-class London paper, I find myself charged with having in a letter to the *Times* dealt with war as 'imminent.' But I do not hold this view in any way. My point is the hopeless *uncertainty* as to whether war or an outbreak somewhere or

other, and involving this country, is or is not 'imminent.' It is the existence of this uncertainty that causes our present insecurity, an insecurity acknowledged by the vast majority of all who have studied the subject to be a matter of vital, pressing and immediate importance. Our rulers seem to be fanatical believers in the scriptural injunction to take no thought for the morrow, but to let the morrow take thought for itself.

Just now, though there is much sunshine, there are unpleasant 'rumblings' in the air; whether a storm or a succession of storms is coming up, no one can tell. Surely it is the duty of our rulers to be prepared with protection for us in case the storm does come; we had some little available protection a short time ago, but of this, they have already taken away from us much, and it is said that they purpose to deprive us yet of more; and then, if the storm bursts on us, where shall we be? Ruined as individuals and as a nation, and past hope of recovery. Let those whom I am specially addressing take this warning to heart, let them ponder over it, and then by their influence aid to induce the country to insist on our rulers 'holding their hands' in time in their mad career.

In speaking out these views on the subject I am only saying what everywhere soldiers are saying in similar fashion, but with 'bated breath.' The condition of our Home Defence is thoroughly known to the rulers of every foreign Power that cares to interest itself in the matter; to our own people it is not generally known. Reticence seems to me to savour of the proverbial ostrich. British officers of well-earned high military reputation, and holding posts of great responsibility, are debarred from giving the nation their real views. Our responsible Military Advisers are silent, at all events in public; and who may be Mr. Haldane's real advisers no one knows. The result is that there is just now prevalent in the whole of the armed forces of this country a not unnatural feeling of military leaderlessness. They feel that the control of the military armed strength of the nation is in the hands of civilians only, and that once more in our history its destiny may be no longer to be in accordance with national needs, but with better recognised needs—those of party politics. Whoever may be the nominal leader, the real leader seems to be a civilian Secretary of State for War, aided by an 'Army Council.' They regard the latter, however, as of no protective value; but, and rightly, as a cleverly devised machine for the suppression of the individual responsibility of its members, by the merging that responsibility into the easily-borne corporate responsibility of all. So the duty of speaking out necessarily devolves on the unofficial 'smaller fry,' of which I am one. And it is in no spirit of presumption that I have done so. A short time ago, Mr. Haldane was pressed about a warning said to have been given by a well-known General on the Active List, and in high command, as to a friend across the water

who might possibly become a foe. The General, after this watching of his words, is not likely to offer any further warnings at all, weighty though they would be. So I, *faute de mieux*, take up the running and continue the warnings, not against only one, but against all possible foes.

As I stated at the commencement of this article, it is to the *precariousness* of our present condition that I desire to draw special attention. If this *precariousness* be once realised, then surely all and every one who realises it will voluntarily put on one side the claims of self-interest, and by the offer of personal service and personal self-sacrifice make good the national shortcomings of our present rulers, and compel them to take in hand their bounden duty at once to make the defence of our home certain and sure. This once assured, and known to our friends across the water to be assured, those friends will think twice, and many times more than twice, before doing anything likely to disturb our present, nominally, satisfactory relations ; for they will not care lightly to encounter Great Britain, when Great Britain shall have thrown off her present state of lethargy and shall have proved that, like them, she has placed national self-preservation in the forefront of the personal life and the personal duties of the dwellers in her land.

LONSDALE HALE.

Camberley.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

A LESSON ON THE EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE

It is not my intention to take part directly in the great political and economical controversy—Free Trade *versus* Tariff Reform—which agitates public opinion in England, and is *par excellence* the battle cry of the two historical parties in the internal politics of the British Empire. Someone might object to a foreigner's interference in a discussion which the majority of English people consider as private matter, regarding their interests alone. As son of an Englishwoman, however, I have always felt an irresistible attraction to follow the different phases of English public life, with almost the same attention as I devote to the internal politics of my own country.

Englishmen are perhaps under the impression that the question of Tariff Reform can only interest themselves. The attention, however, of other countries is every day more strongly concentrated on what is happening in England since the beginning of the new reign. If England will really abandon some day her old traditional policy of splendid isolation and Free Trade, the political and economical effects of such a radical change will be felt all over the world.

With the present article I intend simply to express my sincere admiration for the British nation, and to give a proof of the keen interest awakened on the Continent by the great political battle.

There is a new argument, or rather historical fact, which being, as far as I know, ignored by both parties might perhaps contribute to throw light on some points of the controversy, where political passion has not yet completely paralysed the use of impartial reasoning.

Public speakers in England generally prefer to avoid a display of deep learning, and to remain in the field of contemporary politics with facts and figures of the present time—the practical spirit of the British nation clearly recognises the feebleness of historical arguments in the heat of political discussions. The economical history of olden times affords, however, a mine of useful information which I know British statesmen do not ignore while leading public opinion towards the solution of the problems of the future. It might therefore be of some avail to remind politicians, even in a brief and summary manner,

of the greatest experiment in Free Trade which the world has known until England repeated it in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps many still ignore the fact that a condition of International Free Trade necessarily followed the constitution of the Roman World-Empire. Before Rome had extended her authority over all the Mediterranean world, no real commercial barriers existed between nations in the sense in which we understand them nowadays; nevertheless effective barriers were created by the difficulty of communications, the unsafety of commercial high roads, the state of continuous warfare between tribes and nations, and the instinctive reluctance of Governments to permit the free exportation of food-stuffs. The danger of famine was one of the great anxieties of those troublous times. The gradual formation of the Roman Empire, embracing as it did, one after the other, the rich provinces which encircle the Mediterranean basin, finally put an end to the aforesaid state of affairs. From the day in which Egypt passed under the sceptre of Cæsar Augustus, the glorious Pax Romana held sway over all the ancient world from the mouth of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, overthrowing all barriers, and opening in the heart of the Empire the easiest and most economical highway of commerce, the open sea.

Rome and Italy, like London and Great Britain of the present day, became the great centre of attraction of the Empire, the centre where the greatest wealth accumulated, and towards which the world's produce naturally converged.

Italy, completely destitute of mineral wealth, has always been, since the beginning of Roman expansion, a country essentially agricultural, peopled by different races of sturdy and thrifty peasants. These knew how to extract a meagre pittance from a soil which, with the exception of a few favoured regions, answers but ungratefully to the care and toil lavished on it. Only a few very fertile provinces can bear comparison with the rich plains of Gaul or the wondrous Nile valley; the greater part of Italy is poor and rocky, incapable of resisting the unrestricted competition of richer countries.

When therefore the Roman statesmen opened, through conquest, all the ways of the world, and demolished the natural barriers which had till then protected Italic agriculture, the latter found itself exposed without defence to the merciless competition of other countries. First came the plains of Sicily, considered at one time the granary of the Roman Republic; then the conquest of Gaul opened Italy to the competition of Gallic industry and agriculture; and, lastly, the inexhaustible richness of the Nile valley dealt the death-blow to the patient industry of the poor and ignorant Italian peasant.

Nowadays Egypt, thanks to the wise British administration, which reminds one of the highest and most glorious traditions of ancient

Rome, has shown again how much wealth it can produce, and what a huge margin it leaves to free exportation.

The economical problems created by the absorption of Egypt into the Empire acquired, moreover, an exceedingly serious character by the co-operation of a very powerful political factor. The lords of Rome, for well-known reasons which I omit, inaugurated that unhappy system of distributing gratuitously a daily ration of bread to the teeming thousands of the capital. From this deplorable policy there grew up a numerous population of parasites who, without producing anything, absorbed annually an enormous amount of food-stuffs. The evil became intensified through the fact that Rome, as the administrative centre of the Empire and the seat of the Imperial Court, attracted all the wealthiest and most ambitious men of the time, who, in hopes of popularity or Imperial favour, squandered vast sums of money in worthless enterprises and lavish generosity.

Rome, whose population at one moment surpassed a million inhabitants, became therefore a gigantic consumer who ought to have constituted a great source of wealth to Italian agriculture. On the other hand, the Imperial treasury through the free distribution of such vast amounts of food-stuffs was overloaded by a financial charge which in times of trouble and distress became one of its most serious economical problems, and any possible economy would have been readily applied.

If therefore the peasants had been able to offer their produce on the market of Rome at a price inferior to that of Sicily, Gaul or Egypt, no doubt the emperors, or rather the administrators of the Imperial treasury, would have given preference to the cheaper Italian article.

It so happened instead that the government of Rome only partially understood the economical phenomenon produced by universal Free Trade, and ignored completely its causes and its possible remedies. Already in the time of the Gracchi, before the fall of the Roman Republic, the effects of the agricultural crisis, brought about by the competition of Sicily, had given birth to many painful consequences. The great agitation with which the name of the Gracchi is closely bound gives us the first safe indication of the economical catastrophe under which Italy was to fall.

The remedies tried in those circumstances by the leaders of the Roman people were of no avail, because they failed to grasp the real causes of the evil. The crisis under the Empire became ever more acute; and in Italy agriculture slowly died out as an unremunerative industry; those fields from which the revenue was poor and uncertain—that is, the greater part of Italy—were gradually abandoned. Agriculture survived only in relatively happy conditions in some restricted areas, like the valley of the Po and Campania, for instance, where the exceptional richness of the soil permitted the continuation of agriculture even with greatly diminished profits. The special system of

cultivation, the minute subdivision of property and the conservative tenacity of a hard-working population saved those privileged regions from the ruin which extinguished all life in the rest of the Peninsula.

Nobody thought of defending the native industry, for Italy was but a province of the Empire extending from the banks of the Euphrates to the Atlantic coast. Reasons of political opportunism, selfish hand-to-mouth principles of internal policy, seemed more urgent and impelling; the highest economical interests of our unhappy country were sacrificed to these principles, and Italy, deprived of other resources, was fatally condemned to misery and depopulation.

The process was slow but relentless, it lasted several centuries, but in the end the country was transformed into a desert; some of the peasants emigrated, others became shepherds or slaves, and the rest died of hunger. The plains, once covered with stretches of golden grain, became overrun by brambles and rank weeds, or sank back into marshes teeming with game. The greater part of the country was absorbed into the immense landed estates of the wealthy Roman capitalists, and formed those celebrated *latifundia* of the later Roman Empire.

Through the erroneous interpretation of historical phenomena the effects were mistaken for the causes, and succeeding generations formulated that celebrated sophism: *Latifundia Italiam perdidere*.

In conclusion: Italy was ruined economically and abandoned by her inhabitants principally through the formation of the Roman Empire, and in consequence of the greatest experiment of Free Trade in the history of mankind.

Without entering here into greater details it is sufficient to add that the crisis ruined Sicily likewise, and inflicted heavy losses even on Gaul and Spain. All the weaker industries succumbed under the free competition of those countries where the same goods could be produced at a lower price. It so happened that the government of the Empire, by neglecting the real remedies for a problem of such vital importance, permitted, and even encouraged, the extinction of the principal sources of national wealth. This contributed in a very high degree to the great political catastrophe of the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Barbarians overthrew the Empire.

If the Roman statesmen had been able to foresee the disaster and to understand its principal causes, and if they had tried to protect the agricultural industry on which alone Italy's power relied, they might have saved their country. By giving means of existence to a numerous population of sturdy peasants they could have considerably modified the course of events during the last centuries of the Empire and through the Middle Ages.

The singular consequence of this state of affairs was that Italy began to pick up her ancient material prosperity only after the Empire she had founded went to pieces. Then the natural barriers between

nations were formed again by the splitting up of the Roman World, and Egypt ceased to paralyse Italy with her ruinous competition. Then alone with the rise of prices agriculture slowly revived all through the Peninsula, more land came under cultivation, and the inhabitants gradually became more numerous in the poorer parts of the country. But an evil which is the consequence of an error lasting through centuries can only be wiped out through many more centuries of slow and steady evolution.

Italy, as is proved by the present state of the country round Rome, in Sicily and elsewhere, principally in the south of the Peninsula, has not yet completely revived—even after seventeen centuries—from the pernicious effects of Free Trade under Imperial Rome. The Bills voted by the Italian Parliament in these last few years for the agricultural improvement of the Campagna Romana are a plucky experiment of the twentieth century to remedy the evil consequences of an economical error of the builders of the Roman Empire.

I need not add any further comments. Every Englishman who has had the leisure to peruse this brief and incomplete description of one of the most important phases of the world's history, will know how to draw from it those conclusions most useful for the material and moral development of his great country.

TEANO.

THE PRESS IN INDIA, 1780-1908

THE English Press did not appear suddenly in India, fully developed, like Minerva from Jupiter's head. Before the English appeared on the scene, civilisation had long existed, and the necessities of the native Government had evolved a system of obtaining and publishing information. In Hindu times the rulers of the country relied upon the reports regularly transmitted to them by their agents at home and abroad. During the rule of the Moguls there was an organised department under State regulations (as set forth in the *Ain-i-Akbari*) both for the recording, in writing, of events at headquarters and for the collection of reports from newswriters at different stations. There was a *waqianavis*, or 'recorder,' in each Subah, or province. In their early days in Bengal the English utilised these newsagents to act as their intermediaries with the Mogul Emperor. The Portuguese printed books at Goa in the sixteenth century. There was a printing press at Bombay in 1674. There was printing at Madras in 1772, and an official printing press was established at Calcutta in 1779 (while Warren Hastings was Governor-General). Mr. Bolts, an ex-servant of the Company, had proposed a printing press in 1768, but he had been, as an interloper, deported. 'The Life and Death of the First Indian newspaper,' 1780-1782, are described at full length by Colonel Busteed, C.I.E., in his well-known and fascinating book, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. The proprietor, editor, and printer was Mr. James Augustus Hicky, an illiterate man, probably a printer by trade, who had suffered losses at sea and been in jail. On the 29th of January 1780 he brought out *Hicky's Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser* as 'a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none,' the first newspaper printed or published in India. At first dull and vulgar, and on the whole harmless, it descended to indecency, personalities, and scurrilous attacks, often directed at Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey; but it avoided attacking Sir Philip Francis. On the 14th of November 1780 its circulation through the channel of the General Post Office was stopped, because it contained 'several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the Settlement.' But its circulation in Calcutta and the neighbourhood

continued. The worst features of the paper became exaggerated : personality assumed intolerable licence, private individuals were held up to derision. Hicky slandered everyone and anyone alike ; even young ladies were most offensively indicated under different sobriquets which could not be mistaken. In June 1781 Hicky was arrested under Impey's order at the suit of Hastings, imprisoned, and fined, but he continued the paper without any change in its style. In January 1782 he was again tried by Impey on the same indictment as that on which Hastings had previously had him tried ; he was fined, and sentenced to one year in jail. In March 1782 his types were seized, so that his paper was closed. He is described as a worthless man, but as the pioneer of the Indian Press. Of this paper Kaye remarks in his *Christianity in India*, 'Society must have been very bad to have tolerated such a paper. . . . It is difficult to bring forward illustrative extracts. The most significant passages are too coarse for quotation.' Other papers were established about this time ; the most important of them were the *India Gazette*, in November 1780, and the *Calcutta Gazette* (a semi-official organ, under the avowed patronage of Government), edited by Mr. Francis Gladwin in 1784. Kaye has stated in his *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, that with the improved moral tone of Society during the administration of Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) and Sir John Shore (1793-1798) the respectability of the Indian Press necessarily made steady progress. The papers had little or nothing to say against Lord Cornwallis and his Government. It would appear that, therefore, they were left very much to themselves. There is other testimony to the general improvement in journalism between 1788 and 1798.

In 1791 William Duane, an Irish American, was arrested by the Bengal Government and ordered to be sent to Europe in consequence of an offensive paragraph in the *Bengal Journal* reflecting upon Colonel de Canaple, Commandant of the affairs of the French nation and his countrymen in Calcutta. Mr. Duane applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which was granted. On the trial of the case the Court unanimously decided that the Governor-General in Council possessed the legal right to order Mr. Duane's arrest and have him sent to Europe. On the intercession of M. Fumeron, the French Agent, the Government revoked their order for Mr. Duane's embarkation. But, later, as editor of the *Indian World*, he published a number of improper and intemperate articles, and particularly an inflammatory address to the army ; he was therefore put under arrest (of which an amusing account is extant) and sent to Europe in 1794 : the Court of Directors approved of these proceedings. The *Bengal Harkaru* came out as a weekly journal in 1795. In 1796 proceedings were taken against the editors of the *Telegraph* and the *Calcutta Gazette* respectively for articles considered objectionable by the Government, but no resort to extreme measures was required.

In 1798 an officer was suspended and compulsorily retired for writing in the *Telegraph* a letter tending to excite discontent and disaffection in the Indian Army; and another person was deported for writing a letter to the same paper animadverting on the official conduct of a magistrate, and for contumacy in declining to apologise. In 1799 the editor of that paper was required to apologise for a very improper reflection on an official. During these years the attitude of the Government of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies towards the editors of papers was the same as that of the Government of Bengal: several editors were warned, and the Press generally was officially supervised. Thus, previously to 1799, there were no uniform and consistent rules established at the three Presidencies to guide the editors of newspapers, or to restrain and punish their excesses. But the frequent abuses in the Calcutta and other Presses before 1799 seem to have satisfied the Government that checks were required.

When Lord Wellesley (then Lord Mornington) arrived in India as Governor-General on the 18th of May 1798, the Government were engaged in a great contest with the French, who were still endeavouring to establish a dominant influence in India and intriguing with the principal native dynasties for the destruction of the British power in the East. It was a great crisis. The unwary publication of items of intelligence might have been fraught with pernicious results. Lord Wellesley believed that it was necessary to subject the Press to a rigorous supervision. A censorship was established. In 1799 Lord Wellesley was in Madras, to supervise the fourth Mysore war against Tippoo. The Bengal Government, under his instructions, issued the following Regulations for the public Press: they bore date the 13th of May 1799 (Seringapatam was stormed, and Tippoo killed, on the 4th of that month):—First.—Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper. Second.—Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Government. Third.—No paper to be published on Sunday. Fourth.—No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose. Fifth.—The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation to Europe. These Regulations were communicated to seven English papers then published, and were extended to others as they started. This system obtained, with some additions to the rules, until the censorship was abolished in 1818.

Lord Wellesley is said to have been at this time exasperated beyond measure against the Press of Calcutta. He regarded with extreme sensitiveness any remarks in the public journals which appeared in any degree likely to compromise the stability of British rule in the East. In his *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, Mr. J. C. Marshman has written how Mr. Bruce, the editor of the

Asiatic Mirror, a Calcutta newspaper, and one of the ablest public writers who have ever appeared in India, had indulged in some speculative opinions on the comparative strength of the European and native population, written in all simplicity and good faith and without any factious design. But Lord Wellesley considered the article mischievous, and in his anxiety that the public security, as he said, might not be exposed to constant hazard he directed Sir Alured Clarke, whom he had left in charge of the Government of Calcutta during his absence at Madras, to embark the editor of that paper for Europe in the first ship which might sail from Calcutta, adding, 'If you cannot tranquillise the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force, and send their persons to Europe.' At the same time he established the very rigid censorship of the Press, and authorised the Secretary to Government, who was appointed censor, to expunge whatever appeared to him likely to endanger the public tranquillity. Immediate deportation to England was the penalty for breach of any of the regulations. These rules, on reaching Leadenhall Street, received the cordial approbation of the Court of Directors, and a despatch was promptly prepared for transmission to India. But the President of the Board of Control, before whom the despatch had to be placed, declined to concur with the sentences which expressed approval of Lord Wellesley's rules, and reserved the question for further consideration. At a subsequent period, after his return to England, Lord Wellesley directed the Regulations to be excluded from the collection of his official despatches, published under his own superintendence. But in November 1799 his feelings of animosity and alarm regarding the Press were in full force, and it was at that inauspicious juncture that the missionaries in Bengal sought to establish a press in the interior of the country, two hundred miles from Calcutta. To this proposal the Governor-General gave the most decided and peremptory refusal.

When Lord Wellesley's Government in 1801 prepared a plan for the establishment of a Government printing press it was proposed to print an official *Gazette*, accompanied with a newspaper, the latter to be published under Government inspection, but not to be considered as an official communication. The proposition was based on the following grounds :

In a political view, a powerful motive arises in favour of the proposed establishment. The increase of private printing presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the first magnitude in its consequences ; of this sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year 1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and to the public, and dubiously profitable to the speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence a few European adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence. The establishment of a press by the Supreme Government would effectually silence those which now exist, and would as certainly prevent the establishment of such in future.

On the ground of expense the plan was not carried into execution. During the years 1801-1804, when the Mahratta wars were in progress, the Government prohibited the publication, in the *Calcutta Gazette* and *India Gazette*, without their express sanction, of military and naval information, unless it had previously appeared in the official *Gazette*—a proper precaution under the circumstances—and in 1807 the prohibition was repeated, and editors were censured for infringing it.

Lord Minto (Governor-General 1807-1813) had only been two months in Calcutta when the Secretary to Government was instructed to address (the 8th of September 1807) the English missionaries residing at the Danish settlement of Serampur and desire them to remove their press to Calcutta, so that its productions should be subject to the immediate control of the officers of Government. Some of the religious pamphlets and treatises issued by the missionaries from that press, and directed against the Hindu and Mahomedan religions, had (as they were circulated in the Company's dominions) appeared to Government to be calculated to produce irritation, alarm, and dangerous effects, and to be contrary to the system of protection which the Government were pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religions of the country. The leading missionaries waited on Lord Minto and submitted an explanation, whereupon the Government revoked the order for the removal of the press from Serampur, and simply required the missionaries to submit works intended for circulation in the British dominions to the inspection of Government officers. The Court of Directors approved of the measures taken to prevent the circulation of the obnoxious publications and of the permission granted to the missionaries to remain at Serampur.

During Lord Minto's administration the editors of Calcutta newspapers were constantly warned. In 1808 the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, who had failed to have his proof sheets inspected before publication, was censured and directed to send everything for previous revision. In 1811 the proprietors of all presses in Calcutta and its dependencies were required to have the names of the printers affixed to everything printed and issued by them, on pain of incurring the displeasure of Government. In 1812 the editor of the *Calcutta Daily Advertiser* was censured for inserting an advertisement intended to expose a respectable military officer to public ridicule. Orders were issued requiring the previous submission to Government, for, inspection, of all advertisements save those of special kinds which were exempted. In another case, in 1813, the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru* were called on to explain their disregard of the rule requiring previous inspection.

About this time there was an animated debate in the House of Commons on the subject of the restrictions on the English Press in

India. On the 21st of March 1811 a motion was made for copies of all regulations &c. promulgated since 1797 regarding it. The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, then President of the Board of Control, who said that

the noble Lord seemed to infer that no restraint should be placed upon the Press in India. If such was his meaning, he must say that a wilder scheme never entered into the imagination of man than that of regulating the Indian Press similarly to the English. *There could be no doubt that the very Government would be shaken to its foundations if unlicensed publications were allowed to circulate over the continent of Hindustan.* There could be but two descriptions of persons in India—those who went to that country with the licence of the Company, and those who lived in its actual service; and there could be no doubt whatever that the Company had a right to lay any regulation it pleased on those who chose to live under its power, and who, when they went into its territories, knew the conditions of submission to its authority on which their stay depended.

The Marquis of Hastings, who (as Lord Moira) succeeded to the Governor-Generalship on the 4th of October 1813, soon added some rules, dated the 16th of the same month, to those already in force for the control of printing offices in Calcutta, as follows: (1) That the proof sheets of all newspapers, including supplements and all extra publications, be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision; (2) that all notices, handbills, and other ephemeral publications be in like manner previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision; (3) that the titles of all original works proposed to be published be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information, who will thereupon either sanction the publication of them, or require the work itself for inspection, as may appear proper; (4) the rules established on the 13th of May 1799 and the 6th of August 1801 to be in full force and effect except in so far as the same may be modified by the preceding instructions.

In November 1814 Dr. James Bryce arrived in Calcutta as the Senior Scotch Chaplain, and was allowed (a curious combination of employments, the incompatibility of which was noticed by the Government) to become also the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror* in 1815. Assuming an independent attitude, he soon attacked the policy of the press censor, was censured for constant disregard of rules, and in 1817 carried the war into the enemy's camp by complaining to Government of the Chief Secretary, Mr. John Adam, for 'having overstepped the powers of his office' as press censor. The Government supported their officer and reprimanded Dr. Bryce in his editorial capacity, declining to withdraw their censure when he appealed against it. His quarrels with Mr. Adam continued. Meanwhile the Government had, on the 2nd of May 1815, established the *Government Gazette* for the public service, withdrawing official authority from the *Calcutta Gazette*. Their object was, it is said, to ensure greater control over official secrets.

It is understood that about the year 1816 the propriety of making

the Press free was constantly debated by the Members of the Supreme Council in India. The authority for this statement is obscure. Lord Hastings had brought with him, it is said, very enlightened views on the subject of the Press. When he had broken up the Mahratta power and confederacy, he resolved to break the fetters of the Press. So he abolished the censorship, without recording any reasons, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his Cabinet. At the same time he passed certain regulations, dated the 19th of August 1818, for the conduct of the editors of newspapers, superseding the censorship, as follows :

The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, viz. : —(1) Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta ; (2) discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances ; (3) *the republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India* ; (4) private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissension in society.

The Government were empowered to visit any infraction of these rules by a prosecution in the Supreme Court or by expelling the offender. The judges of the Supreme Court on one occasion refused to grant a criminal information. Hastings was extremely averse to banishing an editor. Deportation, after cancelment of the licence to remain in India, continued to be nominally the effective method of enforcing the censorship against English editors. But when an editor born in India, who could not be embarked to Europe, rebelled against the censorship, he could not be touched, and the situation became anomalous and impracticable. The rules, therefore, soon became a dead letter and the Press practically free.

Hastings subsequently, when answering an address from Madras, claimed to have removed the restrictions on the Press, in pursuance of the policy that supreme authority should look to the control of public scrutiny—as it gains force thereby. The rules of 1818, when reported on the 1st of October of that year, without any reasons assigned for the change of system, to the Court of Directors in England, met with their disapproval ; the promulgation of the Governor-General's doctrines excited their disgust and alarm. The Court prepared a despatch to the Government of India, expressing their annoyance at not having been consulted before the changes in the Press rules, and denying the efficacy of the proposed change. They proposed to write to India as follows :

With this conviction we positively direct that on the receipt of this despatch you do revert to the practice which had prevailed for near twenty years previous

to 1818, and continue the same in force until you shall have submitted to us, and we shall have approved and sanctioned, some other system of responsibility or control, adapted alike to all our presidencies in India. The inconvenience and public scandal which have resulted from the sudden liberation of the Press in Calcutta, while that at Madras remained under control, are too notorious to require particularising here and could not but be the consequence of so hasty and partial a measure.

But when this draft despatch was sent on the 7th of April 1820 to the Board of Control for approval, Mr. George Canning, who presided there, did not return it. It was simply shelved, and never issued. So Lord Hastings's rules of 1818 remained in force (until 1823). The *Bengal Harkaru* became, on the 27th of April 1819, the first daily paper in India. For the next four years the Court of Directors deplored the licentiousness of the Indian Press, after the abolition of the censorship, and were anxious to reimpose it.

Mr. James Silk Buckingham arrived in Calcutta with a licence in 1815. As editor of the *Calcutta Journal* he attacked the Government and the officials unsparingly. He was reproved and warned for aspersing the character of the Governor of Madras. He defied all rules, and harassed the Government and individuals by his objectionable conduct of his paper, being repeatedly warned for inserting articles injurious to the interests of the Company. Lord Hastings disapproved of his violence, and personally remonstrated with him, but in July 1822 overruled the votes of his Council for deportation. When a change was about to take place by the appointment of a new Governor-General (Lord Amherst), the Court of Directors thought it a fit opportunity to address the Board of Control on the licentious state of the public Press in India.

It appears (they wrote) that from 1791 to 1799 the Bengal Government limited its interference with the Press in India, in cases of venial offences, to expressions of its disapprobation and to requisitions of apologies from offending editors; that in two cases of aggravation it exercised its legal power of sending the offenders to England; in one instance it suspended the offender from the Company's service; the Calcutta Press was subjected to a censorship from 1799 to 1818; and during that period no case occurred which it was found necessary to visit with the severe displeasure of Government. The censorship was removed in 1818, rules being laid down instead for the conduct of editors; and, ever since, the restrictions then imposed have been set at nought and the Government has been involved in an almost constant but unsuccessful conflict with an individual editor, it having failed in one prosecution, and declined exercising its power of sending him home, because of other prosecutions which had been instituted against him in the Supreme Court. In one instance, previously to the introduction of the censorship at Madras, the Government had found it necessary to order an editor to Europe. The censorship has not yet been removed by the Madras Government, and at that Settlement, so far as is known, the Press causes neither uneasiness to Government nor disturbance to the community. The Madras Government, with reference to what has been done elsewhere and to the general agitation of the question, have lately represented to the Court, in the strongest terms, the impolicy and danger of liberating the Press from the most absolute control. Lastly, at Bombay, where the censorship was imposed in 1791,

no case had occurred under its operation against which the Bombay Government thought itself called upon to proceed with severity ; but in December 1819 the censorship was removed, and the same regulations for the Press established at Bombay as in Bengal.

The Court's despatch—which was laid before Parliament with other papers in May 1858—argued the case in the fullest detail with all possible force against the freedom of the Press and in favour of the censorship. Among other points, the Court observed that a 'free Press could not be confined to Europeans, that four native newspapers were started on the withdrawal of the censorship, and that such a Press must be injurious.

☛ The half-castes may be made, as they must at no remote period become, a source of great anxiety to Government. . . . Moreover any diminution of the native respect for Government would endanger its safety. . . . As to the diffusion of intelligence among the natives that is a high object, *but it is not to be attained through newspapers, whose aim is to gratify the curiosity rather than enlighten the understanding, to excite the passions rather than to exercise the reason of their readers ;*

and much stress was laid on the danger of the native army obtaining a perusal of English newspapers, 'containing a perhaps exaggerated representation of their grievances or an inflammatory incentive to rebellion, which, from their assemblage in garrisons and cantonments, they have better means of concerting than any other portion of the population.' They expressed a preference for censorship over the extreme penalty of deportation, and suggested that, as the censorship could not be extended to journals edited by half-caste and native editors, Parliament should be asked to enlarge the powers of Government. They suggested that the necessity of the censorship would be superseded were the local governments empowered to grant and withdraw licences to printing presses, with the power of suppressing unlicensed printing, as such a check would be universally applicable. Among the papers quoted by the Court was a Minute by Lord William Bentinck, then (1807) Governor of Madras. 'It is necessary in my opinion for the public safety that the Press in India should be kept under the most rigid control.' He recommended that all proprietors of printing presses should be forbidden, under pain of the utmost displeasure of the Governor, to print any paper whatever without the previous sanction of the Governor.

A Minute (1822) by Sir Thomas Munro (Governor of Madras 1820-1827) was also quoted, containing his sentiments, unanimously shared by his Council, on the danger to be apprehended from a free Press in India. He observed that the grand object of improving the moral and intellectual character of the people of India was not to be attained by the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets among the natives immediately connected with Europeans, but by spreading education

gradually among the people, diffusing moral and religious instruction through the community, giving the natives a greater share in the administration, and allowing them to fill places of rank and emolument.

In reply to the Court's despatch the President of the Board of Control wrote that his Majesty's Ministers, though deeply sensible of the weight and importance of the considerations pressed on their attention by the Court, did not think that, under the circumstances, it would at present be advisable to submit to Parliament any measure for extending the authority of the Indian Government to check this abuse (the licentious state of the Press in India). In the interim between Hastings's retirement and Amherst's arrival in India Mr. John Adam, the Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General in 1823. He had previously been Chief Secretary and *ex officio* Press Censor. He had uniformly opposed the liberal views of Hastings regarding the Press: he considered a free Press incompatible with the institutions of a despotic Government like that of India, and his objections to it were based, not on personal irritation, but on conscientious principle. The officials had started, in 1821, the *John Bull*, by way of retorting upon Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*. The Presidency was divided in opinion between the two newspapers. A prosecution instituted against Buckingham failed. After Hastings had left India, Buckingham in his paper ridiculed the appointment of the Presbyterian Chaplain to be clerk to the Committee of Stationery; Buckingham's licence was promptly taken away, and he was deported. The *Calcutta Journal* was made over to an Indian-born gentleman, as editor, who could not be deported.

Thereupon Regulation III. of 1823 was passed 'for preventing the establishment of printing presses without licence, and for restraining under certain circumstances the circulation of printed books and papers.' It enacted that no person should print any newspaper or book containing public news, or information, or strictures on the proceedings of Government without a licence, which was liable to be revoked; and that, if any newspaper or work should be printed either without a licence or after its recall, any two justices of the peace might inflict a penalty of 40*l.* for each offence. When the *Calcutta Journal* opposed the registration (required to make it law) of this regulation in the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice ordered its registration on the ground that the Government and a free Press were incompatible with each other and could not co-exist. Simultaneously rules were published for the guidance of editors; it was notified that the publication of any observations on the measures or orders of the public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or on the measures and orders of the Indian Governments, impugning their motives or designs, or in any way intended to bring them into

hatred or contempt, or to weaken their authority, would subject the editors to the loss of their licences. This measure has been called the tyranny of despotism; Lord Amherst (1823-1828) is said to have adopted the violent counsels of his advisers. A Mr. Arnott, of the *Calcutta Journal*, was banished for publishing some offensive remarks; the licence of the paper was soon after revoked: Mr. Arnott appealed to the Directors, and was awarded 1,500*l.* as compensation for his banishment. Various orders were issued in 1822-1826 to prevent Government officers from having any connection with the Press on pain of dismissal.

In 1824 the Bombay Supreme Court complained of the *Bombay Gazette* for having misrepresented their proceedings. The Bombay Government deprived Mr. Fair, the nominal owner and editor, of his licence and deported him. But when the Bombay Court was moved by the Bombay Government in July 1826 to register (to validate it locally) the Bengal regulation, the Judges refused to do so, pronouncing it, with many panegyrics on the liberty of the Press, unlawful and inexpedient. Malcolm (Governor of Bombay 1827-1830) felt the want of power of controlling the Press, except by deportation, very embarrassing. In May 1827 the Government suppressed the *Calcutta Chronicle* for great disrespect to the Government and the Directors, and for violating the Press regulation. Lord Amherst is said to have relaxed his views on restriction during his last two years of office. Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General 1828-1835) hesitated to establish the liberty of the Press by a legislative enactment, but he paved the way for it by giving the Press seven years of practical freedom and by constantly encouraging its discussion of public questions. He thought some power should be reserved to the authorities, responsible as they were for the peace and integrity of the Empire, to enable them effectively to secure the Government against sedition. Though he never interfered with the freedom of public discussion, except in the solitary case of the *half-batta* order (which came from England), he thought Government should have some authority to restrain the Press summarily in a clear case of political necessity. When publishing the *half-batta* despatch he appears to have contemplated some restrictions on the Press, but was apparently deterred by Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute of the 6th of September 1830, which argued against any interference with the liberty of the Press. Bentinck was wont to say, snapping his fingers, that he did not care a straw for the vituperations of the Press. He esteemed, it he said, as a friend and appreciated it as an auxiliary to good government.

Upon Lord William Bentinck's retirement Sir Charles Metcalfe, Senior Member of the Supreme Council, acted as Governor-General for nearly a year until Lord Auckland arrived in March 1836. There

were then a number of journals in existence in Bengal. On the 3rd of August 1835 the Government of India under Sir Charles Metcalfe passed Act XI. of that year, which took effect from the 15th of September, *removing all restrictions on the Press*. In 1825 Metcalfe had, as he wrote to a friend, no decided opinions on the subject of the Press.

I cannot go along with one party as to the blessings of a free Press, nor with another as to its dangers ; but I rather think that the inconveniences would predominate at present and the advantages hereafter ; and that it would be hostile to the permanency of our rule, but ultimately beneficial to India.

The real dangers of a free Press in India are, I think, in its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke. The petty annoyances which our Government would suffer I call rather inconveniences. The advantages are in the spread of knowledge, which it seems wrong to obstruct for any temporary or selfish purpose. I am inclined to think that I would let it have its swing, if I were sovereign lord and master.

In 1832, as Vice-President in Council, he expressed his opposition to any control of the Press. His opportunity came while he was acting as Governor-General, with Macaulay as his Legal Member of Council. The Act of 1835, which they passed, repealed the Press Regulations, of 1823 in Bengal, and those of 1825 and 1827 in Bombay. It enacted that the printer and the publisher of every periodical work, within the Company's territories, containing public news, or comments on public news, should appear before the magistrates of the jurisdiction in which it should be published and declare where it was to be printed and published. Every book or paper was thenceforth to bear the name of the printer and publisher. Every person having a printing press on his premises was to make a declaration thereof, and for all violations of the provisions of the Act penalties of fine and imprisonment were decreed. But, beyond the necessity of making these declarations, there was no other restriction upon the liberty of the Press. Sir G. Metcalfe was belauded as the liberator of the Indian Press, and defended his measure as conducing to the promotion of knowledge and civilisation, and thereby the improvement of the condition of the people ; he admitted the liberty practically given to the Press by Lord W. Bentinck's forbearance, although the Press laws were nominally in existence. He was blamed for his change of opinion since 1825, and for having seized the opportunity of a brief occupancy of the chief seat of Government to secure for himself a little fleeting popularity. The use of a safety-valve, the publicity, the aid afforded to Government by a free Press, were the arguments relied upon by the supporters of liberation. At the same time the Government of India recognised not only the right but the bounden duty of the Government to suspend that liberty on the possible occurrence of certain emergencies when such a measure might become necessary for the safety of the State. The freedom of the Indian

Press dates from the 15th of September 1835, and the Metcalfe Hall was erected in Calcutta to commemorate the name of the Liberator. The free Press dinner became an anniversary festival in Calcutta. The Court of Directors showed their dissatisfaction with Sir C. Metcalfe's Government, and made him personally feel the weight of their displeasure. In their despatch of the 1st of February 1836 the Court very severely blamed the Government of India for passing the Act, which they declared to be opposed to all previous orders, unjustifiable, unsupported by facts, redressing no real grievance, required by no emergency, *an uncalled for substitution of legal responsibility for the previous licensing system*. But the Court refrained from disallowing the new law, and awaited Lord Auckland's advice before finally deciding. The Act remained in force.

So far the main account of the Indian Press has been limited to English journalism, with the briefest allusions to vernacular papers. It is time to describe succinctly the rise and development of vernacular journalism, especially that of Bengal, which by the date of the Mutiny of 1857 had attained such a position as to require the serious attention of the Government. In 1798 the Court of Directors intimated their desire to encourage Indian literature. When the missionaries Marshman and Ward had established themselves at Serampur in October 1799, they were soon joined in January 1800 by William Carey, who brought down his press from his factory in the Malda district. There is no need to dwell at length on the activity of the Serampur missionaries until the year 1818. Their relations with Lord Minto's Government have been mentioned. Marshman tells how the Serampur missionaries had for some time contemplated the publication of a newspaper in the Bengali language, to stimulate inquiry and diffuse information. The Government had always regarded the periodical Press with a spirit of jealousy; it was then under a rigid censorship. It did not appear likely that a native journal would be suffered to appear, when the English journals at the Presidency (where alone they were published) were fettered by the severest restrictions. On Marshman's proposal the Government, in February 1818, allowed the publication of a periodical in Bengali, provided all political intelligence, more especially regarding the East, was excluded, and it did not appear in a form likely to alarm Government. 'It must therefore be confined to articles of general information and notices of new discoveries, but a small space may be allotted to local events with the view of rendering it attractive.' This monthly magazine appeared in April 1818 as the *Dig-Dursun*. As it was received with unexpected approbation, Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward issued a prospectus for the publication of a weekly vernacular newspaper in Bengali. Dr. Carey regarded this publication with feelings of great alarm, but was overruled by his colleagues. The first number

was issued on the 23rd of May 1818 as the *Samachar Durpan*. This was supposed to be the first Bengali newspaper, until recently it has been stated that the *Bengal Gazette*, published in 1816 in Bengali, which lived less than a year, was the first. However that may be, the issue of the *Samachar* was favoured by the authorities, and Lord Hastings, to encourage it, allowed its circulation at one-fourth the usual postage charge. The censorship of the Press was then in full vigour, but the 'liberty of unlicensed printing,' which the missionaries enjoyed in the Danish settlement of Serampur, was not interfered with. While the animosity against the periodical English Press was at its height, the Government manifested its confidence in the discretion of the Serampur missionaries by purchasing one hundred copies of their Bengali newspaper for the public offices in Bengal, and encouraged a Persian version of it by a liberal subscription. Persian was then the official language of the Courts of Bengal. The first native newspaper in Bombay was the *Bombay Samachar*, published as a weekly on the 1st of July 1822; the Government subscribed for fifty copies; it became a weekly in 1833, and a daily in 1860. By 1875 there were 254 vernacular newspapers in India. In Bengal the *Hindu Patriot* had been started (in English) in 1853. The *Indian Mirror* came out in 1861, the *Bengali* in 1862, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in 1868.

Soon after the Mutiny broke out in 1857 the Government of India recorded on the 12th of June a Resolution announcing their intention to take prompt and decisive measures with the Press. Certain native newspapers (the *Doorbeen*, *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*, *Samachar Soodhaburshun*) in Calcutta had uttered falsehoods and facts grossly perverted for seditious purposes, misrepresented the objects and intentions of Government, vituperated Government itself, and endeavoured to excite discontent and hatred towards it in the minds of its native subjects. Two of the papers had published a traitorous proclamation inciting the Hindus and Mahomedans to murder all Europeans. The Government ordered their law officers to prosecute the printers and publishers of the two newspapers on charges of publishing seditious libels, and determined to take for a time control of the Press, and power to suppress summarily publications containing treasonable or seditious matter or otherwise infringing the conditions imposed. Lord Canning himself took charge of the measure, which became, on the 13th of June, XV of 1857, an Act to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers. It temporarily placed the whole Indian Press very much in the position in which it was permanently before Sir C. Metcalfe's legislation in 1835 gave it complete liberty. It prohibited the keeping or using of printing presses without licence from the Government. The Government took discretionary power

stamp duty on the newspaper Press of India, this development of the Indian Press was not the result of a repeal of a duty in the same way as in England the repeal of the newspaper stamp duty in 1855, and of the advertisement tax in 1853 (both first imposed in 1712), and the abolition of the paper duty in 1861, had conduced there to the enormous expansion of journalism.

The Wahabi conspiracy had existed at least from 1863, and in 1868-1869 inquiries were instituted which led to the trial and conviction of some of the conspirators. The investigations brought to light the fact that further measures were required to meet cases of seditious preaching, for which there seemed to be no satisfactory provision in the existing law. The Penal Code was accordingly amended by the introduction (by Act XXVII. of 1870) of a new section 124A, by which Sir FitzJames Stephen, then Legal Member, intended to assimilate generally the Indian law regarding seditious language to the English law as it had settled down since Fox's Libel Act of 1792. This new section had, he stated, stood in Macaulay's draft code in 1837, and no one could account for its final omission. He disclaimed any wish of the Government to check, in the least degree, any criticism of their measures, however severe and hostile, nay, however disingenuous, unfair, and ill-informed it might be. The section would not apply to a writer or speaker who neither directly nor indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force ; but his intention would have to be inferred from the circumstances in each case. The section also would not be an interference with the liberty of the Press, a phrase which he described as mere rhetoric. *'The question was not whether the Press ought or ought not to be free, but whether it ought to be free to excite rebellion,'* and he proceeded to describe what people might or might not say. The section (124A) was passed as follows : '124A. Whoever by words, either spoken, or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite, feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine. *Explanation.*—Such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government, and to support the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority, is not disaffection. Therefore, the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation, is not an offence within this clause.'

Also, during this period (1858-1878) the Penal Code contained a section, 505 (which was altered in 1898) directed against the circulation or publication of any statement, rumour, or report, known to be

false, with intent to cause any officer, soldier, or sailor, to mutiny, or with intent to cause fear or alarm to the public, and thereby to induce any person to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity.

In 1878 it appeared to the Government of India, when Lord Lytton was Viceroy and Governor-General, that a section of the Vernacular Press had of late years assumed an attitude of fixed hostility to the Government; that it did not confine itself to criticising particular measures or the acts of individual officers on their merits, but attacked the very existence of British rule in India, and that the evil had been steadily growing and had attained a magnitude which called for the application of some strong measures of repression. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (Sir Ashley Eden) had brought to notice instances of the licentiousness and sedition of the Vernacular Press, and the necessity for immediate action was pressed on the Government of India from many quarters. The existing law was held by competent advisers not to furnish a sufficient remedy, so that fresh legislation was considered necessary. It was decided to devise a special procedure for the *prevention* of offences, rather than to amend the ordinary criminal law imposing *penalties* for offences already committed. The reasons for the measure stated in the preamble of the Bill, which became law on the 14th of March, were that certain publications in Oriental languages, printed or circulated in British India, had of late contained matter likely to excite disaffection to the Government, or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions, or sects in British India, or had been used as means of intimidation or extortion, and that such publications were read by and disseminated among large numbers of ignorant and unintelligent persons, and were thus likely to have an influence which they otherwise would not possess, so that it was considered necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity and for the security of her Majesty's subjects and others that power should be conferred on the Executive Government to control the printing and circulation of such publications.

The measure passed by the Council established a system of control over vernacular papers, as follows: (1) The Magistrate might, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, require the printer or publisher of any such newspaper to enter into a bond binding himself not to print or publish in such newspaper anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government or antipathy between different races &c., or to commit extortion; (2) If any newspaper (whether a bond had been taken in respect of it or not) at any time contained any matter of the description just mentioned, or was used for purposes of extortion, the Local Government might warn such newspaper by a notification in the *Gazette*, and if, in spite of such warning, the offence was repeated, the Local Government might then issue its warrant to seize the plant, &c., of such newspaper, and when

any deposit had been made might declare such deposit forfeited ; (3) as the deposit of security and the forfeiture of the deposit might perhaps press unduly on less wealthy proprietors, clauses were inserted enabling a publisher to take his paper out of the operation of this portion of the Act by undertaking to submit his proofs to a Government officer before publication, and to publish nothing objected to by such officer.

In the debate in the Legislative Council full explanation was given of the necessity for the measure (which included also provisions for the seizure and prohibition of importation of books, newspapers, &c., of the kind aimed at), and for the summary procedure adopted, also of the limitation of the measure to the Vernacular Press. Much stress was laid upon the importance of avoiding public trials for sedition. It was mentioned that both Sir Charles Metcalfe and Macaulay, the one the originator and the other the draughtsman and the eloquent defender of the Act of 1835, while arguing strongly in favour of a free Press, adverted to the possibility of circumstances arising which might compel the Government of the day to resort again to legislation of a restrictive character. Mr. Prinsep also, in 1835, thought the eye of the Government would require to be kept 'continually upon the Press, and especially upon the native Press, for it was capable of being made an engine for destroying the respect in which the Government is held, and so undermining its power.' The Secretary of State, Lord Cranbrook, sanctioned the Vernacular Press Act, but objected to the provisions under which a publisher might undertake to submit a proof of his newspaper to Government before publishing it, so a brief Act was passed repealing this portion of the previous measure. The Act was only once put in force. Under the orders of Government a bond was demanded from the printer of the *Som Prokash* for publishing seditious matters. The printer executed the bond, but subsequently stopped the issue of that paper, and started the *Navabibhakar* in its place. The following year, permission was sought to revive the *Som Prokash*, and such permission was accorded on the editor's giving a pledge for its future good conduct. Subsequently both the papers were separately published. No prosecution took place ; no further publicity was given to the incriminated articles ; a warning was given to the whole native Press, and its tone preceptibly improved without any diminution of fair criticism : the preaching of general sedition ceased. All that was required was effected by requiring the printer to execute the bond.

The two Acts were both repealed by Lord Ripon's Government in January 1882, so that S. 124A of the Penal Code alone remained to the Government as a means of controlling seditious utterances in the Press generally ; while under Customs and Post Office Acts foreign publications could be stopped from circulation in India.

Although some of the vernacular newspapers attacked the Govern-

ment with virulence and boldness, for the next nine years, no notice was taken, until in August 1891 the proprietor, editor, manager, printer and publisher of the *Bangobasi* (Calcutta newspaper) were prosecuted under Sections 124A and 500 of the Penal Code for sedition and defamation in certain articles in which statements were made against the Government, and attempts made to excite popular feeling and discontent and disaffection towards the Government among the people. The main object of the Government in instituting the prosecution was to ascertain and make known the exact state of the law. After a trial for several days before the Chief Justice, a majority of the jury, in the proportion of seven to two, were for conviction, but the Chief Justice declined to accept anything but a unanimous verdict; the jury were therefore discharged. The accused then expressed their contrition for having allowed the articles in question to appear, and threw themselves unreservedly on the Lieutenant Governor's mercy, promising never to repeat their offence. The Lieutenant Governor, with the concurrence of the Government of India, stopped further proceedings. In this case the meanings of the words 'disaffection' and 'disapprobation' were much discussed, the Chief Justice laying it down that the meanings of the two portions of Section 124A were distinct, and that a man's 'disaffection' was totally different from 'disapprobation.' When Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst were murdered at Poona in June 1897, the Government ascribed the murders to inflammatory articles in the Vernacular Press (in connexion with anti-plague measures). In 1897 Mr. Tilak was tried under Section 124A for attempting to excite feelings of disaffection to the British Government in certain articles in the Marathi paper, the *Kesari*, of which he was the editor and proprietor. The jury found him guilty by a majority of six to three. The judge accepted this verdict and sentenced the accused to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. In 1898 section 124A was amended and amplified.

The relations between Government and the Press have developed, as has been shown, since 1780 from a system of arbitrary, not to say despotic, treatment, through periods of Press censorship, restriction, liberty, temporary restraint, renewed freedom, a Vernacular Press Act for four years, legislation (twice) by amendments of the ordinary law against sedition, until in 1908, before Act VII. was enacted, the Press law was comprised, as will have appeared, in Act XXV. of 1867, in Sections 108A, 124A, 153A, and 505 of the Penal Code, and Sections 108 and 196 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, besides some provisions of the Customs and Post Office Acts. It has been officially explained that the new Act VII. of 1908 (incitements to offences) is directed, not against the liberty of the Press, nor against sedition, with which the existing criminal law would deal, but against a Press which incited men to murder, to armed revolt, and to secret diabolical schemes. It remains to be seen whether the combined effect of the previously

existing law and the new Act, all of which apply equally to the English and the Vernacular Presses, will suffice to control the utterances of the Press within reasonable limits, *and to maintain peace and order*, which is the ultimate object of all law. When other legislative attempts have failed it is difficult to be hopeful of complete success from the new law.

S. M. MITRA.

DREADNOUGHTS FOR SALE OR HIRE

THE period of hesitation through which the Naval Powers of the world passed when the *Dreadnought* design was first revealed has given place to a period of nervousness, some manifestations of which approach the comic.

For instance, people have suddenly awakened to the fact that two large battleships are building at Elswick and Barrow respectively to the order of the Brazilian Government, and that a third is projected and will be laid down at Elswick as soon as the first, the *Minas Geraes*, is in the water. Promptly, there arises something which approaches the indignity of a first-class naval scare. In the United States particularly, the *New York Herald* laments almost in the vein of the Psalmist that Brazil, their own familiar friend, hath laid great wait for the Yankees.

The simple fact of the matter is that when the model of the *Minas Geraes* appeared at the Franco-British Exhibition people at once began to ask, 'What on earth can Brazil want with *Dreadnoughts*?' And next, 'How on earth can Brazil pay for *Dreadnoughts*?' Thus the way was paved for a story of dark and dire complots of which the terrible little yellow man from the Far East was naturally made the hero. His relations with the guileless Yankee have recently been strained; his fleet is to the American fleet but as four to five (in material that is, in war-worthiness it may be as Lombard Street to a China orange); therefore the perfidious one, without doubt, has conspired with the Government of Brazil to bring about a nefarious deal. So they argue in America.

Conjecture of this kind, is, of course, no evidence; and although the question, 'What does Brazil want with *Dreadnoughts*?' seemed unanswerable to the First Lord of the Admiralty, I do not think it necessarily is so. A modern fleet is not built in five or even ten years, and in ten years' time a certain European Power suspected of designs on the independence of South American States will be so strong at sea that it will be quite desirable (we will put it this way) for Brazil, the largest of the threatened communities, to be able to afford effective help in the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine to the United States. Again, when the Isthmus Canal is cut, Brazil

may quite possibly aspire to such aggrandisement at the expense of Columbia or Ecuador as would seat her on both oceans and give her the unquestioned hegemony of South America. Be it remembered that the Brazilian Navy League is strong and aggressive, and exercises real influence on public opinion. Brazilian naval officers are perfectly clear on the point that Brazil is in fact intending to build up a Navy for herself. One of them, a member of the Naval Commission, put it this way : ' This is not a new programme ; the Government authorised it as long ago as 1904, and would have authorised it ten years earlier had money been available, and had not the Navy been imbued with anti-Republican sentiment. Since it was authorised, it has been further delayed by the coming of the *Dreadnought*. If we are to have a Navy at all—and there are plenty of good reasons why we should—it is wise to have the best of its size that can be built ; so we are constructing *Dreadnought* battleships, swift cruisers, torpedo-boat destroyers and submarines, exactly as every other Power which aspires to naval strength is doing.' It is a fact that there is nothing to be called news in the information that these ships are being built to the order of Brazil. The officers of the Brazilian Naval Commission, which is superintending the building of the *Minas Geraes*, were very much to the fore when I was at Jarrow in the autumn of 1906 to witness the launch of the *Lord Nelson*. All the ordinary naval text-books, moreover, have included them, with details of greater or less inaccuracy, for the last two years. Nevertheless, the idea that the warships are intended for some Power other than Brazil is not so absurd as it may appear at first sight.

In the first place, it is apposite to remember that sales to some other Power of warships completed or completing by the South American State which gave the order are by no means uncommon. Taking ships still borne on the fighting strength of the world's navies only, we get the following list :—

Ship	Class	Built for	At	Bought by	Date
<i>Idzumi</i> ¹ (ex- <i>Esmeralda</i>)	Cruiser	Chili	Elswick	Japan	1895
<i>Iwate</i> and <i>Idzumo</i>	Armoured Cruisers	Chili	Elswick	Japan	1899
<i>Triumph</i> and <i>Swiftsure</i>	Battleships	Chili	Elswick	Great Britain	1903
<i>Kasuga</i> and <i>Nisshin</i>	Armoured Cruisers	Argentine	Barrow Sestri Ponente	Japan	1903

It may be said with truth, in fact, that the ships South America has sold could wipe all the fleets South America possesses off the seas.

Since these things are so, it is not much to be wondered at that the intentions of Brazil are suspect, nor, seeing that of the seven ships named above Japan has bought five, while the other two were bought by Great Britain to prevent them passing into the hands of an enemy of Japan, is it marvellous that Japan should be pointed at

¹ To be struck off the effective list this year.

as the purchaser. Moreover, the ships have a remarkable likeness in general plan to those most newly designed for the Japanese Navy. In each class there are four turrets on the centre line, two raised so as to fire over the others ahead or astern respectively; while there are also two amidships, placed, as in the *Dreadnought*, one on either beam. Now this arrangement, up to the present, is entirely and exclusively Japanese. In British ships, there is no intention of going beyond an armament of ten 12-inch guns, firing eight on either broadside, for technical reasons which it skills not to explain. The newest American design provides for ten 12-inch guns in five turrets, all placed on the centre line, so that all the guns bear on either beam. The most striking resemblance to the Japanese design, however, is to be found in the mounting of the anti-torpedo armament. The Brazilian ships are to carry twenty-two 4·7 inch guns, of which fourteen will be mounted in battery amidships, and the remaining eight in sponsoned casemates on the upper deck and on the superstructure. The Japanese ships will carry ten 6-inch guns, mounted in battery, and twelve 4·7 on the upper deck and superstructure. At the date of the design of these ships only the Japanese had begun to adopt large quick-firers mounted behind armour as the anti-torpedo armament.

For these and other reasons, I went to Elswick recently believing that the great battleships—equal, be it remembered, to the most powerful in the world until the British ‘*Super-Dreadnoughts*’ are built—were, in fact, to go to Japan under cover of the Brazilian order. By the time I left for Barrow-in-Furness, to interview the *São Paulo*, I was convinced that this view was mistaken. In the first place, there is no Japanese Naval Commission in either town; no Japanese naval officer even that I could hear of. It is true that numbers visit these great establishments, but I was informed that the Ordnance Works, rather than the shipbuilding yards, are most frequently the object of their visits. Now, I am very sure that, except under stress of circumstances, the Japanese would never consent to accept ships the material of which had only been tested by the easy-going methods of the Brazilians. When a contract for the Imperial Japanese Navy is placed, the watch kept by the naval officers of Japan is unsleeping. In the second place—and this consideration is important—given time, Japan could build her warships to her own designs, in perfect secrecy—a secrecy to which Western nations vainly strive to attain—and at far less cost than that which a British firm would accept. The warships which she has bought at present she has bought in moments either of national anger or of national peril: the *Idzumi* (*Esmeralda*) on the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki; the *Iwate* and *Idzumo* on the Russian occupation of Port Arthur; the *Kasuga* and *Nisshin* when the great struggle with Russia was seen to be inevitable. But these three Brazilian ships will not be ready to hoist the pendant until the

following dates approximately : *Minas Geraes*, September–November 1909 ; *São Paulo*, December 1909–March 1910 ; *Rio de Janeiro*, December 1910–March 1911. These dates, moreover, involve rapid construction—as rapid, indeed, as that which is quoted as the highest standard attainable by the German Navy ; and it may safely be said that if the vessels are completed by the dates named it will only be owing to their purchase by another Power. In any case, however, it is obvious that these vessels could be of no use to Japan if a struggle be imminent. If it be postponed till 1911–1912, she can probably make other and better arrangements.

At the same time—and with the greatest deference to the Brazilian *Chargé d’Affaires*, who has recently declared that his Government has no intention of selling these ships to any other Power—it is almost impossible to believe that they were designed without an *arrière pensée*. When the *Triumph* and *Swiftsure* came into the market, our Government refused at first to buy them, on the ground that they ‘do not fulfil Admiralty requirements.’ Later, under stress of circumstances which are well known, we bought them, and have been sorry for it ever since. But the Brazilian ships, so far, at any rate, as the outward signs of structural strength go, are up to the standard of any Navy in the world. There is no ‘cuttin’ the frames too light’ here, and, of course, the great names of Armstrong and Vickers Maxim are guarantees of the excellence of material and workmanship. At any rate, both the political and financial equilibrium of South American Republics is unstable, and it is pretty certain that, at this moment, Brazil would not refuse a good offer for the ships. In some quarters it is certainly believed that this course will be forced upon the Brazilian Government by the *res angusta domi*.

I want, however, to discuss the matter from a more general standpoint. If, by the middle of 1911, there be three *Dreadnoughts* for sale or hire, what effect will that have on the naval balance of power ? I take the Brazilian ships for example ; but be it remembered that at least one other country not generally classed among the great Naval Powers—Austria-Hungary, to wit—is building ships which may be classed with the *Dreadnoughts* ; Spain is not impossibly about to do so ; and there are rumours of formidable programmes for China, Chili, and even for Holland and the Scandinavian States.

I take the beginning of 1912 (January to March) for my epoch of comparison. At that date, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Triple Alliance (nominally so far as Italy, actually so far as Austria-Hungary is concerned) will still be in existence, as well as, presumably, that between Russia and France. We may take the following as being the Powers or groups of Powers between which collision is most likely to occur : the United States and Japan ; Great Britain and Germany, with or without the alliance of Austria-Hungary ; Italy and Austria-Hungary.

To take the most probable first. In the event of war breaking out

between the United States and Japan in (say) March 1912, the relative strength of the opposing fleets in capital ships, or, as I prefer to call them, ships of the line, will be as follows, so far as can be reasonably anticipated at this date :

	United States	Japan
Battleships :—		
<i>Dreadnought</i> ships	6	6 (+ 3 = 9)
Pre- <i>Dreadnought</i> battleships .	22	11
Armoured Cruisers (four or more 9·2-inch or superior weapons) .	4	8
Guns :—		
12-inch and above	124	124 (+ 36 = 160)
10-inch to 9·2-inch	16	64
8-inch to 7-inch	216	24
6-inch	212	208

The figures in brackets show the modification caused by the purchase of the Brazilian ships by the weaker Powers. Ships of the *Lord Nelson* and *Invincible* classes and their foreign equivalents are counted as *Dreadnoughts*.

The Japanese, like ourselves, plan to have their ships ready for sea in two years from the date of laying down. If this arrangement were adhered to, and the programmes for the years immediately ensuing be the same as for those immediately past, another pair of battleships and of armoured cruisers ought to be added to the total. But financial stringency may cause a delay in the completion of some part of the programme.

The Americans have a superiority in pre-*Dreadnought* ships and in the lighter type of gun—a superiority which, seeing that in *Dreadnoughts* and in *Dreadnought*-carried heavy guns they are about equal to the Japanese, ought, if material were everything (which it is not), to give them the victory. Add the Brazilian ships to the American total, and their superiority becomes assured. But add them to the Japanese total, and the balance inclines quite markedly the other way. The United States must certainly take these vessels into account, or lay down three additional *Dreadnoughts* themselves and press them rapidly to completion, in order to secure a bare margin of material superiority over Japan in 1912.

The next hypothetical struggle to which reference will be made is one between Great Britain and Germany. In this case, the account in March 1912 will stand thus :

	Great Britain	Germany
• <i>Dreadnought</i> ships	18	18 (+ 3 = 16)
Pre- <i>Dreadnought</i> battleships .	38	20
Armoured Cruisers	9	—
Guns :—		
12-inch to 11-inch	272	190 (+ 36 = 226)
10-inch to 9·2-inch	108	40
8-inch to 7·5-inch	74	—
6-inch	486	476

I have here allowed for a British programme of four large armoured ships to be laid down next year and to be finished by the end of 1911. Similarly, I have estimated that the German ships which will be laid down in July next, under the programme of 1909, will be ready for service in March 1912. Were Germany to purchase the Brazilian ships, our margin of superiority to her alone would still be considerable, but we should be very far below the two-Power standard. Suppose (and it is not an extravagant supposition) Austria-Hungary were in alliance with Germany. Then the figures would stand :

	Great Britain	Germany and Austria-Hungary
<i>Dreadnought</i> ships	18	16 (+ 3 = 19)
Pre- <i>Dreadnought</i> battleships	38	23
Armoured Cruisers	9	—
Guns:—		
12-inch to 11-inch	272	202 (+ 36 = 238)
10-inch to 9·2-inch	108	76
8-inch to 7·5-inch	74	36
6-inch	436	476

Taking *Dreadnought* ships alone, the eighteen British vessels will mount 160 12-inch guns and twenty 9·2-inch, against 162 12- and 11-inch and twenty-four 9·4-inch guns for the German and Austro-Hungarian ships. Should the Brazilian *Dreadnoughts* pass to either Power, the alliance would have an actual superiority of forty-two heavy guns in its *Dreadnought* ships, and that is somewhat heavy odds. As the standard German weapon is the 11-inch gun, it is on the face of it unlikely that Germany will complicate her artillery by the purchase of these ships, but the temptation to do so, were war imminent, would be great, and it must be remembered that the German element in Brazil is now very large.

Next let us take the event of war between Austria-Hungary and Italy. The naval forces of the two nations will stand thus :

	Italy	Austria-Hungary
<i>Dreadnought</i> ships	2	3 (+ 3 = 6)
Pre- <i>Dreadnought</i> battleships	10	9 ²
Armoured Cruisers	4	—
Guns:—		
12-inch to 11-inch	44	12 (+ 36 = 48)
10-inch to 9·2-inch	24	57
8-inch to 7·5-inch	88	36
6-inch	64	54

In this case, the acquisition of the Brazilian ships by Austria-Hungary would turn the scale, which is fairly evenly balanced at present, decidedly in her favour.

It may be said, of course, that there is nothing new in all this. Minor Naval Powers have always had ships for sale or hire, and have

² *Habsburg* and *Wien* classes added for purpose of comparison with Italy, these ships being capable of fighting in the Adriatic.

sometimes been compelled to sell or hire them to belligerents, as we found to our inconvenience between 1776 and 1783, and again in 1807. So far, that is true; but since the era of armoured ships began no minor Power has ever possessed vessels which were right up to the standard of the latest and most powerful designed for the leading Powers; and if any have approached it, they have always been bought by one or other of those leading Powers. These Brazilian *Dreadnoughts*, therefore, are of new and ominous significance. And not less so are the Austro-Hungarian ships, which, though not for sale, may be said to be on hire as reinforcement for the Navy of a Power with which it is convenient to Austria-Hungary to ally herself. From our point of view, and from that of the Americans and the Italians also, the uncomfortable feature is that for twenty years to come we shall always have to take the *Minas Geraes* and her sisters into account in estimating our naval needs, even if they should remain for the greater part of that time under the Brazilian flag. When the outbreak of war has become a matter of months, as, for example, it was in September 1903, the payment of 5,000,000*l.* or so for a reinforcement of three first-class ships will be the merest drop in the bucket of expenditure to be incurred. The stronger Power, even if it does not want the ships, will be compelled to buy them to keep them out of the enemy's hands. We have done this once for a friend, with results on which I am afraid we are hardly entitled to congratulate ourselves, however convenient our action may have been to Japan. I suspect that the lesson of the *Triumph* and *Swiftsure* and their purchase has not been thrown away on irresponsible republics 'on the make.' If we repeat the operation, we shall lay ourselves open to a system of diplomatically correct blackmail very much to be deprecated.

But what is the alternative? I confess I do not see one. Now that (quite rightly, in my humble judgment) the same sum of money goes in the construction of one battleship that formerly sufficed for two, and one cruiser of the *Indomitable* type absorbs the provision which would formerly have sufficed for three, the number of ships which nations can afford to build is necessarily much smaller than it was. But it is of vital importance that the great private shipbuilding yards should be kept employed. The shipbuilding resources of Germany, Russia, Japan, and the United States have been so largely developed that these countries now not only build all they require for themselves, but can undertake work for foreign nations as well. Spain is patriotically and prudently developing her dockyards before starting on the building of her new Navy. Nought remains to our shipbuilders but the orders of the minor States, and every ship of great fighting force which they build for one of these may hereafter become an embarrassment to their own country. That is the irony of the dilemma in which we are placed.

So John Bull must pay, and continue to pay, and look as pleasant as he can. Since his very existence depends on it, he must not only take into account the warships of any two Powers which might, under conceivable circumstances, combine against him, but also the potential reserves of these Powers in the hands of minor States. He need not concern himself very seriously about the much-discussed epoch of 1911—as I have shown above. But when 1915 comes, and with it the expiration of the alliance with Japan, he may, and probably will, find himself face to face with new responsibilities against which he can hardly begin to make provision too soon. That, however, is another story, and one which is too long to be told here.

GERARD FIENNES.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE WATERWAYS OF NORTH ITALY

SOME of Shakespeare's plays, in which the scenes are laid in Italy, have led to considerable misunderstanding. It is true that commentators express amazement at the knowledge which the Dramatist shows of Italian life, public and private; the laws and customs of the country; its ceremonies and characteristics; all agreeing that the very atmosphere of these scenes is as Italian as it well could be. Men have wondered how this very accurate knowledge was obtained, and their wondering has led some even to contend that Shakespeare must have visited Italy in person on some unrecorded occasion.

Elze, to quote one of many, speaking of *The Merchant of Venice*, says: 'There lies over this drama an inimitable and decidedly Italian atmosphere and fragrance which certainly can be more readily felt than explained and analysed. Everything is so faithful, so fresh, and so true to nature, that the play cannot possibly be excelled in this respect.'

In spite, however, of their unanimity concerning Shakespeare's marvellous power of investing his Italian scenes with so true a local colouring, the great majority of the commentators go a step further, and, in a strange spirit of inconsistency with their own views, tell us that Shakespeare's knowledge of the geography of the country with which he shows such an accurate familiarity in other respects, is hopelessly at fault, and inaccurate even to the verge of carelessness and ignorance. Three well-known passages are relied on as proof of such assertions—one in *The Tempest* (I. ii. 129-44), another in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (I. i. 71), and a third in *The Taming of the Shrew* (IV. ii.).

In the words of a well-known author of to-day:

But the fact that he represents Valentine in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (I. i. 71) as travelling from Verona to Milan (both inland cities) by sea, and the fact that Prospero in *The Tempest* embarks in a ship at the gates of Milan (I. i. 129-44) renders it almost impossible that he could have gathered his knowledge of Northern Italy from personal observation.¹

¹ Sidney Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 299. London, 1904.

Again, to quote another commentator :

Shakespeare had clearly conceived the geography of the land, and accurately maintained his conception, though it was, for the most part, an ideal not a real geography. For instance, Verona is a port upon the sea, with tides that ebb and flow, and boats may sail from thence to Milan ; Valentine's ' father at the road expects his coming, there to see him shipped ' ; and Launce . . . ' is like to lose the tide.' Verona is a seaport for Shakespeare in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and it is still a seaport for him in *Othello*, where Cassio's ship, the first to reach Cyprus after the storm, is a Veronesa. But the sheet of water nearest to Verona is the Lake of Garda ; and though the Venetians kept their war galleys floating upon it, about which Shakespeare may have heard, yet it had not a tide that any man could miss.²

If these assertions are well founded, Shakespeare is at once convicted of an inconsistency as glaring as it is inartistic, and one which in itself would go far towards showing that his accuracy in other directions was merely the result of some happy chance, arrived at by so unusual a process of penetration that it amounts to something like a miracle.

It is worth while, therefore, in the first place to examine the actual passages on which the statements are based, after which one may go on to inquire what light is thrown on the matter by contemporary records bearing on the geography of Northern Italy.

The opening scene of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is laid in Verona—Valentine is taking leave of Proteus ; and addressing his friend, he says :

Once more adieu ! My father at the road
Expects my coming, there to see me shipp'd.

His exit follows shortly after, and Speed, his servant, enters.

SPEED. Sir Proteus, save you ! Saw you my master ?

PROTEUS. But now he parted hence, to embark for Milan.

The phrase ' at the road,' if it stood alone, might possibly suggest the sea, and an ignorance of the geographical position of Verona ; and other lines later in the play might add weight to the suggestion, as where Panthino (Act II. iii.) urges Launce to follow his master :

PAN. Launce, away, away, aboard ! Thy master is shipped, and thou art to post after with oars. . . . Away, ass ! You'll lose the tide, if you tarry any longer. . . . Tut, man, I mean thou'lt lose the flood, and, in losing the flood, lose thy voyage. . . .

But Launce's reply to the latter speech, which seems to have escaped the notice of those who are so eager to attribute ignorance to Shakespeare, triumphantly acquits the Dramatist on this count of the indictment :

LAUNCE. Lose the tide, and the voyage, and the master. . . . Why, man, if the river were dry, I am able to fill it with my tears ; if the wind were down, I could drive the boat with my sighs.

² *Studies in the History of Venice*, Horatio Brown (1907).

*Your ships are stay'd at Venice, and the duke,
For private quarrel 'twixt your duke and him,
Hath publish'd and proclaim'd it openly.*

While, earlier in the same play, we get at least a suggestion of geographical knowledge of the same kind in the question put by Hortensio to Petruccio (I. ii.):

*And tell me now, sweet friend, what happy gale
Blows you to Padua from old Verona?*

The comments I have quoted are all the more remarkable when we consider that something has already been done by one or two more enlightened commentators to show that the rivers and other waterways of North Italy were constantly used for passenger traffic in and about Shakespeare's time. Herr Sarrazin, for instance, has in recent years, contributed some interesting articles to the *Jahrbuch* of the *Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*⁴ on this subject, though without going into the matter with much detail.

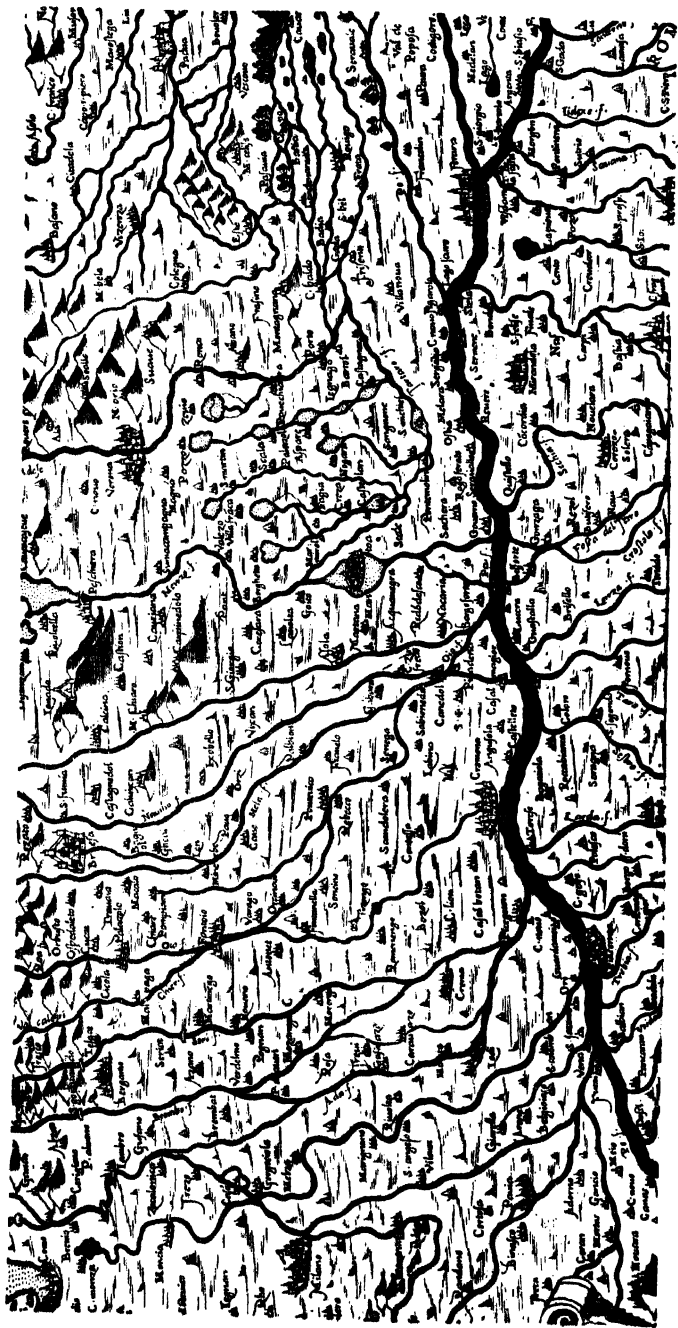
But quite independently of any interest we may take in Shakespeare's knowledge or ignorance of their existence, the waterway communications between the cities of Lombardy and the territories of the Venetian Republic played no small part in Italian history for many years before *The Tempest* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* came to be written. A volume might easily be filled with extracts from chronicles, social records, and other writings, to show the importance attaching to these inland water-routes in the eyes of statesmen, merchants, and private persons in early Italian days; and, as a matter of fact, no reliable history of the navy of Venice could be written in which their prominent utility in peace and war happened to be overlooked.

In the circumstances it may be worth while to give a sketch of the geographical position as it is disclosed by some quotations from contemporary documents, the subject being, from every point of view, one of extreme interest, as well as being one on which there appears to be considerable misapprehension in many minds to-day. The accompanying Map,⁵ published in 1564, will show at a glance the course of the chief waterways, the majority of which may be taken to have been navigable at that time—for all that Shakespearian commentators have to say to the contrary.

The main river route through the Lombardo-Venetian territories in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as for many centuries previously, was the river Po; and, as might be expected, it is almost impossible to take up any book dealing with the history of the North Italian republics which does not contain copious allusions to the traffic borne upon its waters. It was the same long even before the Middle

⁴ Band xxxvi. (1900) and xlii. (1906).

⁵ Reproduced by permission of the British Museum.



LOMBARDIA, ANT. LAFRERI, 1564.

Ages, Polybius speaking of this river as navigable for some 250 Roman miles from the sea; Strabo noticing it as such from Placentia (now Piacenza) to Ravenna; and Pliny describing it as beginning to be navigable as high up as Augusta Taurinorum, the Turin of to-day. When we come to the twelfth century, the navigation of the Po had already become a matter of great state importance. An interesting edict of Frederick the First (Barbarossa), dated 1159, is set out in a recently issued Italian parliamentary publication,⁶ which gives us a picturesque glimpse of the then conditions of the navigation on the Po:

... We therefore mindful of the devoted services of our most faithful people of Cremona, graciously assent to their request—and it is our will and command that from Cremona down the Po, and in all places and valleys at any time connected by water with the Po, as far as to the sea, as well in the province of Reggio as of Modena, or of Bologna, Ferrara, or Ravenna, that they shall have free passage and sailing rights in full security with what merchandise they please, free of all tolls, imports or other exactions sought to be levied on them by any other powers or cities.

A list of tolls follows, to be collected by Frederick's own agents from ships generally, the charges varying in different towns. Amongst the towns mentioned, which are all practically treated as ports, are Ferrara, Figarolo, Governolo, Guastalla, Scozzarolo, and Luzzara.

The same state of things prevailed in the fifteenth century, as may be seen from the 'Diary' of Roberto Sanseverino, written about the year 1458, in which he describes the journey he and his companions made from Pavia to the Holy Land.⁷ They embarked, he tells us, on the 1st of May on the Ticino, escorted by friends from Pavia, and reached Piasenza [Piacenza] that evening. On the 2nd of May, in heavy rain and with contrary winds, the ship being frequently driven to shore, they got as far as Cremona, instead of making Colorno, as they hoped to do. On the 4th they passed Guastalla and Sachetta, and made Revere; and on the 5th, still contending against rain and wind, they arrived at Villanuova. On the 6th, a Saturday, having heard mass at 'le Patoge,' three miles from Villanuova, they started for Gioza [Chioggia], where they arrived that night; and got to Venice on the following day.

Again, in connexion with the same century, we have in the 'Life and Memoirs of Isabella d'Este' plentiful allusions to travel on the Po, as well as on other rivers connected with it by canal or otherwise:⁸

In the following spring [i.e. of 1481] the Marquis of Mantua brought his son Francesco [Gonzaga] to spend the Feast of St. George at Ferrara, and make acquaintance with his bride [i.e. Isabella his betrothed bride, then aged about

⁶ *Atti della commissione per lo studio della Navigazione interna nella valle del Po*. Roma, tipografia della camera dei deputati, 1908.

⁷ *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare*, Bologna, 1888.

⁸ The extracts quoted here are from Mrs. Ady's *Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua*, Murray, 1904.

six years], and her family. The Mantuan chronicler, Schivenoglia, relates how on this occasion the Marquis and his suite of six hundred followers sailed down the Po in four bucentaurs . . .

The wedding was celebrated at Ferrara on the 11th of February 1490. . . . On the following day the wedding party set out in the richly carved and gilded bucentaur [the gift of the Duke her father], attended by four galleys and fifty boats, for Mantua, and sailed up the Po.

The cruel hardships to which the Marchioness [Isabella] and her ladies were exposed during their journey in barges up the Po" . . . are vividly described in Beatrice dei Contrari's letters to the Marquis.

On the return journey—February 1491—'when the wedding party reached Ferrara, the Po was frozen over, and hundreds of workmen were employed to break the ice and make a passage for the bucentaur.'

When despatch was necessary, horses were used ; as, for instance, on the 4th of December 1491 Isabella writes from Ferrara to her husband at Milan :

I hear that you are gone to Milan. . . . But as I did not know this in time, I send these few lines by a courier on horseback to satisfy my anxiety as to your welfare . . .¹⁰

At her first coming to Mantua, Isabella brought a whole train of artists . . . and the court painter, Ercole Roberti, suffered so much from seasickness on the journey up the Po [i.e. from Ferrara] and was so much exhausted . . . that he left suddenly without even bidding the Marchesa farewell.

Apropos of the wedding in 1501 of Alfonso d'Este and Lucrezia Borgia, at Rome, and their return to Ferrara :

Some days were spent at Bologna, where a banquet was given in her [Lucrezia's] honour, after which the party embarked on bucentaurs, and travelled by water first along a canal, and then up the river Po as far as Castel Bentivoglio, a town about twenty miles from Ferrara. . . .

Fortunately the Moro's journey was delayed, and Isabella left Mantua early in May and travelled by boat to Ferrara. On her arrival she sent an affectionate note to her sister-in-law Elisabetta, from whom she had parted with much regret.

[Quotation from letter.]

When I found myself alone in the boat, without your sweet company, I felt so forlorn I hardly knew what I wanted or where I was. To add to my comfort, the wind and *tide* were against us all the way, and I often wished myself back in your room playing at scartino.¹¹

" I.e. from Ferrara to Milan, for the marriage of Beatrice d'Este to Ludovico Sforza (1491).

¹⁰ In this connexion it is interesting to note that Shakespeare, though well aware of the use made of rivers and canals for ordinary travel, makes his characters resort to horses when there was occasion for urgency. So in *Romeo and Juliet* where Balthasar (V. i.) meets Romeo in Mantua and tells him of the burial of Juliet which he has himself seen, he adds : ' And presently *took post* to tell it you.' Obviously the river route would have been too slow for his purpose. For the same reason, Romeo, immediately after learning the news of Juliet's death, orders the messenger to ' hire post horses,' so as to leave Mantua that very night.

¹¹ Copia lettera d'Isabella, quoted by Luzio, *Mantova e Urbino*, p. 63.

In the year 1502 Isabella d'Este came to Ferrara at her father's request to receive Lucrezia Borgia, and she writes to her husband (the 29th of January): 'On Tuesday I shall accompany Don Alfonso with only a few ladies in a barge, as far as Malalbergo to meet her.'

On the 1st of February the Marchesa describes her first meeting with the bride at Ferrara:

Soon after eight o'clock I entered Don Alfonso's barge. . . . At Torre del Fossa I changed boats and went on to Malalbergo, where we met the bride in a ship. . . . The boat came alongside, and one bark having curtsied to the other, with joyous haste, I entered the bride's . . . and we went on our way, and she did not enter the small bucentaur for fear of losing time. About four o'clock we reached Torre del Fossa. Then we entered the large bucentaur, where all the ambassadors shook hands with us, and we sat down in the following order . . . and so, amid great cheering and shouting and the sound of trumpets and guns, we reached Cassale about five.

[1502.] As soon as Isabella had recovered from the fatigues of the wedding festivals at Ferrara . . . she and the Duchess of Urbino set out one morning in March, *incognito*, for Venice. . . . The Marquis accompanied his wife and sister as far as Sermide, where they took boat to the mouth of the Po, and spent the night at the wretched hostelry at Stellata.

Writing to her husband from Venice, where she arrived on the 14th of March, she says: 'Yesterday morning we left "la Stellata" so early that we reached Chiozza an hour after dark.'

The condition of the roads of North Italy at the time may be gathered from a remark made by Isabella when writing from Lonato. 'I arrived about 6 o'clock, having driven over from Cavriana in a chariot and felt broken to pieces by jolting over the stones'; and the statement strongly suggests that the riverway was in those days the more usual and more comfortable method of getting from place to place.

I have already mentioned Shakespeare's reference in *The Taming of the Shrew* to the waterway route from Venice to Mantua (*ante*, p. 3), the main portion of the journey being, of course, along the Po. That he knew what he was writing about is shown pretty clearly in another short extract from *Isabella d'Este* (ii. 267):

By the end of the month [May 1527] the Marchesa herself had reached Ferrara. After a brief interval . . . Isabella once more resumed her journey, and sailed up the Po to Governolo. . . . The next day *they sailed up the Mincio to Mantua*.

So far there has been little mention of any actual waterway connexion between Milan and the sea, the route made use of, according to Shakespeare, in the midnight journey of Prospero and his daughter. The history of the navigable canals that led out of that city in various directions has been often written—so often indeed that one can but wonder at the seeming carelessness shown by such commentators

on *The Tempest* as find any difficulty in the description of Prospero's embarkation. To cite but one authority, Bruschetti¹² :

As a matter of fact, at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, the two largest canals which to-day traverse the interior of the province of Milan, were in connexion with the rivers Adda and Ticino. The first, on the eastern side of Milan (formerly called Nuova Adda, and Muzza at a later date) running towards Lodi—the second, on the West, called Ticinello, leading towards Pavia. . . . It is well known that this same canal, before the end of the thirteenth century, under the name Naviglio Grande, was already adapted to the purpose of free and continuous navigation from the Ticino right up to Milan.

The historian I quote from tells us further that Milan had in the fourteenth century seen the advantages to be gained by a short and direct waterway to the Po (which was not, however, completed successfully till a much later date) ; but having extended the Naviglio Grande in the following century right up to the foundations of the Duomo for the purpose of carrying the marble of which it was being built from the Lago Maggiore, we find the city in 1497 in ship communication on one side (by the Naviglio della Martesana) with the Adda, and on the other (by the Naviglio Grande) with the Ticino, the Po, and Lago Maggiore—a condition of things sufficient to justify Carlo Pagnano's statement in 1520 that Milan, far as it was from the sea, might easily be taken to be a seaport town.¹³

With regard to the Adige and the embarkation of Valentine at Verona for the purpose of travelling to Milan, there is no more cause for finding fault with Shakespeare's hydrographical knowledge than in the journey from Milan to the sea—although it is a matter of some little difficulty to point out with certainty the exact route by which one would journey the whole way by water from Verona to Milan at or before the Poet's time. There is, however, nothing in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* to suggest that the *whole* journey was by water ; although I am strongly inclined to believe that it may in fact have been possible.¹⁴ It is easy, however, to show that from centuries long before Shakespeare's time the Adige was the main highway for traders and travellers between Verona and Venice. As Hazlitt puts it :

The River, or Inland commerce became at a very early period, extensive and valuable. The Po, the Tagliamento, the Adige, the Brenta, and other streams, by which the peninsula was watered and fertilised, were soon covered with their cargoes. . . .

At a later epoch [998] the Government of Orseolo II. entered into treaties

¹² *Istoria dei progetti e delle opere per la Navigazione interna del Milanese.*

¹³ 'Mediolanum, quanquam a mari remotum, maritima civitas facile existimari posset.'

¹⁴ The fossa, or canal, which joined the river Tartaro with the Po at Ostiglia (ancient Ostia) is omitted on the map of 1564, but it undoubtedly existed from about the year 1000 A.D. (being marked on some other early maps), and was in all probability the canal by which the Venetian ships in 1510 escaped into the Adige, as described by Guicciardini. (See *post*, p. 10.)

with various Powers, by virtue of which several ports in the Peninsula were opened to Venetian traders, on highly advantageous terms, to the exclusion of any other flag. Such became the relations with Gruaro on the Livenza, and with San Michele Del Quarto on the Silis. With Aquileia, Ferrara (1102), Treviso (998), Verona (1193) and other places, the commercial intercourse of the Republic subsisted on a general footing of permanence and security.¹⁵

Then, in reference to the year 1191, he relates how a difference between the Doge Dandolo and Verona, on the subject of certain piracies and depredations to which Venetian traders had been exposed on the Adige, was settled by a treaty under which 'the Council engaged to pay an indemnity . . . and to refrain in future from offering any molestation to the commerce and navigation of the Republic on the river Adige.'¹⁶

It may be said, however, that this is all very ancient history, and has no particular bearing on the subject in hand. The objector should at least remember that, although it is likely that Shakespeare's geographical ideas of North Italy were the ideas of his own time, there are yet no dates given for the occurrences dramatised in any of the plays in reference to which the difficulties have been suggested.

Speaking, however, of a more modern period, and in reference to the 'terra firma' or inland possessions of the Venetian State, in the sixteenth century, the same historian remarks: 'In the poorer localities, proprietors were indulged by a partial exemption from taxes. . . . To promote the interests of the same class it was that many rivers in the Peninsula were for the first time made thoroughly navigable,'¹⁷ a statement which is confirmed in an interesting manner by a stray extract from the Venetian Archives reproduced in our calendar of State Papers: ¹⁸

The English Ambassador came to the Cabinet. He [Sir Henry Wotton] then went on to return thanks for the honours and favours shown him everywhere by the officials, especially at Verona and Salò. On his return he had somewhat lengthened his journey *by coming down the Adige* in order to see the forts and Legnago in particular.

The foregoing references to both the Po and the Adige as water highways for purposes of commerce and travel are confined to cases of transit in time of peace. But when we come to war conditions, the aspect presented by the two rivers in their ship-carrying capacity is little less than amazing, and should be a strange revelation to Shakespearian students who stumble at the journey from Milan to the sea. In the words of the Italian Commission, already referred to, (p. 5 *ante*) 'Il Po fu palestra di accanite battaglie navali';¹⁹ and one need not go beyond the pages of Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, the English translation of which, by Fenton, was published in 1579, to

¹⁵ *History of Venice*, iv. 236 (ed. 1858).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 55.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 551.

¹⁸ *Venetian*, vol. xi. 1607-1610.

¹⁹ 'Was the wrestling-place of furious naval contests.'

learn that through many centuries these two rivers had for all practical purposes been high seas for the contending navies of the hostile states whose dominions were made approachable by their waters.

It will be sufficient to cite but a few instances out of very many from which the nature of these conflicts may be gathered. In June 1431 Nicolò Trevisano, a captain of the Signorie of Venice, had a powerful fleet all but wiped out by the Milanese ships under Ambrogio Spinola, close by Cremona. It was a staggering blow to the Venetians, but, having nursed their wrath for some years, a resolution was passed in July 1438 to build a fleet to humble the pride of the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua. Vast numbers of men were at once set to work at the Arsenal of Venice, and on the 28th of August in the same year, a fleet left the Venetian capital consisting of 100 *galeoni* (galleons), six *riguardi* (?), thirty *barche* (barks), six *galere* (galleys), which with other vessels laden with ammunition and provisions that followed raised the whole number to 256 ! ²⁰

Dealing with a later period, the year 1509, let me quote an extract from Fenton's *Guicciardini* :

After this the Venetian armie drew towards Monselice and Montagnana, both to recover Polisena, and to charge the places of Ferrara together with their navie, which the Senate . . . had determined to send against the Duke of Ferrara, well furnished with strength and munition along the river of Paw . . . it was agreed that their navie and sea armie, commanded by Ange Trevisan, compounded upon seventeen light gallies with a large furnishment of meaner vessels and able bodies for service, should sayle toward Ferrara. This flecte entring into Paw by the mouth of the fornaces and burning Corvola with certaine other villages neare to Paw, went pilling and spoiling the country up to the lake of Scuro, from which place the light horsemen who followed them as a strength by land, made incursions as farre as Ficherolo ; . . . the coming of this navie together with the rumour of the armie by land that was to follow, brought no little amaze to the Duke. . . . Trevisan, after he had in vaine assayed to passe, seeing he could advance nothing without he were succoured by land, came to an anker in the middest of the river of Paw behind a little Isle right over against Puliselle, a place within xi myles of Ferrara, and very apt to torment the towne and make many hurtfull executions upon the country.

Again, of the year 1510, he writes :

at which time the Duke of Ferrara, together with the Lord of Chastillion with the French bands lay encamped upon the river of Paw, between the hospitall [lo Spedaletto] and Bondin, on the opposite to the Venetian regiments which were beyond Paw ; whose navie seeking to retire for the sharpness of the Season and for the ill provision that came from Venice, being charged by many Barks of Ferrara whose artilleries sunke eight vessels to the bottome, retired with great paine by Newcastle upon Paw, into the ditch that falleth into Tanare ²¹ and

²⁰ *Atti della commissione etc. Relazione Generale*, p. 18.

²¹ This passage clearly establishes the existence of a navigable waterway connection between the Po and the Adige in the neighbourhood of the places mentioned. The Canal is not marked on the map of 1564. 'Tanaro' in the original text is obviously an error for Tartaro, which, in the region referred to, comes to within a few miles of the Po, while further north it is connected with the Adige near Legnago.

Adice, and there is separate ['Si condusse con difficoltà a Castelnovo del Po nella fossa che va nel *Tanaro*, e nell' Adice, e dipoi si risolve.'—*Guicciardini*.]

The Naviglio Grande, the great link between Milan and the Ticino in early times, has already been mentioned, and its importance during the war in 1524 between the Imperial forces and the Venetians under the Duke of Urbino is given due prominence in Fenton's translation. Referring to Biagrassa [Abbategrasso] the only town then left in the power of the French, he tells us :

it was plentifully provided of victuals and garded with a strong garrison of a thousand footemen under Jeronimo Caracciolo : but because it hath his situation upon the great channell ['in sul canal grande,' in original], and by that means stoppeth the course of victuals which that channel is wont to bring in greate plentie to Millan,

it was besieged and captured by Sforza.

Innumerable other instances might be quoted from Guicciardini and others to show the sea-like character of the river Po in the centuries of war in Northern Italy before Shakespeare's day. Of the Adige it is the same tale. One extract of a somewhat remarkable kind, bearing on the latter waterway, may fittingly close this portion of my paper. When describing the siege of Brescia by the Milanese, in 1438, Hazlitt²² mentions that the Venetian Republic had no ships on the Lago di Garda, the east side of which was still open to them. To help their armies in this quarter, an astounding proposal was made to the Senate to convey a flotilla in midwinter up the Adige and across the Tyrolese Alps, a distance of about 200 miles, which was at once agreed to. The fleet consisted of five and twenty barks and six galleys ; it was under the care of Pietro Zeno. Zeno proceeded by water from the mouth of the Adige up to Roveredo, at the east side of the northern end of Lake Garda, from which point the passage to the summit of Monte Baldo over an artificial causeway of boughs, stones, and other rough materials, running along the bed of a precipitous fall, furnished a spectacle which none could witness and forget. The descent was a perfect prodigy of mechanical skill, and the fleet was at last set afloat on the Lago di Garda in February 1439.

With the single exception of Fenton's translation of Guicciardini's *History*, the whole of the foregoing references to the waterways of Lombardy are based on Italian authorities. I do not suggest that our Dramatist ever read any of them, though Fenton's work was within his reach had he wished to consult it. I have quoted these extracts merely for the purpose of demonstrating certain geographical *facts* which have been largely overlooked by students of Shakespeare.

The mistake has been repeated in all editions and translations of Guicciardini. The Tanaro is about 200 miles to the west.

²² *History of the Venetian Republic* (ed. 1860), iv. 141 sqq.

The authorities quoted, however, are far from exhausting the evidence, and they are fully confirmed by a number of English writers who have left us some extremely interesting narratives of journeys made by water in the same region.

The Pylgrymage of Sir R. Guylforde, for instance, which was published by Richard Pynson in 1511,²³ describes, with some detail, the journey he made in 1506 through North Italy on his way to Jerusalem. At Alessandria his company left their horses and took the water of Tanaro. Being brought to the Po by this river, they passed Pavia. Next day, they passed Piacenza and Cremona, and lay at Polesina. The day after they passed Torricella, Casalmaggiore, Viadana, Mantua, Grescello, and stayed for the night at Guastalla : and so on, until after passing Ferrara

somewhat before noone we left all the Poo and toke our course by a lytell ryver yt cummeth to the same, called the Fosse, made and cutte out by hande, whiche brought us overthawart into another ryver, called Lytyze [l'Adige] that cometh from Verone and Trent ; and yet within a whyle we traversed out of that ryver into another lytell ryver, whiche brought us thawarte agen into Latyze, whiche Latyze brought us into Chose [Chioggia] upon the see, called in Latyne Claudium. . . . The next daye . . . we come to Venyse. . . . XII. daye of June . . . we wente by water to Padua by the ryver of Brente.

Following closely upon this, we have the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington,²⁴ also to the Holy Land. He left England in 1517, and crossing France, reached Pavia, where he sold his horse, saddle, and bridle.

'Wednesday, the XXI. day of Aprill, I toke a barke at the forseyd Pavia, upon the ryver which is called Poo ; the same night I cam to Placiencia or Plesaunce [Piacenza] . . . '

Like his predecessor Guylforde, he describes with minuteness the towns he passed in descending the river—mentioning 'Cremena' [Cremona], 'Dosor' [Caorso], Mantua, 'Ryver' [? Revere], 'Fferare' [Ferrara], 'Ffrancelyno' [Francolin], and Corbala. His description of leaving the Po and crossing to the Adige in order to reach Venice is, strange to say, in the identical words used by Guylforde as quoted above. It is possible that they were both indebted to some early guide-book in the matter.

Another English traveller in Italy, with whose work Shakespeare was undoubtedly acquainted, is Fynes Moryson. In his own words :

In the spring of the yeare 1594 (the Italians beginning the yeare the first of January) I began my journey to see Italy, and taking boat at the East gate of Padua, the same was drawne by horses along the River Brenta ; . . . we came to the Village Lizzafusina, where there is a damme to stop the waters of Brenta, lest in processe of time the Marshes on that side of Venice should be filled with

²³ Reprinted, from the unique copy in the British Museum, by the Camden Society, vol. i.

²⁴ *Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travell*, etc., W. J. Loftie (1884).

sand or earth and so a passage made on firme ground to the City.²⁵ Heere whiles our boat was drawne by an Instrument, out of the River Brenta, into the Marshes of Venice, wee the passengers refreshed our selves with meat and wine. . . . Then we entred our boat againe, and passed five miles to Venice, upon the marshes thereof; and each man paid for his passage a lire, or twenty sols, and for a horse more then ordinary that we might be drawne more swiftly from Padua to Lizzafusina, each man paid foure sols, but the ordinary passage is only sixteene sols. We might have had coaches, but since a boat passeth daily too and fro betweene these cities, most men use this passage as most convenient. For the boat is covered with arched hatches, and there is very pleasant company, so a man beware to give no offence. . . .

From Venice to Farraria [i.e., Ferrara] are eighty-five miles by water and land; and upon the third of February (after the new style) and in the yeare 1594 . . . and upon Wednesday in the evening, my selfe with two Dutchmen, my consorts in this journey, went into the Barke which weekly passeth betwixt Venice and Ferrara. . . .

The same night we passed 25 miles upon the marshes, within the sea banke, to Chioza. . . .

The next morning in the same Barke we entred the River and passed 15 miles to the Village Lorea and after dinner 10 miles in the territory of Venice, and 8 miles in the Dukedom of Ferrara to Popaci, and upon Friday in the morning 22 miles to Francoline, where we paid for our passage from Venice thither, each man three lires and a halfe. . . .

We left our Barke at Francoline, where we might have hired a coach to Ferrara, for which we should have paid 22 bolinei, but the way being pleasant to walke, we chose rather to goe these 5 miles on foot.

From hence [Ferrara] they reckon 34 miles to Bologna. We went on foot 3 miles to the village La Torre del fossa. . . .

From hence we hired a boat for 4 bolinei and foure quatrines, and passed, in a broad ditch betweene high reedes, to a place called Mal'Albergo . . . being nine miles . . .

The next morning a boat went from hence to Bologna. [But they went the 18 miles on foot as the charge was high, and 'the day was faire' and 'the way very pleasant.']

On foote from Pavia . . . 20 miles through rich pastures to Milan. . . .

It is large, populous, and very rich, seated in a Plaine (as all Lombardy lies) and that most fertile, and by the commoditie of a little River brought to the Citie by the French, and almost compassing the same, it aboundeth also with forraine Merchandise.

The 2nd day we rode 14 miles to Mantua . . . in a most durty highway.

The Citie is compassed with Lakes, which usually are covered with infinite number of water-foule; and from these Lakes there is a passage into the River Po, and so by water to Venice.

I said formerly that there is a passage from the Lakes into the River Po, and so by water to Venice, and the Duke, to take his pleasure upon the water, hath a baot [sic] called Bucentoro, because it will beare some two hundred and it is built in the upper part like a banqueting house, having five rooms (with glazed windowes) wherein the Duke and his Traine doe sit; . . . these roomes according to occasions have more or lesse rich hangings, when the Duke either goeth out to disport himself, or when he takes any journey therein (as oft he doth). . . .

²⁵ It was the same in Dante's time, some three centuries before:

Quale i Fiamminghi . . .

Fanno lo schermo perchè il mar si fuggia;

E quale i Padovan lungo la Brenta,

Per difender lor ville e lor castelli, etc.—*Inferno*, xv. 4.

Being to goe from hence to Padua . . . hired a horse from Mantua to the Castle Este for eleven lires. . . .

First day passed a Fort upon the River Athesis, called Lignaco, and rode 20 miles . . . to Monteguiara.

Next morning 9 miles to Castle Este.

From thence I passed by boate 15 miles to Padua, and paid 22 soldi for my passage. This day . . . was the 14 of December, after the new stile, in the yeere 1594.

Thomas Coryat, 'the Odcombian Legge-stretcher,' as he describes himself, is another of those who travelled in North Italy, and published (in 1611) an account of his journeys there.²⁶ His travels began in 1608. Here are a few extracts from his work :

Many do travel down this river [the Po] from Turin to Venice all by water, and so save the travelling of 227 miles by land. For the young Prince of Savoy with all his traine travelled to Venice down the Po when I was at Turin. [I. 97.]

Speaking of Milan [I. 124] he says :

The Citadell is moted round about with a broade mote of fine running water, and many other sweet rivers and delectable currents of water doe flow within the Citadell. . . .

Also, whereas these rivers doe runne into the towne to the great commodity of the townsmen, the inhabitants can at all times when they list restraine the passage of them . . . but so cannot the townsmen on the contrary side restraine the inhabitants of the Citadell.

In another place he described his journey 'in a barke' down the river Brenta from Padua to Venice [i. 194], while of Verona he writes :

the noble river Athesis runneth by it. . . . This river yeeldeth a speciall commodity to the citie. For although it be not able to beare vessels of a great burden, yet it carrieth pretie barges of convenient quantitie, wherein great store of merchandise is brought unto the city, both out of Germany and from Venice itselfe. [II. 99.]

Montaigne's *Travels in Italy* might be cited if further proof be wanted. He covered much the same ground, in 1581-2, as other travellers in Italy did in and about that time. Part of his journey from Padua to Venice was by boat—he describes the machinery and pulleys worked by horses by which the boats were brought ashore for the purpose of being conveyed on wheels to the canal which runs into the sea at Venice. He tells us, too, that his trunks were sent down the Adige from Rovere, near the Lake of Garda, to Verona, for which he paid one florin ; and, when in the neighbourhood of Milan, we are informed that he 'crossed the river Naviglio, which was narrow, but still deep enough to carry great barks to Milan.'

The evidence I have collected bearing on Shakespeare's notions of the geography of Lombardy, curtailed though it be, is, I fancy, sufficient to acquit him of any serious imputation of blundering, and is

²⁶ *Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five Moneths Travells in France, Savoy, Italy, etc. 1611.*

certainly capable of showing that his so-called errors were at least made in very respectable company. A few thoughtful students of his works have, here and there, defended him from the condemnation of the many who have held him up to public derision as an ignoramus in connection with Italian topography which must, after all, have been more or less the common knowledge in his day. On one point, however, connected with the geography of another country, the Dramatist has for centuries been the target of almost everyone who had an opportunity of drawing a bow at a venture and getting an arrow home on the subject of his ignorance of the boundaries of Bohemia. Chief amongst these archers stands Ben Jonson himself, with his oft-repeated dictum 'that Shakespeare wanted art, and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays he brought in a number of men, saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, where is no sea near by 100 miles,' written in reference to passages in *The Winter's Tale*, which give a sea coast to that country (iii. 3 *passim*). The best that has been said in defence of the Poet's description has been based on the error that Greene is supposed to have made previously in his story of *Dorastus and Faunia*, where the country in question is described as having a seaboard. It is all very well to assume that the Dramatist took the story 'with all faults,' that he never stopped to inquire whether there were faults or not, but such a course does not strike a reasonable mind as being one that a master playwright would be prepared to follow. Is it not more likely that Shakespeare adopted the Bohemia of his predecessor, sea coast and all, for the very good reason that he had already learned, as he might easily have done from history, that Bohemia *had* not only a coast, but two coasts, at an earlier period—and that the most important period of its national existence?

All historians of that country tell us that under the rule of Ottocar the Second (1255–1278) Bohemia was raised to the position of a formidable power which at the time comprised all the territories of the Austrian monarchy which had up till then formed part of the Germanic confederation, with some few exceptions. 'By these accessions of territory,' to quote from Coxe, 'Ottocar became the most powerful prince in Europe—for his dominions extended from the confines of Bavaria to Raab in Hungary, and from the Adriatic to the shores of the Baltic.'

Greene and Shakespeare are the only writers of their day who are generally supposed to have given a seaboard to Bohemia. There was, however, another at the time who did the same, although the fact has escaped notice, so far as I am aware; and, strangely enough, the best known work of this author is one with which Shakespeare seems to have been curiously familiar. I refer to Richard Johnson's *Honourable History of the Seven Champions of Christendom*, the oldest known copy of which is dated 1597, though this may well have been

²⁷ *House of Austria*, I. 29, ed. 1847.

a second edition, as the work was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1596. Referring to St. George, Johnson describes his arrival 'in the Bohemian Court' with his children, 'where the King of that countrey, with two other Bordering Princes, most Royally Christened' them. Their bringing up was also undertaken by the same monarch, one of them, 'whose fortune was to prove a scholar,' being, like Hamlet, sent 'unto the University of Wittenburg.'

Thus were St. George's Children provided for by the Bohemian King, for when the Embassadors were in Readiness, the Ships for their passage furnished, and Attendance appointed, St. George, in company of his Lady, the King of Bohemia with his Queen, and a Train of Lords, and Gentlemen, and Ladies, Conducted them to Ship-board, where the Wind served them prosperously, that in a short time they had bid adieu to the Shore, and Sailed chearfully away.²⁸

Whether it was owing to these last three writers or not, there appear to have been quite a number of people in and about the time who had an idea that Bohemia, even at that date, was approachable by sea. Taylor, the Water-Poet, who wrote an account of his journey in 1620 to that country,²⁹ in his 'Preface to the Reader' alludes to the questions addressed to him in the street 'by ignorant people' after his return:

First John Easie takes me, and holds me fast by the fist halfe an houre. . . . I am no sooner eased of him, but Gregory Gandergoose . . . catches me by the goll, demanding if Bohemia be a great Towne, and whether there be any meate in it, and whether the last fleet of ships be arrived there.

It is difficult to conceive why commentators, from Ben Jonson's time until to-day, should assume that the Bohemia of *The Winter's Tale* was the Bohemia that existed in Shakespeare's day. The very mention of the oracle of Delphos might at least have suggested to some of them that the author had in mind the Bohemia of a very much earlier date.

It is unnecessary to suggest the particular sources of Shakespeare's knowledge of North Italian geography in the face of the numerous quotations I have set out. His own reference to the

Fashions of proud Italy,
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
Limps after in base imitation³⁰

together with other well-known observations by himself and many other writers of his time, are quite conclusive as to the wide information possessed by Englishmen generally on the subject at the close of the sixteenth century and after.

Prof. Raleigh in his recent work³¹ is undoubtedly but stating

²⁸ Part I. Ch. XVII. *ad fin.*

²⁹ *Travels to Prague in Bohemia*. Reprinted in the Spenser Society's Publications.

³⁰ *Richard II.* ii. 1.

³¹ *English Men of Letters*: 'Shakespeare,' 1907.

a fact when he says of Shakespeare : ' He must often have seen the affected traveller, described in *King John*, dallying with his toothpick at a great man's table full of elaborate compliment,

And talking of the Alps and Apennines,
The Pyrenean and the river Po.'

He does not, however, seem to be quite so near the mark when adding : ' The knowledge that he gained from such talk, if it was sometimes remote and curious, was neither systematic nor accurate ; and this is the knowledge repeated in the plays ' (p. 58).

One can only hope that the last assertion will be modified in the next edition of his brilliantly written volume, so far at least as it relates to the waterways of Lombardy as Shakespeare knew them.

EDWARD SULLIVAN.

FRENCH CANADA AND THE QUEBEC TERCENTENARY

AN ENGLISH-CANADIAN APPRECIATION

THE French Canadian is neither an Imperialist nor an advertiser. But the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Quebec by Champlain will be the largest advertisement the French Canadian, and the part he has played in the development of the modern British Empire, have ever received. The celebration was not planned as a Quebec affair. Neither was it contemplated that it would win the applause of the inhabitants of all the King's Dominions. The Tercentenary and the history of its evolution afford a valuable study for the mind that loves to learn how events are shaped behind the scenes. Once or twice the movement was in danger of breakdown—not because of lack of interest or of paucity of material for an imposing demonstration, but because the range of interest was so wide, and the quantity of material so enormous, that differences of perspective and varieties of interpretation came into action, and time, and patience, and tact had to work their perfect work before the scheme of celebration found its agreeable stride.

And, even now, the Tercentenary is all things to all men—to some a French glorification, to others a British Imperial festival. It could not be otherwise. It were foolish to ask whether its sum of effect will be best expressed in English or French. In an atmosphere that has become redolent of the Champlain epoch we can all afford to be Frenchmen. The Anglo-Saxon has profited so much by what the French accomplished in founding Quebec that he does well to glory in their noble deed, and to devote some time to discovering in his neighbour, who talks with a delightful French accent of our and his matchless Constitution, the qualities that immortalised his progenitors, who may have devoutly believed that the English were everything they ought not to be.

There has been so rapid a development of Canada that the children of this generation are apt to forget the suffering toil of their own parents in converting an endless forest into valuable farms. Pioneer societies cherish the records of early settlement, and commemorate the sacrifices

of life and comfort that dignify the past. But, for most people, life is too interesting, and there are too many trains to catch, to permit of much pious reflection on what happened to people who are dead. If that is true about men whose fences of pine-roots are abiding monuments of their labour, how much more is it true of Champlain who, when James the First was still a stranger to English ways, came to Quebec in a caravel that would nowadays scarcely be regarded as safe on Lake Ontario!

French Canada is somewhat of an abstraction to most of the English-speaking inhabitants of the Dominion. It is five hundred miles from Quebec to Toronto, and eighteen hundred from Quebec to the Saskatchewan border. The Canadian House of Commons contains sixty-five members from the province of Quebec. The Prime Minister, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and the Postmaster-General discourse to Parliament in excellent English that is unmistakably begotten of French thought. But though the Western member of Parliament is next door to French Canada during the session, he is so deeply committed to legislative projects that originate outside the French sphere of influence, and the American tinge which is coming over his Western ideas is, however unconsciously, so affecting his vision of events, that he does not think often or deeply about his debt to the eloquent race to which the heroic situation of a powerful minority is more of a virtue than a political asset.

Misappreciation is a serious political defect, especially where semi-racial sentiment is always a potential factor in current affairs. During three sessions of Parliament the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Quebec hoped to secure an appropriation for the Champlain Tercentenary. It was the first time that a Quebec celebration was projected as an all-Canada responsibility. The Prime Minister, who is the unquestioned master of his majority, has sat for a Quebec city constituency since 1887. But the nationalising of a celebration that was primarily French could not, apparently, be brought into the estimates with unanimous approval. That it did reach such a position, and secure the endorsement of Parliamentarians who are equally innocent of French and Arabic, was due to the daring—one might almost say the indiscretion—of the Governor-General, who conceived the idea of converting the jeopardised, gaol-endowed Plains of Abraham into a National Battlefields Park.

Parliament set up a Commission to carry out the Park project and gave it three hundred thousand dollars to spend. The last section of the constituting Act empowered the Commission to use its discretion as to assisting the Tercentennial fêtes. The authority has been exercised with admirable liberality. The city of Quebec, and the Provincial Governments of Quebec, Ontario, and Saskatchewan have voted funds for the commemorations; and the Champlain-cum-Battlefields display goes into history as the British Empire's first

great spectacular homage to epochal discoveries and pioneerings of a rival race, the unearned increment of which has inured to the advantage of English-speaking men.

To understand the daring—indiscretion, if you like—of Earl Grey it is necessary to try to put oneself into a French-Canadian's place. To him, Canada is all in all. His Canada is French Canada; just as Yorkshire is England to the dalesman who never listened to Cornish speech. He knows that since 1535 men of his name have navigated the peerless St. Lawrence. Modern France is to him a distant relation. England, at the best, is a venerable stepmother. If he is of Quebec City, he has seen and survived a painful series of misfortunes. In the square timber trade his city, not so long ago, was splendidly alone. Five thousand of the men who handled the leviathan rafts that were the peculiar pride of the country found congenial winter employment in building ships. The square timber trade vanished with the depletion of the supply of giant trees and the multiplication of mills, the building of railways, and the populating of the hinterland. Wooden sailers were superseded by iron creatures of the engineer. The channel to Montreal was deepened, so as to meet the new conditions of commerce and transportation. The Quebec patriot had to watch processions of heavy-laden ships cross his forsaken harbour, and could not nourish himself with the consolation of a melancholy huzza.

Occasionally he was hurt by hearing English-speaking natives of Quebec speak of England as 'home.' For him Quebec was the only home, and he desired no other. He could not understand a patriotism that seemed to give second place to the Providence of birth. To-day it would be as offensive to a native Torontonian to hear a compeer call England 'home' as it was to the French-Canadian forty years ago in Quebec. A Governor-General perpetrated the blunder of dividing the country into Upper Canada and Lower Canada. Quebec was in Lower Canada. The average French-Canadian came to know that there were upper and lower classes in England, and when he felt gloomy and ironical he told himself that a gratuitous liberty had been taken with geography; and that 'Canada Supérieur' and 'Canada Inférieur' were a double rock of offence to him. By violence he had lost the Motherhood of France. By stupidity, he sometimes told himself, he was only half an heir of the stepmotherland of England.

All the time he was the proprietor of a past that could never perish, and that became more lustrous with the wear of time. The Englishman—officer of the garrison, or immigrant hastening to lay capable hands on the endless wealth of the West—might not take the trouble to understand him. But Cartier, Champlain, Laval, Dollard, Frontenac, La Salle—immortals like these were of his flesh and blood and mind and faith. Neither principalities nor powers could upset that deathless relationship. The St. Jean Baptiste Society cherished the traditions of the fathers. The Church remained to continue the

blessed shepherding that ennobled it when French overseas dominion was withdrawn, and the new dominator was least sympathetic even when he was most just. In the main, the British régime in Canada was blessed. But blood has a quality that cannot be transfused to parchment; and the most satisfactory *mariage de convenance* cannot diffuse the perfect love-light.

Unless you are a young man in a hurry, or a provincial Imperialist imagining you are broad when you are merely flat, you will be grateful for the signs of the times in French Canada. It was good that the St. Jean Baptistes should ask all Canada to join in honouring Champlain. It is too much to expect that your French brethren will feel towards Wolfe exactly as a countryman of Wolfe's does. It is well for us to remember sometimes that when French and English last fought on the Plains of Abraham the English were beaten, and that French valour saved Canada for England when the American colonists revolted. As we contributed nothing to Wolfe's renown we need not give the impression that we love to rub in Montcalm's loss. The decrees of history are mightier than any of us. It is easy to imagine we are muddling through when we are only trying to meddle through.

It is safe, now, to say that many French-Canadians thought Lord Grey was meddling and muddling when he proposed the National Battlefields Park as a concomitant of the Champlain Tercentenary. They did not see then, though they accept it now, that he used the Battlefields as the starting lever for English-speaking participation in the Tercentenary—primarily for the pecuniary aid from Parliament without which the Tercentenary must be but a partial triumph. Champlain had about as much to do with 1759 as Montcalm had with Mr. Chamberlain. The British form of government has been good, and doubly good, for French Canada. But it brought no blessings to Champlain. He was a devout son of the Church, and would have died to give her evangel to the Hurons and Algonquins. He did not trouble himself about the British Empire. When he came to Quebec England had newly abandoned her godly allegiance to the Church. If he was afraid of anything, he was afraid that such rebellion against the Holy Father as had vexed England would involve the ruin of the world. Besides, his work was great enough to win the unreserved homage of the most inveterate devotee of the Union Jack.

Every quality that has given the English-speaking people their wonderful proprietorship in the world was Champlain's. He could not pass Reform Bills in democratic legislatures; nor could he promote transcontinental railways. But he won the devotion of all who knew him. Men served him as he served the King. With a prescience that no Britisher has ever excelled, he understood the future of Canada. He marked Halifax for the military key of the

Atlantic littoral. The site of St. John, he said, would one day be a great distributing point of enterprising populations. For Montreal he prophesied a commercial pre-eminence in Canada. He foresaw the importance of the place whereon Ottawa stands. His trip from Georgian Bay, across Lake Simcoe, to Lake Ontario convinced him that, some day, the Indian hunter would be superseded by flourishing tillers of an opulent soil.

What mortal man could do Champlain achieved, and those who have entered into his labours may fitly join in honouring his memory, and, after a fashion, give thanks for what they have received. To drag into a celebration of 1608 a disaster of 1759 was so unique a method of commemorating events as to provoke simple people to look for a sinister motive. Could it be desired to hitch Champlain to the Imperialist car of Mr. Chamberlain? Was Lord Grey an emissary of a school of wire-pulling jingoes, instead of the representative of a King who is too wise to discount any of his subjects?

Thus they talked—those who do not know Lord Grey, and who do remember the days of Canada Supérieur and Canada Inférieur. Lord Grey soon learned what was in the wind, and governed himself accordingly. Though some French-Canadians have looked on the celebration from afar, danger of a breach was avoided, and the splendid advantage to French Canada of the world-wide interest that is being taken in the Tercentenary is patent to everybody. Forbearance, diplomacy, generosity have produced magnificent fruits. There will be such a reciprocity of good feeling between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians as was not believed to be possible before Lord Grey made everybody speculate as to what he was going to do next.

The Tercentenary passes; French Canada abides, a temptation to the prophet, a problem for the statesman. Those who know most prophesy least. Those who are most statesmanlike are least anxious about the problem. By taking thought you cannot add one footstep to the working out of French-Canadian nationalism. There are differing tendencies among the French, of course. But they are insignificant compared with the differences between the French and British. It is as useless to think of making Englishmen out of French Canadians as it is to imagine that the Irish temper can be kept in a Saxon mould.

There can be no proposal to replace the French tongue with what an American has called 'God Almighty's own language.' The movement is Englishwards; but it is only just perceptible. This is partly, if not chiefly, because the Church is the ultra-conservative force in the province of Quebec. It is the fashion to say that the French are not progressive. Orangemen, who abound in Ontario and who consecrate the twelfth of July to the display of their steadfast Protestant liberty, yearn for the deliverance of Quebec from Rome; and

prevent the employment of the feeble and the slow because they cannot earn the minimum time wage. They will be at liberty to earn what they can by working for not less than the minimum piece rate.

The proposal that Parliament should fix a minimum rate of payment is a new departure in industrial legislation which is certain to be discussed in many quarters in a critical spirit. I doubt that any substantial objection based on principle can be maintained. As our committee, which comprised representatives of almost all phases of political thought, unanimously adopted the following expression of opinion on this point, I venture to reproduce it :

6 Upon the question of the general policy of Parliament fixing, or providing for the fixing, of a minimum rate of payment for work, below which it should be illegal to employ people, your Committee are of opinion that it is quite as legitimate to establish by legislation a minimum standard of remuneration as it is to establish such a standard of sanitation, cleanliness, ventilation, air space, and hours of work. If it be said that there may be industries which cannot be carried on if such a standard of payment be enforced, it may be replied that this was said when the enactment of many of the provisions of the Factory and other similar Acts was proposed, and public opinion supported Parliament in deciding that, if the prognostication were an accurate one, it would be better that any industry which could not exist if such a minimum of decent and humane conditions insisted upon should cease. Parliament, with the full approval of the people, has practically so decided again and again, when enactments have been passed forbidding the carrying on of specified industries, unless certain minimum conditions as to health, safety, and comfort are complied with. It is doubtful whether there is any more important condition of individual and general well-being than the possibility of obtaining an income sufficient to enable those who earn it to secure, at any rate, the necessities of life. If a trade will not yield such an income to average industrious workers engaged in it, it is a parasite industry, and it is contrary to the general well-being that it should continue. Experience, however, teaches that the usual result of legislation of the nature referred to is not to kill the industry, but to reform it. Low-priced labour is a great obstacle to improvement. It discourages invention, and removes or prevents the growth of a great stimulus to progress and efficiency. The direct and early result of prohibiting unsatisfactory conditions in industrial life is almost invariably to direct the attention of the most competent minds in and about the trade to the production and introduction of such improvements in machinery, methods, and processes as will enable the industry to continue under greatly improved conditions, and be carried on with greater success than before. In our judgment there is no reason to doubt that similar beneficial results to all concerned—employers, workpeople, and the general public—to those which have followed the establishing of minimum conditions of other kinds in various departments of industrial life, would follow the establishing by law of minimum rates of payment for such classes of workers as experience has shown are unable to secure for themselves rates of payment for work which may reasonably be regarded as even the lowest upon which an average worker can exist.

Curiously enough, there are some people who fully accept the argument of this paragraph, and warmly support the proposal that Wages Boards should be established to fix piece rates, and yet object to the proposal that those boards, and indeed anyone else, should fix a

minimum time rate. I confess that I have thus far entirely failed to understand their position, and I cannot help thinking that it is the phrase 'minimum wage' which, for some hitherto unexplained reason, has for them terrors which a minimum piece rate does not arouse. But in principle there is no difference between them as proposed by our Committee.

A more practical objection is the suggestion that the law could not be carried out—that is to say, that it would not be possible to enforce a prescribed minimum rate of payment. Those who suggest that difficulty are almost always thinking of minimum piece rates only. I have already referred to some of the methods of evasion which are possible in connexion with piece rates, and have pointed out that the minimum time rate would supply the means of defeating most of those which are suggested. The only substantial means of evasion that would remain would be those where the collusion between the employer and the employed was so complete that either the under-payment was never discovered or challenged, or, when challenged, both parties to the evasion lied persistently, harmoniously, and successfully. All laws are liable to some evasion. In these cases the general body of workers would be strongly interested in preventing evasion by others, and would always be on their guard to expose and prevent it. Other employers would be in the same position. The risks of detection would be great, and the universal odium to which the convicted employer would be subjected would be so severe a punishment that my impression is that the evasions would not be numerous or formidable, and certainly not sufficiently so to counterbalance to any appreciable extent the benefits which the law would confer.

The suggestion that some industries can only exist under the conditions of under-payment which now prevail, and that great distress will be caused if they are destroyed, did not meet with the endorsement of our Committee. They supported the sounder opinion, that low payment and cheap production are often incompatible, that the one is certainly not necessarily the result of the other, and that 'competition must be met by increased efficiency, not by low wages.' Some confidence must be placed in the common-sense of those of whom the Wages Boards will be composed. The employers and workers on them will be engaged in the trades with regard to which they will have to fix the rates of payment. They will be deeply interested in avoiding doing anything that would kill or seriously curtail the industries by which they live. Should they make a mistake they will speedily feel the effects of it, and it will be in their power to rectify it.

An important feature of the Report of our Committee is that 'in view of the fact that this proposal represents a very considerable new departure in industrial legislation, and fully realising the many

before going to Canada, as I am just about to go for some months. But, though with more time I could have made the case still stronger, I venture to think that even the statement here presented is sufficient to dispose of the statistical portions of the *Edinburgh* article. Therefore, as the question is a burning one, and as I am convinced that the loss of the preference, which is seriously threatened by our vaunted policy of 'slamming, barring, and bolting the door' in the face of the over-sea Dominions, would be a national disaster, I think it desirable to call attention to these figures without delay. They speak for themselves, and I will confine my comments on them within the smallest possible compass.

First of all let me deal with the one general argument of the *Edinburgh* Reviewer to which it seems necessary to refer. That writer makes great play with certain large figures illustrating the growth of population, revenue, and trade of the United Kingdom during the last century. 'Our imports,' he says, 'are more than seventeen times the value they were in 1825, and our exports are nearly nine times as valuable as in that year.' In the absence of comparison with the corresponding figures for other countries how does this prove our fiscal policy to be wise and theirs foolish? These figures may indeed make an impression on the unreflecting. But it is not difficult to produce figures showing an even greater expansion in the trade of countries which have a system of protection. I can illustrate this by applying to Germany and the United States the tests of increased population, foreign trade, and tax-revenue which the *Edinburgh* applies to the United Kingdom. This is done in the following table, which compares in the main the changes between the years 1871 and 1906.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF PROGRESS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM,
GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES, 1871-1906.

	United Kingdom		Germany		United States	
	1871	1906	1871	1906	1871	1906
	Millions					
Population	81.0	44.2	41.1	61.4	89.6	84.2
	Million £					
Tax Revenue ¹	66.5	129.8	14.2 ²	51.1	79.1	114.5
Imports (special)	270	528	141 ³	422	108	255
Exports (special)	228	867	145 ³	824	78	858

The *Edinburgh* Reviewer desires me to feel reassured as to the progress of the United Kingdom, because its population has increased

¹ S. Rosenbaum on 'Food Taxation in the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and the United States,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, June 1906.

² 1875.

³ 1880.

by 13,200,000 in the last thirty-five years, and he asks me to accept this growth as a final proof of the great wisdom of our fiscal system; but then I find that in the same period the population of Germany has grown by 20,300,000, and that of the United States by 44,600,000. Nor do his comparisons of trade figures carry any greater conviction to my mind. Taking the figures of 'special' trade, instead of those of 'general' trade referred to by him (not because these figures better confirm my case, but only because they are more readily obtainable in a comparable form for different countries), it is doubtless a sign of progress that our imports for home consumption have increased by 253,000,000*l.* and our exports of domestic produce by 144,000,000*l.* in the period 1871 to 1906. But as an argument for the superiority of our fiscal system even these large totals fail absolutely when we look at the yet larger and more striking totals on the other side. The exports of the United States have increased by 280,000,000*l.* in the period of thirty-five years; while German imports have increased by 281,000,000*l.*, and exports by 179,000,000*l.* in no more than twenty-six years (comparable figures for years before 1880 are not available). Perhaps the *Edinburgh* is right in placing the British increase to the credit of the British fiscal system. He must, however, if he is consistent, place the greater increase of Germany and the United States to the credit of the fiscal systems of those countries.

In the following table the above figures are restated in a somewhat simpler form. Instead of absolute values I give here the percentage increases of the population, tax-revenue, imports, and exports of each of the three countries. They show that in the period under review, with a free-import fiscal system in the United Kingdom and a protective system in Germany and the United States, the progress of the United Kingdom has been surpassed to an extraordinary degree by that of the other two countries.

INCREASES (PER CENT.) OF POPULATION, REVENUE, AND FOREIGN TRADE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES, 1871-1906.

	United Kingdom	Germany	United States
Population	48	49	118
Tax Revenue	96	260 ⁴	45
Imports (special)	94	199 ⁵	186
Exports (special)	65	128 ⁵	856

How can it be contended that these figures prove the superiority of the British over the German system? Personally I should be most reluctant to attempt to draw any conclusion as to fiscal policy from these unanalysed totals. I deprecate the superficiality of that form of argument. But if it is sought to use the increase of the population

⁴ 1875-1906.

⁵ 1880-1906.

and trade of the United Kingdom as an argument for Free Trade it is, at any rate, reasonable to point to the even greater increase in the population and trade of Germany to show the futility of such reasoning.

With that remark I will turn from the general arguments of the article to the portion which is of more immediate importance—the attempt to show that I drew unjustified inferences from the statistics of Canadian trade with reference to the value of preference. A great many figures are quoted from Canadian and British Blue-books to prove that preference is of little or no value. The principle underlying the selection of these figures is frankly stated at the outset. ‘In dealing with commercial statistics,’ the reviewer says, ‘the late Lord Salisbury’s advice “to take wide views and to consult large maps” especially holds good.’ With all respect I demur entirely to the principle and to the analogy on which it is based. The reason consulting large-scale maps is that they enable us to realise important geographical details which are less visible in maps drawn on a smaller scale. But the effect of studying the trade of a country, or indeed any statistical material, in huge unanalysed totals is to obscure essential details. Commercial statistics in a mass can be manipulated to prove or disprove anything. But when you come to examine them closely and in detail they are less pliable.

In the speech which the reviewer criticises I was attempting, no doubt very imperfectly, to examine the effect of preference, not upon the total trade of Canada, but upon those classes of imports into Canada in which the United Kingdom is principally interested, and upon the competition between us and our chief commercial rivals in supplying Canada with these articles. That, as it seems to me, is the thing which matters to us. My contention was, and is, that since the introduction of preference we have been gaining ground in that competition, whereas before the introduction of preference we were losing ground. If that is true, then it is immaterial that Canada imports an increasing quantity of goods of a class which we do not supply. It is *nihil ad rem* to say, as the *Edinburgh* does, that in the thirty-one years preceding the grant of preference the proportion of British goods in the total of Canadian imports was greater than in the seven years succeeding that grant. These huge totals obscure the relevant facts. Let us look at the matter more closely, and the lesson will be very different. No doubt it is true that, alike before and after preference, the proportion of Canada’s imports derived from the United Kingdom shows a progressive decline, compared with the proportion of her imports from all other countries, including the great and growing industrial and commercial country which is her immediate neighbour. The absolute amount of Canada’s imports from the United Kingdom may or may not increase. As a matter of fact it did not increase at all, but declined, for about fifteen years preceding the grant of preference, whereas it has greatly

increased since. But the proportion of her imports from the United Kingdom to her imports from the rest of the world, though the rate of decline may be greater or less, must in any case decline with the expansion of Canadian trade in new directions and the growth of her needs, including those which the United Kingdom is unable and does not attempt to supply. Take the totals of her imports at any two stages of her progress, and the proportion of such imports drawn from the United Kingdom is sure to be smaller at the later than at the earlier stage. And so the comparison of that proportion in the years before preference and in the years after preference proves nothing at all. There are constant and inevitable influences at work to reduce, not the absolute amount, but the proportion of British imports. The effect of these influences preference does indeed mitigate, and greatly mitigate, but it cannot outweigh them. But because preference cannot do everything, does it follow that it does nothing at all, or so little as to be of small account? I maintain that, in respect of those branches of trade which it can reasonably be expected to affect—that is to say, those branches in which, duties apart, the British importer stands a reasonable chance in the Canadian market, and against those competitors who do not possess overwhelming advantages of another kind—preference has been of momentous benefit to the United Kingdom.

If we look at the main classes of articles in which we are in active competition with foreign countries that benefit becomes unmistakably clear. To prove it I need only take the same groups of articles as the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, but I carry my examination further back and bring in the year 1890 as well as 1898 and 1906, to which he confines himself; and I also separate 'all other countries' (i.e. than the United Kingdom) into 'United States' and 'other countries.'

VALUE, IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, OF CERTAIN DUTIABLE IMPORTS INTO CANADA FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES, AND ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

	United Kingdom			United States			Other Countries		
	1890	1898	1906	1890	1898	1906	1890	1898	1906
Woollens	10.08	6.22	14.74	.14	.25	.62	.80	1.51	2.09
Iron and steel and manufactures	5.18	1.92	7.59	5.01	10.65	29.87	.58	.32	1.35
Cotton and manufactures	8.11	8.09	6.49	.75	1.83	2.15	.10	.29	.92
Flax, hemp, and jute	1.87	1.28	2.45	.08	.06	.12	.02	.08	.52
Silk	1.78	1.23	1.92	.12	.15	.31	.25	.62	2.10
Fancy goods	1.24	1.00	1.48	.26	.33	.57	.37	.46	1.31
Hats, caps, &c. . . . .	.78	.73	1.08	.48	.65	1.10	.02	.02	.10
Earthenware, &c. . . . .	.52	.45	.99	.07	.08	.28	.11	.14	.43
Drugs, &c. . . . .	.82	.30	.81	.48	.62	1.01	.43	.88	.52
Oils, &c. . . . .	.16	.17	.73	.05	.05	.18	—	—	—
Leather . . . . .	.17	.15	.50	.79	1.45	2.42	.21	.06	.08
Carpets . . . . .	.14	.08	.31	.02	.05	.08	.01	.01	.08
	31.22	28.22	30.22	2.20	15.87	33.18	2.25	3.89	9.50

To appreciate this table it is necessary carefully to compare the period preceding the grant of preference, 1890-1898, with that succeeding it, 1898-1906. The *Edinburgh Reviewer's* choice of years, or rather his neglect of the course of Canadian trade prior to 1898, the first year after preference, has led him into error. He says: 'The total value of the twelve groups of dutiable imports from the United Kingdom rose from 16,627,737 dollars in 1898 to 39,095,419 dollars in 1906, an actual increase of 22,467,682 dollars, or 135 per cent. The corresponding value of dutiable imports from all countries other than the United Kingdom rose from 18,569,987 dollars^a in 1898 to 47,658,756 dollars in 1906, an actual increase of 29,088,869 dollars, or 156 per cent. And this far greater *actual* increase, as well as *percentage* increase, was achieved in face of the "preference" being granted to all these groups to the United Kingdom.' The argument would be downright disingenuous if the reviewer had ever studied the statistics for the years before 1898. If, instead of looking only at the period since preference was granted, he had looked also at the previous period, and had compared the course of trade since preference with the course of trade before it, he would never have allowed himself to make the above grossly one-sided statement. It is true that between 1898 and 1906 dutiable imports from the United Kingdom in the above twelve classes increased by 22,470,000 dollars, or 135 per cent., while from the United States the increase was 22,490,000 dollars, or 144 per cent.; but in the previous eight years the imports from the United Kingdom had steadily and largely declined by 8,180,000 dollars, or 33 per cent., while the imports from the United States had increased by 7,470,000 dollars, or 91 per cent. It may be that the larger increase in the case of the United States was achieved 'in face of the preference'; but that in this same period the British trade showed any increase at all, or that the United States increase was not even much greater than it proved, can only be explained by the existence of the preference.

If the foregoing table be closely examined it will be seen that the decline in imports from the United Kingdom in the period 1890-1898 occurred not in two or three groups alone, but in eleven out of the twelve groups selected by the reviewer; in the twelfth group (oilcloths) there was an increase of about 10,000 dollars. In the same interval the imports from the United States showed increases in every group. On the other hand since preference was granted there have been in each of the twelve groups to which the preference applies considerable increases in British imports, in some cases greater, in others less than in the corresponding imports from

^a There is a mistake in the *Edinburgh Reviewer's* figures. The imports of leather goods from 'all other countries' in 1898 should be 1,512,000 dollars instead of 512,000 dollars, and this figure should consequently be 19,569,987 dollars instead of 18,569,987 dollars.

the United States. And when the examination is carried out with even greater minuteness of detail than I have here attempted, the course of trade being followed not in groups but in separate items, and not in periods of eight years but year by year—an examination which is possible with the aid of the 'Trade and Navigation Accounts' instead of the 'Trade and Commerce Accounts' employed by the *Edinburgh* reviewer as well as by myself in this article—an eye being always kept on the changes of tariff and increases of preference, the conclusion is irrefutable; for it is then found that in practically every case the change in the course of British trade took place in 1897, when British imports first received a preference over the United States, and to an even more marked extent in 1900, when the preference was appreciably enlarged and was in operation against *all* foreign countries. It appears to me that demonstration can go no further. Is there any possibility of ignoring the significance of these figures? The date of the grant of preference marks a clear turning-point in the competition between the United Kingdom and all foreign countries. Where, before preference, we were decidedly losing ground we have, since preference, been as decidedly gaining it. Let those who belittle preference produce some other cause which can account for the change.

This improvement in our position relative to the United States after the grant of preference in respect of those articles in which we compete in the Canadian market is a fact of first-rate importance. Its significance is in no way obscured by the huge totals of imports from the United States, including as they do many things which we do not produce as well as many others in which, for obvious reasons, we do not compete with them on anything like equal terms. Throw the sword of Brennus into the scale, and the other weights count for little. It is by lumping together all the imports from the United States that the *Edinburgh* Reviewer has succeeded in obscuring in his unanalysed totals the effect of preference, which is so clear in the analysed figures. Even preference, I fully admit, unless indeed it be carried to unjustifiable extremes—if, that is to say, Canada were to impose really prohibitive duties on United States imports, which nobody desires or dreams of—even preference cannot enable the United Kingdom to compete with the United States on even terms in the Canadian market except with regard to a certain number of articles. Proximity alone is bound to exercise a very potent influence. On all goods in the price of which the cost of carriage is a predominant factor it would need much more than an advantage of one-third in the rate of duties, amounting to an average of less than 10 per cent. of the value of the goods, to enable British manufacturers to compete, in the heart of Canada, with those of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. But proximity is not the only advantage which the United States possess. They have also the advantage of a greater

similarity of conditions, which enables the Canadian market to be catered for as an additional market to the United States for the same classes of goods instead of as a totally different market possessing exceptional requirements. Thus in Canada, as in the United States, there is abundance of water power, and the provision of machinery for utilising this power is naturally easier for a United States manufacturer, who produces turbines and water-wheels for the two countries, than for a British manufacturer, who has practically no other than the Canadian market for this description of goods. Moreover there is another factor, on which the *Edinburgh* Reviewer rightly insists, and which, especially of late years, has exercised a great influence in stimulating the demand for United States goods as compared with British. I refer to the great influx of United States settlers into Western Canada. Not only do these immigrants exceed those from the United Kingdom in numbers, but, man for man, they greatly exceed them in wealth. They are better customers, and it is only natural that their custom should go to their country of origin rather than to a distant country, of different habits, with whose products they are not familiar. It is a common experience that every colony, in the first instance at any rate, tends to draw its supplies from the Mother Country rather than from foreign lands. And the United States colonists of Western Canada are no exception to the rule.

And yet, when all is said and done, the effect of preference is clearly visible in the competition of the United Kingdom with the United States. I dwell upon this because it is the strongest possible case, the case of a country in our competition with which preference has the greatest difficulties to overcome. In the case of our other principal rival, Germany, the change since the introduction of preference is much more marked. But even in the case of the United States if preference cannot wholly outweigh the great and manifold advantages which the rival country possesses it does to an appreciable extent counteract them. The disproportion between the increase of United States imports into Canada and the increase of British imports is largely due to the vast amount of United States trade with Canada in goods which the United Kingdom does not produce and therefore cannot supply. If we confine ourselves to articles which the two countries are equally capable of producing the difference is far less marked. Above all there is that marked contrast of tendency to which I have called attention between the period antecedent to the grant of preference and the period subsequent to it. The table on p. 529 shows a number of classes of goods, and they are the most important to us, in which the United Kingdom has competed with the United States with much greater success since the grant of preference than before it. To these may be added glass and earthenware, cordage, paper, metals (other than iron and steel) and manufactures thereof, tobacco, pipes, &c.

And now let me sum up briefly. I maintain that experience in the case of Canada shows—and this experience is not confined to Canada—that preference is capable of effecting what I claim for it. When British goods are competing with foreign goods in any part of the Empire on more or less equal terms even a moderate preference on British goods will turn the scale in their favour. Where they are competing at a slight but decided disadvantage preference can neutralise that disadvantage. But where the disadvantage is very great, owing to distance or other natural causes of a preponderating character, or even to the settled habits or customs of the importing community, no preference that I either expect or desire to see imposed can wholly counteract that disadvantage, though it may certainly mitigate it. In other words, preference cannot work miracles. But it can and does exercise so great an influence on the course of trade that it is well worth making some effort, and even some sacrifice, in order to maintain and extend it. I think the time has come when all fair-minded Free Importers may be reasonably asked to admit this, as some of them, including the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, have admitted it.

MILNER.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

IN the annals of the Catholic Church in this country, the Eucharistic Congress will take rank as an event of historic importance. In the memory of those who took part in it, it will live as the wonderful week in which they have gazed upon scenes such as have never been witnessed by their fathers even from the days of St. Augustine. For the first time in history seven Cardinals—one-tenth of the whole Sacred College—have met together in England. Their meeting had for its setting a combination of all those elements which stir most deeply the religious feelings of Catholics. The presence of a Papal Legate; the multitude, from all lands, of bishops and clergy in which were commingled home and foreign, East and West, Latin and Teuton; the splendour of the Liturgy which included the Byzantine rite as well as our own; the enormous concourse of the faithful, not only filling the vast cathedral but flooding far and wide the streets around it; the crowded sectional meetings at which were read such excellent papers as those of Abbot Gasquet and Dom Chapman and Lord Llandaff; above all, the faith and fervour which went forth in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and loyalty to the Holy See, and tuned in the deepest of all harmonies the hearts of all from the stately Cardinal-Legate down to the tiniest child that bent lowly its infant head at the '*Veneremur cernui*'—all these are parts of a picture which is never likely to be forgotten by those who beheld it. Even the dramatic element was forthcoming in the startling incident of the Government intervention. Albeit a circumstance of an external and secondary order, it seemed to be psychologically timed by Mr. Asquith so as to produce the maximum effect of public prominence, and the awakening of a deep thrill of passionate resentment, in which the wounded sense of liberty and citizenship and patriotism was blended with that of religion. It can only be said that the Prime Minister in taking such a step was building more wisely than he knew for the complete success of the Congress.

By those who know most of such Congresses in the past the success of the one which has just been held is regarded as phenomenal. The Eucharistic Congresses assemble for the renewal and expression of

levotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and it is intelligible that there should be between Catholics in various countries something of a pious and laudable rivalry in the attainment of that object. Eighteen previous Congresses have taken place in different parts of Catholic Christendom, and they have all been in their measure marked with an international character. It is at this moment a matter of holy pride to the Catholics of England that in the number of prelates, clergy, and faithful united in homage to the Eucharist, the Congress in London has eclipsed all others, and, be it added, with this pride, they have felt in no small degree a deepening of their pride in their country and in their fellow-countrymen, recognising as they do that in no other land could the work of the Congress have been carried out amid more courteous and generous expressions of sympathy upon the part of the general public than it has been here in the midst of the capital of the British Empire. Were it only for this drawing together more closely of the ties of national fellowship, Catholics would still owe a debt of gratitude to the Eucharistic Congress.

The success of the Congress has been many-sided, but whatever be the advantages which we may enumerate as accruing from its assembly, undoubtedly that which is first in our gratitude, as it was first in the purpose of its promoters, is the spiritual good which has been wrought by it. No thoughtful mind will undervalue the edification which is given by the spectacle of tens of thousands of people joining in a public act of faith and worship, nor the helpfulness of a majestic ritual and uplifting Church music, nor the imposing effect of stately surroundings, and least of all of the manifold evidences of Unity and of Catholicity, which thrill the worshippers with that sense of reality which is too deep for words. But however beautiful and dignified was this outer and visible accompaniment, precious above and beyond it is the work of the Holy Spirit which is wrought within souls. It is in this, the interior and spiritual good, that, first of all and most of all, we count the gain of the Eucharistic Congress. The Congress with its wonderful vision of Cardinals and clergy and kneeling crowds has come and gone, but there remains with us the conviction that multitudes of the Catholic people have been drawn more closely to Christ and stand nearer to Him to-day as the Bread of their life, and the Source of their spiritual strength, and the Friend of their earthly pilgrimage. Every Catholic altar in the land has its group, more or less numerous, of fervent and frequent communicants, and those who are engaged in the ministry of souls have in their daily experience plentiful proofs of how strongly and deeply rooted is the belief and devotion of the Holy Eucharist in the souls of the Catholic people. But, even to them, the events of the Congress have come as a revelation. Men and women and children in thousands have pressed forward to the altars for Holy Communion, and never in the whole history of the Church in this country has there been a greater outburst

distance, and the words of George Herbert's Easter hymn recur instinctively to my memory :

I got me flowers to strew Thy way ;
I got me boughs off many a tree :
But Thou wast up by break of day,
And broughtst Thy sweets along with Thee.

After having assisted at these Rogation processions it seems only right and natural to go out into the fields which have been blessed. The month of May is the *morte saison* at Biarritz and St. Jean de Luz. Not many of the Spanish bathers have arrived, and the English visitors have gone home to welcome their own dilatory spring. The few who remain, however, know that the 'Mois de Marie' is the most beautiful month of the year in the Basque country. The sun has not begun to scorch, and the wind has ceased to chill, and in the fresh green of the woods and fields there is no hint of the hot and dried-up country with which we associate the thought of Southern Europe in the summer. Mid-May in the Basses-Pyrénées is equivalent to mid-June in England, and it is pre-eminently the month of roses. Surely nowhere in the world can there be a greater abundance of beautiful roses, and it is no wonder that they play so prominent a part in the religious ceremonies of the country. They run riot over every building, peer over every wall, and, trained over every trellis, they form a very effective protection from the sun. The air is sweet with them, and in the country the hedges are covered with briar roses and honeysuckle. As the month draws on, the hay-makers are busy in the meadows, and the roads are full of ox waggons and donkey carts laden with the sweet flowery grass. The haymaker, if he be wise, keeps his weather eye rather anxiously upon the sharp, razor-like outline of La Rhune, in dread of an approaching thunder-storm, and is thankful when the Trois Couronnes, that majestic triple mountain which guards the pass through the Pyrenees into Spain, melts softly into a blue and hazy sky.

May is a busy month at the convent of Notre-Dame de Refuge, which lies out in the country between Bayonne and Biarritz. It is the community of the Servantes de Marie, and consequently the month of the Virgin is for them especially full of religious observances. Nevertheless, on the eve of the fête of the Ascension they are by no means averse to receiving a visitor. The sister who on this occasion acts as guide is an elderly, weather-beaten, but extremely cheerful person, with, I have reason to believe, a purely surface appearance of childlike innocence, and a mild sense of humour. She is delighted to do the honours, but she cannot persuade me to linger in the chapel, which, though a large and handsome building, is entirely cold and ugly in the interior. Great pots of plants stand before the altar of

Mary, but there is not the same profusion of flowers as in the churches, and the altar itself is decorated in a gaudy and artificial manner. Outside, the garden and the farm are very much more interesting. It is a large community, numbering six hundred with the Pénitentes, the care of whom forms the special occupation of the sisters. The Basque idea of rescue work differs in its details from that of this country. There are neither bolts nor bars, nor even high walls, such as usually enclose convent buildings, to prevent the Pénitentes from returning to that mode of life from which they have been snatched as brands from the burning. No doubt there is in reality a close moral supervision, which is less apparent to the visitor than the low privet hedges; but when such a calamity as the desertion of an inmate occurs, the mother superior, being a Basque, will probably only raise her shoulders and murmur with a sigh of resignation, 'Qu'est-ce que ça fait?' the usual observation in this country when misfortunes happen. 'There are others to think of, and the "bon Dieu" knows His own work.' Meantime the Pénitentes are kept well employed and certainly have as a whole a contented appearance. Those who can sew are set to do fine linen work and embroidery, which is sold for the benefit of the convent. Others—and there are not a few who are mentally deficient—are set to work in the fields and upon the farm. Here one of their duties is to wash the cows and the pigs daily, and each animal is housed in sumptuous isolation with a small statue of St. Joseph over its lodging to act as protector. It is indeed a model farm, but, as the sister explains to me, the lives of the Pénitentes are not too strenuous, since men are called in to do the rougher work. A doctor is also in the service of the convent, and indeed the community appears to have no objection to employing the other sex in what it may consider is its proper sphere. Another elderly Pénitente—she must certainly be over sixty and has a most evil countenance—acts as shoemaker, and her time is well occupied in resoling the stout shoes of the sisters, for there is much walking to be done in this country convent.

The sister who is my guide is quite pleased when I explain that my chief object in coming out to Notre-Dame de Refuge is to visit the Silent Sisters, otherwise known as the Sœurs Bernardines, who, though belonging to a Trappist Order, are in some sense an offshoot of and are largely supported by the Servantes de Marie.

She laughs with feminine amusement, rather as if I were a child clamouring for the pantomime, but she conducts me chattering all the way through a long, tunnel-like avenue of plane trees, whose branches are trained to meet above our heads. On either side are the fields with the produce of which the sisters supply the market of Bayonne, for they are really market gardeners upon a large scale. At the end of the avenue we pass through a little pine wood, and, opening a wicket gate between high box hedges, the sister pauses to explain to me that we must now talk only in whispers. Her own

of plain mounds without even grass upon them, only adorned with a cross of cockle shells. A sign of pilgrimage, I suggest, but the sister shakes her head. 'I do not know; they are cheap, and in death we are all alike.' She repeats the latter phrase with virtuous self-satisfaction. 'Servantes de Marie, Bernardines, Pénitentes, it is all the same.' Looking round me I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of her statement. There are graves upon which the shells are distinctly larger than others, and at the head of these a bush is planted, sometimes even a plant of white marguerites. I shrewdly suspect that these superior graves belong to the Servantes de Marie, but I make no comment, for after all the best of us occasionally deceive ourselves.

As we walk back under the plane trees we meet the cows being driven up to the milking sheds. They are sleek, well-cared-for beasts, still shining with cleanliness from their morning tubs. The extremely aged appearance of the Pénitente in charge leads me in my ignorance to ask a question which proves to be particularly indiscreet. How long do they remain Pénitentes and under the protection of Notre-Dame de Refuge? 'But always, mademoiselle,' is the reply, 'unless they take the vows of the Bernardines and become Silent Sisters.' 'But cannot they take your vows?' I ask, appalled at the thought of this only means of exit; 'cannot they become Servantes de Marie?' Instantly 'ma sœur' draws herself up very stiffly, and the geniality dies out of her face. 'But certainly not, mademoiselle,' she says coldly; 'nobody with a slur upon them can join our Order; we are irreproachable.' Wondering if the Bernardines are merely a further development of the Pénitentes, and if this accounts for the slight accent of contempt and amusement, mingled, however, with some awe, with which my guide has referred to them, I enquire if they are all under a cloud. This suggestion gives even greater offence than my former one. 'Not at all, mademoiselle; the Order is open to the unfortunate, and there are many who take the vows; also to the Enfants Abandonnés. But there are others, and they are very aristocratic ladies.' She then goes on to tell me that only a few months ago a young girl of ancient family had joined the Order. 'She had led a blameless life, but there was a dark spot in her pedigree. She could not join us.' 'Ma sœur' spreads out her hands with an expressive gesture. 'We are irreproachable.' She pauses and taps herself upon the chest. 'I, I who speak to you, mademoiselle, je suis irréprochable.' A cold chill seems suddenly to fall upon the peace and contentment of the sunlit garden. I can think of no suitable response, and in a silence which surprises 'ma sœur,' who has entirely recovered her geniality, I make my offering for the fête of the Ascension, and say a brief good-bye to an Order, which, in the name of Christianity, condemns its unfortunate sisters to perpetual servitude or silence.

In the villages on the lower slopes of the Pyrenees Ascension Day is kept very quietly. The churches are full, as is always the case in

whisper might well have filled the chapel, but no doubt they are used to her, and in any case there seems to be nobody about except some workmen. The garden of the Sœurs Bernardines, enclosed on three sides by the low long buildings of the convent, is singularly charming. All sorts of old-fashioned flowers abound here—mignonette, sweet peas, moss roses, set round with neat borders of box, and there are also beds of thyme and rosemary. Outside the dormitories is a long hedge of camellias, which are in bloom, the sister says, from October until March. The original buildings, dating from about seventy years back, of which the chapel is still in use, were constructed entirely of thatch and have a very quaint appearance. It was in this little chapel that the Emperor Napoleon the Third and the Empress Eugénie came to pray for an heir, an event commemorated by a tablet on the wall. The thatched walls of the cells were not, however, considered sanitary, and the Sœurs Bernardines are now properly lodged in less picturesque stone cells of very fair dimensions. In one room they are allowed to see their friends and relatives once a month, and apparently there is no time limit to this their only chance of conversation. In the refectory, a long low building, fresh and airy, with pink monthly roses peeping in at the windows, and a floor of deep sand, I am given a glimpse of the harsher side of the discipline. A narrow table runs down the middle of the room, with a little drawer containing the knife, fork, spoon, and cup of each sister opposite her seat on the wooden bench, but on Fridays the Bernardines have to receive their food kneeling on their knees on the sand. Meantime not one of these ladies is to be seen, and 'ma sœur,' who feels herself responsible for my entertainment, is distinctly disappointed. As we pass through the gardens she peers cautiously behind the privet hedges and round the clumps of rhododendrons, very much like a child playing hide and seek, and admonishing me all the time in a loud whisper. 'You must be very quiet here, mademoiselle; this is where the sisters often sit, and they do not like to be disturbed.' Then she suddenly seizes my arm and points down a side-alley. 'Look, look, mademoiselle, quick. Ah! you have missed it.' My hasty, nervous glance—for I am rather prepared to see a wild animal—only shows me the vanishing figure of a young woman in a white monkish frock with a black cowl and a large straw hat. 'Ma sœur' is dissatisfied, and she hurries me to a long row of greenhouses, where several Pénitentes are occupied in nailing up the vines. 'Où sont donc ces dames?' she demands a little fretfully, and we are told that, workmen being in the garden, 'ces dames' are all away working in the fields. This she obviously thinks is ridiculous when there is a visitor to be entertained, but discipline forbids her to say so, and she conducts me with a contemptuous sniff to the cemetery, to show me, as she explains, that in death they are all equal. In contrast to the garden the cemetery is certainly a depressing spot—rows and rows

invoked by the priests has been responded to, for the land is crying out for water, and the hay should have been carried by now. If it refers to the rain it is certainly there when we reach the end of the journey at St. Jean Pied de Port, the fortified town which guards the pass into Spain through the Col de Roncevaux. A dark curtain is drawn down over the mountains, and the observations of a visitor seem likely to be restricted within narrow limits. Of human interest however there is plenty, for the hotel on the Place is crowded with family parties from Bayonne, who have come out to spend the day, and it is with some difficulty that, returning a little late from the church, I can find a free table for *déjeuner*.

A small, shrill, and familiar voice greets me as I enter. It is unexpected to meet Marthe Etcheverry so far from St. Jean de Luz, but from the subsequent conversation I gather that she has been spending the fête of the Ascension with her grandparents at Bayonne. To-day she is with her parents and her brother, who is about a year older than herself, and she is talking in intelligible French as becomes a fête day, her best clothes, and the assembled company. She is vexed because the *bonne* has been washing her face and hands at table, an indecorous proceeding, and she is now patting down her short full skirts and demanding a glass of white Bordeaux from her father's bottle as the best means of restoring her self-respect. Her request is refused, for her parents are evidently enlightened people, and, as the little voice persists they reason with her, the father at great length and with extreme gentleness, the mother more shortly and with some asperity. But Marthe is quite undeterred. She is now launched upon a thrilling tale of some unforgotten *Pentecôte* (she is not yet six) when she was taken by her grandparents to see the *fandango* danced at Fuenterrabia, and how she had a glass of real red wine—'mais rouge, papa.' The tale waxes in interest and unveracity as it proceeds, and the heroine turns to smile affably at the applause with which it is greeted by one of the fishermen who has travelled with me in the morning, and who is probably a bachelor. Marthe's father spreads out his hands and shrugs his shoulders in mock despair. 'Cet enfant ment tellement,' he complains with ill-concealed pride; 'son frère jamais!' The brother indeed, with his sweet placid Basque face, who has been listening to his sister's narrative with an occasional appreciative snigger, is evidently at a safe distance from any incriminating effort at imagination. But at this juncture Madame Etcheverry interposes with some effect, and Marthe's attention is temporarily concentrated upon the excellent dish of trout which has appeared a little indiscriminately between the sausage and the *entrecôte*. A fresh diversion is soon caused, however, by a large white dog decorated with brown spots, belonging to the fisherman, and who is only too pleased to fall in with Marthe's desire to share with him her *déjeuner*. His owner explains that the amiable creature is called Mocha, because he was

the Basque country ; there is a little dancing, and everybody seems to carry roses ; but the merry-making is obviously of a sober kind. Nevertheless we are *en fête*, and the holiday atmosphere is more noticeable on the last day of the month, which is also a Sunday. Up the valley of the Nive the train potters along by the river, stopping at the many little villages to take up and set down parties of holiday-makers. The Nive is crossed at intervals by ancient stone bridges, some of which are supposed to date from the time of the Romans, but are of more recent interest as having borne the weight of Wellington's artillery. In the scattered villages, reached through long avenues of oak trees, where the British forces must have bivouacked, not a few of the white houses, with their heavy wooden cornices, bear the suggestive date of 1814. The Nive is also famous for its trout, and the train is full of fishermen who have come for a day's sport. At one little station a venerable priest, who has travelled from Bayonne to celebrate the last Mass of the month of May at the old church up on the hill, is met and greeted by the whole village. One of the anglers, looking rather like the White Knight in his waders, and hung round with nets, rods, and tackle, and all the impedimenta with which a Basque goes out to catch trout, climbs out of the train to have a chat with the priest. The postman also descends to cool his bottle of wine under the tap, for leisure is the most marked characteristic of this railway, which is a single line. Each of these little stations appears to be the property of one family, and it is the prolonged interchange of greetings between our engine driver, the station master, his wife, mother, and innumerable offspring which is now delaying us. A small boy of four or five is seated upon a minute chair on the platform, grasping a red flag which it is his business to wave when a train approaches, presumably as a warning to his brethren and the chickens who play unconcernedly upon the rails. His hair is dressed in long ringlets, and his face is puckered with anxiety, for he feels that the responsibility of the traffic on the whole line to Bayonne rests upon his little shoulders. At length the train crawls slowly on through a beautiful but very narrow gorge, where is the famous Pas de Roland. This is a rock with a circular hole in it, said to have been made by the spear, or, as some say, the foot of the Paladin, in order that his army might pass through the gorge to join his uncle, Charlemagne, without scaling the rocks above or plunging into the torrent below. As we emerge into the cherry orchards of Biderray the clouds which have been gathering for some hours begin to come down in steady rain. ' Il est là ! ' had been the comment of the toothless old grandmother in charge of the little station amongst the hayfields where I had embarked in the early morning, and she had cast a gloomy eye at the sky and then upon the half-cut meadow where her son-in-law was preparing to spend his fite day. It is unfortunate that the last day of May, and that a holiday, should be a wet one. But so it is, and after all the blessing

zeal will brook of no delay, and it is intimated to her by her too reasonable parent that she has had enough cherries for one day, and that she must come at once or not at all. So, throwing what is obviously a caustic observation in Basque to the little boy and a smile to myself, she is off on the trail of Mocha.

On a religious festival, which is also a wet one, the church seems to offer a suitable refuge, and, as there is no train for another hour or so, I am considering the advisability of attending vespers, when an old lady in a post-card shop across the way mysteriously beckons to me. She has placed two chairs under the shelter of the overhanging eaves of her house, and she is preparing for a good gossip with the solitary stranger. It soon appears that, though a Basque, this old lady is not *dévot*, and has no opinion of fête days, especially when they are wet and bring so few visitors to the town. She has not been to Mass, oh no! but a rumour has reached her that after the Basque sermon this morning a pastoral letter has been read in French from the bishop of the diocese. Can mademoiselle tell her if this is really so? I reply in the affirmative, and explain that the letter was to beg for help for the church from the congregation, the Pope not having seen his way to consent to the compromise accepted by the *Associations cultuelles*. Madame becomes contemptuous, but interested. 'Ah! mon Dieu! Did he really read that again? That was the doyen, I'll be bound,' and she calls to a young man who is passing on his way up to the church, 'Was not that Monsieur le doyen who read the pastoral letter this morning, hein?' He nods in assent. 'That is our tenor,' she explains to me in parenthesis. 'They will have the vespers of the Sacred Heart; you must go in and hear him.' Then, reverting to the original subject, she tells me that for her part she considers they have heard enough of the separation. 'Les curés se plaignent toujours. Meantime it is we poor people who have to keep them. Oh, yes, the vicaire receives six hundred francs a year—he is old—but the young ones nothing, and our hands are always in our pockets.' It is curious to hear such anti-Church opinions upon the borders of Spain and within so short a distance of Bayonne, where a few days past a very revolutionary sermon was listened to in the cathedral by a respectful and sympathetic congregation.

But it is always interesting to see the other side of the coin, and there is, no doubt, a good deal of truth in madame's grievances. She is obviously a very red republican, and she is also a shrewd and cynical old woman, quite as irreproachable probably in her own estimation as the *Servante de Marie* herself. 'Tell me, mademoiselle,' she continues, 'in your country when you have buried your dead it is finished, is it not; your expenses are over?' I reply that this is so. 'Ah, vous avez un autre bon Dieu que nous,' she says with a sly twinkle in her hard eyes. 'Here we have to pay all the time. Think of it, mademoiselle, 4 francs 50 centimes for each Mass into Monsieur le curé's pocket.'

intended to be entirely brown, a joke which is thoroughly appreciated by the assembled company, and Marthe clasps her minute hands in ecstasy, as Mocha thrusts his nose upon the lap of a well-behaved little girl at a neighbouring table who is strictly forbidden to feed him. Meantime the rain, which has come down pitilessly since the morning, shows signs of relenting, and it is a relief to escape from the heated atmosphere of the *salle à manger* into the freshness of the rain-washed Place, with its dripping plane trees.

Quaint houses overhang the river where it falls in a cascade below the bridge, and further up are visible the flying buttresses which constitute the only picturesque feature of the plain, solid little church. But the clouds have only temporarily lifted, and there is barely time to walk round the fifteenth-century ramparts before the rain comes down again, and a retreat under the archway of the clock tower beside the church seems advisable. Here an aged crone, her head tied up in a black handkerchief, is established with a basket of cherries, and, in spite of the weather, she is doing a good business with the little boys of the town. A group of three remain in affectionate proximity to her basket. The two elder, for want of a better receptacle for their cherries, have taken the smallest boy's cap, and this not being sufficient, they have further filled his trousers pockets. The urchin remains unmoved by these arrangements, but when it comes to a subdivision of the spoil he proves quite competent to hold his own. His cap he surrenders, conscious that superior force will prevail, but the contents of his pockets he has mutely decided are to be his own, and oddly enough he imposes this opinion upon his elders with the slightest possible show of resistance. He is a true Basque, as stolid and immovable as the plain, square-set church behind him, and he remains under the shelter of the arch munching his cherries in total silence long after his brothers have retired, vanquished, from the field. Every now and then he rubs a fat, sunburnt hand across his chest, presumably to assist the passage of his cherry stones, for I cannot see that they reappear in orthodox fashion. He takes his pleasures quietly, and indeed quietness seems to be the note of St. Jean Pied de Port on this particular fete day. An old man passes under the archway and pauses in front of the open church door to cross himself and bow devoutly to the darkness of the interior. A group of little girls are waiting on the steps under umbrellas, but even they are subdued.

Suddenly round the corner comes Marthe, a very self-important Marthe, who has escaped from the tyranny of her mother, nurse, and brother, and has induced a long-suffering father to bring her out fishing with Mocha and his master. She is enveloped in a blue cape, with a hood drawn tightly round her face, and her sharp little eyes are dancing with excitement. She is having a glorious time, and assuredly the Spanish children are never taken out fishing. She pauses for a moment, fascinated by the cherries, but the angler's

slept upon the bed provided for her refreshment. Such is the injustice which from time immemorial has been awarded to the meek. But who can say that with his Basque patience and promise of future industry he may not some day inherit the earth ?

The month of Mary is over. The hay is cut and the roses are falling. The fields have been duly blessed and must be left to ripen to the harvest, watched with all the faith and piety which, the old lady at St. Jean Pied de Port notwithstanding, still belong to an ancient and childlike people.

ROSE M. BRADLEY.

To be buried is enough to ruin you,' she continues with unconscious humour, 'and to have your body taken into the church you must pay extra!' If you are contented with two clergy to officiate she admits that you can do it for less, but to be buried with only two clergy is obviously not at all *comme il faut*. My thoughts turn involuntarily to a pathetic procession I have seen the day before wending its way under the oak trees up from the valley to a little church standing on the fortifications above a village. It was evidently a very humble funeral, and I find myself wondering whether Monsieur le curé under his umbrella, assisted by only one priest, was really so callous and so mercenary. My memory, however, rather retains the impression of a long *cortège* of shabby and weary mourners who have trudged so far to lay their dead under the ground with every sign of reverence, but with no superfluity of clergy. Madame recalls me to my obligations. 'That is the organist who has just passed, mademoiselle; the bell is about to stop, and you must go.' She has no intention of attending vespers herself, she has more important matters to attend to, but for the visitor it is another matter, and with such a tenor the vespers of the Sacred Heart are worth hearing.

An hour later as I climb rather thankfully into the train down below in the valley the clouds have all rolled away, and this last day of May is ending in a singularly lovely evening. The citadel stands out well above the houses of St. Jean Pied de Port, which are clustered on either side of the river. The slanting golden sunlight catches the windows here and there, shines upon a big gilt cross in the cemetery, and glints across the water through a row of poplars. Beyond, clear cut against the blue of the sky, towers a mighty bulwark of mountains, through which runs the Pass of Roncevaux, on the road to Pampeluna.

The little station, which is the last on the way to Spain, is a scene of considerable activity this evening. Arrivals by the last train have been numerous, and the platform is crowded with mysterious bales of merchandise which are to be despatched by road over the frontier. It takes some time to get the outgoing train ready. At the end of a fête day there are many travellers, and much local gossip has to be exchanged with the officials. At the last minute Marthe and her family arrive, escorted by the fisherman and Mocha. It is a sleepy and rather fractious Marthe, with a dangling hood and limp uncovered curls, who is exhorted in vain to say polite things to the kind gentleman who has taken her out fishing. A flash of reviving interest appears in her adieux to Mocha, but she is glad enough to be hoisted by the patient *bonne* into the train and to find comfort upon that ample, solid shoulder. The little brother follows, docile as ever. He has helped to catch no fish, but has spent the afternoon in the stuffy inn, amusing himself in the mysterious fashion acquired by patient and unimaginative children, whilst the *bonne* has chattered with the landlady, and the mother has

either as established, unestablished, or disestablished, are permitted to manage their own internal affairs, and for this management enlist the services alike of clergy and laity in free co-operation.

(1) *The Irish Church*.—The Disestablished Church of Ireland is our first study. Here we encounter a Church whose situation entails peculiar difficulties, and it may be said without fear of contradiction that, if difficulties have not proved insurmountable there, they are not likely to prove so elsewhere.

At the date of the disestablishment, thirty-eight years ago, the Irish Church Convocation, though nominally existent, had not been convened since 1711. The collective voice of the Church, sitting in Synod, had for 159 years been silent. Application was made to the Government of the day for permission to call the Synod together. This was asked in view of the imminency of disestablishment. It was granted, and Convocation forthwith authorised the calling of a General Synod, in which the laity should sit with the clergy. This led the way, after the passing of the Disestablishment Act, to the creation of a formal constitution. The Lay Conference consisted of representatives chosen by the parochial delegates, who had themselves been elected at a meeting of parishioners who were also members of the Church. By a resolution of the Lay Conference, it was decided that the laymen in the Convention should be in the proportion of two to one. This proportion was embodied in the draft constitution presented to the Convention, and ultimately accepted. Through Select Vestries the government of the parishes was largely in the hands of the laity. The Cyprian boast can be that of the Irish Bishops, their election being entrusted to the Diocesan Synod, provided two-thirds of each order of its members were agreed. A board of patronage on which four Diocesans sat, and jointly with them three parish representatives, had the appointments to vacant cures.

Experience speedily proved that the rights of the bishops and clergy in matters purely spiritual were amply guarded. Hasty changes are rendered practically impossible by the proviso that majorities of two-thirds of both the clerical and lay order in two successive years are requisite to pass any such measure. Moreover, on any question the House of Bishops can vote separately, and they possess the power of vetoing any measure by a final majority of two-thirds.

The difficulties referred to above were largely incident to the situation of a Church planted in an alien soil, surrounded by members of the Roman Communion. This rendered its members suspicious of any presumed Romeward tendencies. The young constitution was to be tried to the uttermost by the seven years' controversy over the Revision of the Prayer Book. Notwithstanding that from the Select Vestries and the Diocesan Synods liberty of discussing points of doctrine or of ritual was withheld, the hot Irish nature could not

CHURCH REFORM—II. AUTONOMY IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES

In a paper on the subject of Church Reform contributed to this Review last month the present writer pointed out that the Church of England stands alone among those of the Anglican Communion, as possessing nothing which the loosest usage of the term can describe as a constitution. To support this allegation is the purpose of this contribution to the subject. At the outset clearness will be consulted by a brief recapitulation.

The Church of England in former days possessed powers of self-government. We defend neither the character nor the exercise of those powers. It is merely observed that they existed. Parliament then contained none but Churchmen : and thus in its own inadequate fashion—inadequate owing to the very partial sway of the franchise—it represented, and legislated for, the Church. Since the abolition of Parliamentary representation, nothing has ever been granted to the Church to replace it. When in those days Church questions were treated in the Legislature it could not have been objected that they were being handled by persons who were external to the body to which such questions belonged. But when, with the lifting of all religious tests from the consciences of members, Parliament ceased to be an ecclesiastical court, the Church was bereft of its popular constitutional voice, and that voice has not been raised since.

With the revival of Convocation came no revival of constitutional existence. This ancient body was purely clerical. To the laity it gave no voice in administration. The creation of the Houses of Laymen some years ago in no proper sense qualifies this assertion. These, as in its normal functions Convocation itself, are deliberative only, and have hitherto had no share in that limited *ad hoc* authority conferred at long intervals upon the Clerical Houses by Royal Letters of Business, as at the present juncture. The temporary powers this rarely issued instrument granted are conferred only upon the ancient Synod.

We pass in rapid review those western¹ communities which,

¹ It is scarcely necessary to point out that 'western' is here used in the ecclesiastical, not in the geographical sense.

constitution on its model, and in doing so profited by certain mistakes of detail. This remark applies to the Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Churches, and to these we must add Scotland. In the American Church attention should first be directed to the features which are common to all the dioceses and are laid down in the General Constitution and Canons, in harmony with which all diocesan canons must be framed. Herein a marked characteristic is the admission of the laity to a full share in the legislative and administrative functions of the Church. The highest Church Council, the General Convention, which meets every three years, consists of two Houses, the bishops forming one, and elected clerical and lay deputies sitting together in the other in equal numbers, four clergymen and four laymen being chosen by each Diocesan Convention. The lay deputies must be communicants and residents of the diocese which they represent. The concurrence of both Houses is required for the passing of any measure and in important matters the concurrence of all three Orders. It will be seen that this arrangement places in the hands of the laymen practical power of veto, and very seriously lessens the legislative prerogatives of the bishops.

In each diocese its Convention elects a Standing Committee with advisory functions such as properly belong in England to Cathedral Chapters. These Standing Committees in all but two dioceses consist of lay as well as clerical members.

The Diocesan Conventions in all cases are composed of lay as well as clerical delegates elected by the several parishes, and both Orders must concur in any matter of legislation, and in the election of a bishop. The particular method of election—whether by a mere majority or by a two-thirds vote of each Order, and whether by both Orders voting simultaneously, or by the nomination of the clergy confirmed by the laity—is determined by the Canons of each diocese. In some dioceses the bishop possesses a power of veto in matters of legislation; in the majority of dioceses this is not the case.

In the filling of cures there is no private patronage. The bishop ordinarily appoints to the charge of a mission, *i.e.* a congregation which is not fully organised as a parish, and is dependent upon diocesan aid; in the case of a parish, the vestry elects, but before giving a formal call to a clergyman his name must be communicated to the bishop for the expression of his approval or disapproval, but he has no power of absolute veto, provided the clergyman be in good standing.

An elaborate system is provided in the general Canons for the trial of a bishop; the court for the trial of a presbyter or deacon and its procedure are left to diocesan arrangement, while a sort of provincial court of review is established by the general Canons, on which both clerical and lay members sit; but as yet no final court of appeal has been provided for such cases.

With undoubted and acknowledged weaknesses, the autonomous

respect the limits of power thus prescribed. Year after year the weapons of indignant resolutions were plied. Year after year the Protestant susceptibilities of the Select Vestries deemed themselves outraged. The Revision was accomplished, but it bears upon its front something of the arena dust. The liturgical gift demands for its meet exercise days of calm. Such polemical times are past, and are only recalled to accentuate by way of contrast the unruffled flow of administrative activity in the brave little Church, whose fruitfulness in good works and generous giving has fully justified the admission of its warm-hearted laity to its counsels.

(2) *The Scottish Episcopal Church*.—The revival of the corporate life of this Church is to be dated from the pamphlet which Mr. Gladstone addressed to the Scotch Primus in 1852. The suggestions there made were keenly debated in the Synod of Bishops, and afterwards in the Diocesan Synods. The constitution sketched consisted of three chambers, of bishops, of clergy, and of laymen; the initiation of legislation was to rest with the first. The subject was hung up for eleven years, and when, in 1863, laymen were admitted to Diocesan Synods, and congregations were entitled to send a representative to the General Synod, the rights of the laity to an effective voice in the councils of their Church gained but very partial recognition. Leave had to be granted by the presiding bishop even to address the meeting. Twelve more years had to pass before the constitution of the present Representative Church Council was formulated and formally accepted by the General Synod. Each congregation—the parochial basis being of course impracticable in Scotland—sends one representative to this Council, and three others are returned by each diocese. It is not to be overlooked that in the constituents of the Executive Committee of the Council a tribute is paid to the business capabilities of laymen. While on the Four Boards of the Council the clerical and lay members are about in an equal proportion, on the Executive Committee the clerical members are only as one out of three. The working of the constitution affords ground for the hope that when our own Representative Church Council is remodelled on a basis entitling it to its name, it will not be distressingly liable to find itself in antagonism with the separate Clerical Convocations. We believe that during the time since the creation of the Scotch system no serious collision, or anything approaching it, has occurred to ruffle the even current of its discussions. It is, however, right to add that the experimental stage has hardly yet been passed; and as recently as in 1906 further recognition of the value of associating the lay element with the clerical was marked in the formation of a consultative Council in which co-ordination between the Orders is for consultative purposes pushed a step further.

(3) *The American Church*.—A survey of this Church is of special interest for the reason that several other communities framed their

Here the bishops sit by themselves in the Upper House ; the clergy and lay delegates sit side by side in strict co-ordination of powers in the Lower. We in England note with special interest the rules which control the procedure of this body. In the modifications in the Order of Public Service only those have been accepted which had previously secured the sanction of our own Convocations of the southern and northern provinces. At the same time it is to be regretted that the relationship between the Diocesan Synods and this higher Synod of the province is susceptible of some improvement, the tenacity with which the former have cleaved to their privileges sometimes proving inimical to synodical efficiency in the Provincial Assembly. This, we have recently learnt from one high in authority in the Dominion Church, is now in course of correction. Thirty-two years separate the formation of the Provincial Synod from that of the General Synod. It was not until 1893 that the ecclesiastical provinces of Canada, Rupertsland, and the extra-provincial dioceses of British Columbia combined to establish a Supreme Council. For some year after its creation the condition of this body was somewhat inchoate, and the boundaries of the respective areas of jurisdiction of the General and the Provincial Synods were somewhat imperfectly defined. Here, however, as in many another instance, *solvitur ambulando* ; practical experience is staking out the territories. In this assembly, as in the General Convention of the American Church, the bishops and the representatives sit in separate session, though they can at any time, if desiring it, sit together. In this these communities are in our judgment outdistanced by others now to be reviewed, in the matter of enlightened constitutional usage. As in the ecclesiastical sphere there is no hereditary chamber, we have never been able to support the objection to all the Orders meeting in a single House, and taking counsel in frank and free interchange of thought on all questions which all have a right to discuss. Expedition in the conduct of business would gain immeasurably if this were done. But a still greater gain would surely be the opportunities which would thereby be afforded of brotherly relations being cultivated between the Orders ; the clergy would profit by the trained business habits of the laity, the laity would learn from the clergy to distinguish between the crudely and the accurately formulated in the theological bearings of many a question. Corners would be rubbed down ; many an occasion of friction avoided ; many a difference adjusted, if in place of the aloofness of the sundered sessions, one roof covered all.

(5) *The Church of South Africa*.—The rise of the autonomy of this Church has a piquant interest in the virile personality of Bishop Gray. The strongest of ecclesiastics, he yet asserted, as few others have ever done, the rights of the laity. He arrived in Cape Colony in 1847 to find a singular state of Erastian subservience to the Governor, who had inherited the worst traditions of Dutch rule. The justification

Church in the United States may well be more than content with its corporate life. 'We have,' one writer says, 'become so firmly and unanimously convinced of its value, that nothing would induce us to part with it.'²

(4) *The Church of England in Canada*.—The autonomy of this Church was in a measure forced upon it from the first. The democratic institutions of the neighbouring American Church, the circumstance that the Methodist and Presbyterian communities already planted and thriving in Canadian soil were similarly organised, the absolute dependence of the Church upon the voluntary offerings of its members, all these local conditions rendered autonomous government well-nigh a foregone conclusion. As Professor Cody, of Toronto, says, 'Autonomy is accepted as an axiom, and it would be impossible for us to progress as an organised body without it.'

Looking over the frontier in 1851 to the example of the American constitutions, with the intention of adopting what was best, but with the discriminating faculty on the alert, the Bishops of Quebec, Toronto, Newfoundland, Fredericton and Montreal laid their plans. Their first thought was to secure for the Church a legislative voice through the establishment of Diocesan Synods. Such a Synod informally met in 1853, and in the following year these assemblies agreed upon a constitution. It should here be mentioned that in 1856 the Imperial Government ceased to create Canadian sees, and to appoint bishops; and the Dominion Legislature thus had its powers enlarged, and forthwith conferred on the Church of England in Canada authority to meet in Synods for administrative and legislative purposes, these purposes including the two functions above mentioned which the Home Government had heretofore exercised.

Diocesan Synods were in this way called into existence. Each consisted of the bishop, any suffragan or co-adjutor, *all* the clergy who held a licence, whether beneficed or not, and lay representatives chosen by the parishes. Their number varies in the different dioceses from one to three. They must have communicated at least three times in the year immediately previous to their election. Habitual worship, interpreted as having worshipped regularly for three months in a particular church, constitutes, with a declaration of membership, the qualification for electors.

After five years' synodical existence it was felt that too wide a space separated the diocese from the General Convention in the Church of America. It was here that the younger congeries of communities profited by the survey of the institutions of the older. It was determined to supply this lack to the completeness of the American Church system. In 1861 the Provincial Synod of Canada was formed.

² For much of the information offered in the foregoing paragraphs on the American Church the writer is indebted to the Bishop of Vermont, who has kindly supervised the above sketch and has personally contributed some particulars.

The limits of this paper forbid more than a passing reference to the Churches of Australia and New Zealand. It must suffice to say that the American Church constitution supplied for these communities, as for Canada, the general model on which their own systems were framed.

Cursory as this glance over daughter or sister communities of the Church of England has necessarily been, we venture to think that it sufficiently substantiates the contention that the Church amongst us occupies an anomalous and quite unjustifiable position as regards its internal administration. In no accurate sense can it be described as self-governed. And such extraneous government as holds is practically ineffective. We do not assert that the activities of the Church are in consequence paralysed ; but we emphatically contend that they are straitened, and that questions of mere procedure occupy attention to an extent scarcely short of lamentable in her quasi-authoritative Councils. Is there anything to be said against a speedy settlement of this still constantly shelved question which the above survey may not be taken conclusively to refute ?

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of Bishop Gray's autocracy during the first decade of his episcopate is to be sought in the outrageous claims of a State which possessed no valid title to the name Christian. And the time came when this most conspicuous of autocrats proved himself the most progressive of Church reformers.

In the necessary process of preparing the way for autonomous conditions, it was a matter of primary urgency to define the term 'layman.' For Christianity—and the remark applies peculiarly to Cape Colony—was mainly represented by bodies outside the pale of the Anglican Church. Little to the honour of a somnolent communion, Presbyterians and Wesleyans held the field. For the possession of the franchise an unfortunate alternative qualification invested the definition with a degree of hesitancy. In the Cape Town Church constitution the constituency is thus defined: 'Every male parishioner being of the age of twenty-one years, who is on the list of communicants or who, being baptized and not being a member of any other religious body, is an habitual worshipper in the church of the parish or district in respect of which he claims to vote, shall be entitled to vote for the parish or district to which he belongs.' Qualification for delegacy includes the communicant status, this defined as involving reception at least three times during the year previous to the nomination. With immaterial variations of electoral procedure in different dioceses, the following are the features of the general constitution. Above the Vestries the Diocesan Synods meet, some annually, some triennially. The members consist of the bishop, the clergy and one lay delegate, holding office until the next session, elected to represent each parish. In practice the non-communicant vote has hardly ever, if ever, been known to influence an election. Nominal members of the Church are less eager than in England to assert their rights. In the election of a bishop, however, only communicants are allowed any voice.

Over the Diocesan Synod is the Provincial; it is septennial, and summoned by the Archbishop of the Province on his own initiative. Though in theory consisting of three Houses, all the three Orders sit and deliberate together. On occasion they may hold their meetings apart by mutual consent. As regards the conduct of business, the laity have in the Church councils their full share. Their power is tangible. Their influence in every department of Church administrative activity is felt, and their practical interest in the Church's work proportionally deep. Incumbents cannot at the will of an external organisation be thrust upon a parish unwilling to welcome them. Two-thirds of the lay members of the Synod may veto the election of a bishop, though chosen by two-thirds of the clergy. The fruitful co-operation of the laity, secured to the Church in South Africa by the energetic inception of the most healthily tenacious of prelates, remains one of the most substantial guarantees of its progress and hold upon the lands in which it has taken root.

fine effects were produced ; whether the knowledge that the structure is not what it appears destroys the enjoyment of the effect, is perhaps a question of individual temperament. The French, who have a keener æsthetic sense in matters of this kind than any other nation, in their more recent great exhibitions (1889 and 1900) have rather favoured the adoption of special forms of temporary architecture ; though M. Formigé, in the two palaces of ' Arts ' and ' Arts Libéraux ' which faced each other in the 1889 Paris Exhibition, adopted an honestly visible construction of a then new type—steel framing filled in with decorative terra-cotta. But in general, and in the 1900 Exhibition especially, the French adopted a style of obviously temporary architecture founded in the main on reminiscences of classic forms, but treated with a great deal of freedom and in many cases with admirable effect.

It is difficult to classify the architecture of the Franco-British Exhibition—it is a medley ; but for the most part, though derived from very various types, it does not simulate monumental architecture. There are some pavilions in which classic columnar orders are introduced, as in the British Applied Arts pavilion, designed by a young English architect of genius, Mr. J. B. Fulton ; but in these and other cases the treatment, at all events of the upper portion of the structure, is so far playful and (as one may say) unreal as to preclude the idea of a monumental structure. The Canada pavilion has the most monumental appearance of any, and is rather imposing in its general effect. The *Daily Mail* pavilion is a rather bad imitation, in faulty proportion, of Chambers's octagon pavilion with concave sides in Kew Gardens, itself a weak imitation of the Temple of the Sun at Baalbek. The part of the Exhibition architecture which most closely follows the detail of existing styles is the first and largest quadrangle on entering from Wood Lane ; but here the model followed is in the main that of Dravidian Hindu architecture, combined (in the upper portions) with some reminiscences of Indian Mohammedan architecture—

By no quite lawful marriage of the arts,

but the two elements harmonise well enough, and no style could be better suited for festal temporary architecture than the school of Hindu work which has been adopted. It is as essentially an ornamental architecture as the Spanish style which has been called ' plateresque ' from its resemblance to silversmith's work ; and has the same kind of resemblance, with better detail ; for in a good deal of the Hindu decorative detail there is a certain finish and purity of line which has something the character of Greek ornament. A great deal of modelled ornament in this first court is charming work, and the design as a whole has a coherence and restraint which contrasts favourably with some of the pavilions further on ; the Women's Work

ART AT THE FRANCO-BRITISH EXHIBITION

WITH the majority of Londoners who crowd to it the Franco-British Exhibition is evidently not an institution to be taken seriously. It is the playground of the season; a place to dine at and meet your friends and spend a summer evening amid fairy architecture and lights and fireworks—a view of its function which is certainly countenanced by the extent of space allotted to feeding establishments and the predominance of such innocent amusements as gravitation railways and toboggans and the vast piece of moving structure irreverently dubbed ‘the flip-flap’; the latter, however, a more interesting piece of mechanical engineering than most of those who are slung in its cages are aware of. But there is more in the Exhibition than this, else had it been but a wanton expenditure of money.

To begin with, the question of the architectural treatment of a collection of temporary structures is one of some interest. It is an opportunity for realising, for the moment, architectural effects of a richness and exuberance such as can seldom be afforded in permanent buildings in these days of economy and the competitive cutting of prices. The architectural designer is let loose, as it were, into a dream-country, in which he may give the reins to his fancy without the fear of the Quantity Surveyor before his eyes. Should he aim at producing vast combinations of architecture in orthodox form, ephemeral in actual structure but in outward aspect monumental? Or should he frankly accept the situation and treat his buildings as obviously temporary and evanescent, fragile fancies in fragile materials:—

The earth hath bubbles as the water hath,
And these are of them?

There is something to be said for either principle. Inigo Jones or Bramante would have preferred the first alternative, and would have produced for us visions of stately combinations of columnar architecture such as have really been carried out only, perhaps, in the great days of Selinus or of Paestum. At the Chicago exhibition the tendency was in favour of this kind of stately classic scenery, and

Jean-Boucher's *Antique et Moderne*; Bartholomé's pathetic group of the man and woman looking into the tomb (the central group of the *Monument aux Morts*); Mercié's monument to Alfred de Musset, and a dozen others that might be mentioned, there would have been a different story to tell. In regard to painting the discrepancy is still greater. The English galleries contain one of the finest, most varied, and most typical collections of modern English painting that have ever been got together; not to speak of a very fine collection of water colours also, an art of which the French show nothing, and have in fact very little to show. Moreover, the English Committee had the fortunate idea of exhibiting in two or three special rooms a selection of the works of deceased English painters, both recent and earlier, which forms one of the most interesting portions of the exhibition. The French have a few works of their artists of the early and middle nineteenth century, but they are not collected together so as to make a special feature, nor do they form a very typical selection. There is, it is true, one splendid Troyon (forming a pendant to an equally fine example of M. Harpignies); but neither the name of Diaz nor Théodore Rousseau appear, and no one will think they get any notion of such a grand landscape-painter as Dupré from the two small pictures by him that are exhibited; and as to Puvis de Chavannes, it is absolutely melancholy to think that English visitors should get their only idea of him from his unfortunate *Décollation de Saint Jean-Baptiste* (probably an early work). Nor are the living artists more satisfactorily represented. Instead of any one of M. Gervais' great works we have only an insignificant portrait by him; neither MM. Didier-Pouget nor Quignon appears among landscape painters; the semi-nude figure entitled *Beauté* is hardly a typical example of M. Henri Martin; and M. Carolus-Duran is not shown at his best. And one is almost as much inclined to complain of what is there as of what there is not. Some of the worst pictures are among the largest. What is the credit to French Art of such a huge piece of commonplace as M. Detaille's *Victimes du Devoir*?

In one point, however, the French picture galleries score heavily over ours—in their decorative treatment; and the difference is one which is unfortunately characteristic of the two nations. The English galleries, it is understood, were got up under the direction of the Royal Academy, who apparently could think of nothing better than covering the walls with a dull red, and finishing them with a very ordinary plaster cornice. Go into the French galleries, and you find a delicate diaper on the walls and a fine bold frieze at the top made up of gilt 'swags' and festoons; the whole aspect of the galleries is refined and decorative, in strange contrast to the crude and coarse effect of the English galleries; a contrast not creditable to us. A redeeming point is that the English are certainly better lighted than the French

and the Palace of Music pavilions, for instance, on the right of the central court, have a good deal too much of the pie-crust order of detail about them; a criticism which applies also, to some extent, to the façade of the Fine Arts pavilion on the extreme right. In one particular respect we realise that we are here in an exhibition in London and not in Paris, viz. in the scarcity of figure sculpture in the decoration. In the 1900 Paris exhibition the nude figure was to be seen at every turn; figures seated or recumbent on cornices everywhere, in precarious positions, as if blown there by the wind and left where they chanced to fall; but all with a vigour and suppleness of line and modelling that spoke of the artistic instinct of the French decorator, and in curious contrast to the tame and matter-of-fact manner in which figure decoration is used, where it is used at all, at the Shepherd's Bush Exhibition. However, the first court of the exhibition forms a fine piece of architectural scenery and is worth seeing as such. Its defect is the lack of any colour; it is too white. The gilding of all the small cupolas would perhaps have been too costly an expedient, but it would have immensely enhanced the total effect.

The special intellectual interest of the exhibition is of course the joint display of French and English sculpture and painting in the Fine Arts pavilion, compared with which every other interest is only secondary. The sculpture is placed in a central hall on the plan of a cross, the French work on the left of the central axis, the English on the right, the picture galleries of the two nations being grouped around and beyond their respective domains in the sculpture hall. Nothing could have been more interesting, or in a sense more instructive, than an opportunity of studying a collection of the best products of French and English sculpture and painting side by side; but unfortunately the representation of the two countries is not sufficiently well balanced to afford a fair standard of comparison. It was no doubt an easier task to get together a representative collection of English art on our own soil than for the French Committee to send the works of their artists across the Channel; but the result is that England is far more favourably represented than France. On the English side of the Sculpture Hall are collected a considerable number of the best sculptural works of late years, and this can hardly be said of the collection on the French side. Falguière and M. Mercié are inadequately represented; M. Alfred Boucher also; M. Jean-Boucher not at all; Gérôme only by a bronze equestrian statuette of Napoleon—a splendid little work certainly, but not an example of what Gérôme could do in sculpture; and Carpeaux's group of Ugolino is hardly a happy example of his genius. The result is an impression that French and English sculpture, as represented here, are pretty evenly balanced as to genius; but could we have seen on the French side such works as Carpeaux's *La Danse*; Falguière's *Juno*;

work ; Albert Moore's *The Quartette*, the most perfect example of his peculiar type of decorative art ; Romney's *Lady Hamilton at the Spinning Wheel*, and Rossetti's *The Blessed Damozel*, each among the painter's best works ; Walker's *The Plough*, perhaps his finest picture ; Lewis's *In the Bey's Garden* ; and two or three very fine examples of Watts, though not one of his greatest works. Among the painters of the last generation perhaps none holds his place so well as Millais. His *Over the Hills*, which I had not seen for some years, seems finer than ever, and shows how a painting on which the highest pains have been bestowed will keep its place in virtue of that kind of genius which consists (in part at least) in the infinite capacity for taking pains. In the room devoted to the works of living artists we have an example of the modern Scottish school of landscape in *The Storm*, by Mr. W. McTaggart, R.S.A. (lent by Mr. Carnegie) ; a landscape splashed rather than painted, with a certain boldness and vigour ; but will this, like *Over the Hills*, hold its own and be returned to with admiration thirty or forty years after its date ? I trow not. But Millais' *Autumn Leaves* is more than conscientious work ; it is an inspiration in colour and poetic feeling, and it is as such and as a whole that it must be judged, not picked to pieces in detail. Those who wonder why the faces of the girls are so dark (‘dirty’ they were called when it was first painted) do not recognise that they are parts of the rich solemn harmony of the whole, including that deep purple distance ; Millais was not going to have them making light spots in his composition. A picture that I met again with great interest is Falconer Poole's *Seventh Day of the Decameron*, exhibited many years ago at the Academy under the title *The Song of Filomena on the Margin of the Beautiful Lake*, and which I have never seen since. Coming to it again one recognises that the figures are open to criticism ; but it is steeped in poetry, and I owe the author of it for a youthful day-dream. Figures were not Poole's strong point ; he painted landscapes with a meaning in them, not understood of the people, and hence he was never a popular painter ; he should have been represented by *A Lion in the Path*, a grand work in which the landscape itself seemed to threaten like the lion. It hung in the large room at the Academy many years ago, nor have I ever seen it since. What has become of it ?

Then there is Leighton's beautiful work *Summer Moon*, hanging just by Millais' landscape—as a poetic conception perhaps the most perfect thing he ever did, with an almost Greek reticence and completeness about it both in colour and design. (I remember hearing it referred to by a spectator, the year it was first exhibited, as ‘that præ-Raphaelite thing.’) No one, I suppose, would attempt to paint such a picture nowadays ; it is not ugly enough. It is significant to notice that, with such a work as that hanging a few yards off, the critic of a certain influential paper could find nothing better to single

galleries; the skylight draping in the latter is overdone, and the effect of the pictures somewhat dulled in consequence.

Taking the sculpture as it stands, we have the rather unexpected result that the English collection shows a larger proportion of works of subjective interest, of intellectual suggestion beyond mere modelling, than the French, though the case would be certainly reversed if French sculpture were as well represented as English. There is perhaps nothing among the French sculpture exhibited so poetically suggestive as Mr. Colton's *Crown of Love*, nothing so full of historical point and individual character as Mr. Reynolds-Stephens's *A Royal Game*. Chapu's kneeling figure of *Jeanne d'Arc*¹ is beautiful in pose and in the fine type of the head, but it has no special character; it might be any handsome woman in trouble. On the other hand there is an elevation of style in the nude figures, such as M. Sicard's *Baigneuse* and M. Marqueste's *Hébé* with the eagle, and M. Mercié's *David après le Combat* (in one of the picture galleries), which makes most of the English nudes look tame and commonplace. Among the most powerful works on the French side of the gallery is M. Alfred Boucher's *À la Terre*, the colossal nude figure of a labourer digging, which was in the Salon two or three years ago. The difference between the largeness of manner in French sculpture as compared with English may be noted in comparing M. Mathurin-Moreau's *Sommeil* with Mr. Walker's *Sleep*, both of them nude groups of mother and infant sleeping; the latter is a charming work, but it rather suggests the nursery; the French sculptor's group has the large abstract manner which suggests the ideal type of life. Among other works on the French side the Luxembourg lends us one of its most remarkable modern works, M. Sicard's *Edipus and the Sphinx*; and those who have not seen it before should not miss M. Puech's poetic fancy *La Seine* (also from the Luxembourg), where the river is symbolised by a recumbent nude figure in alto-relief, the decorative semblance of Paris in bas-relief forming the background. It was exhibited at the Salon a good many years ago, and bought by the Government.²

But the glory of the Art collection lies in the galleries of English painting, of which one cannot speak without a certain enthusiasm. The two rooms devoted to deceased British artists contain, among other things, Gainsborough's incomparable portrait called *The Blue Boy* and his *Lady Bate Dudley*; some fine examples (though not quite equal to these) of Reynolds; Burne-Jones's *Chant d'Amour*, his best

¹ The form 'Jeanne d'Arc,' which the modern French writers persist in, as if she were a lady of family, is of course absurd. Balzac writes 'Jeanne d'Arc' in the one reference to her I have noticed in his works.

² Perhaps English artists might take the opportunity this exhibition affords of knowing a little more about contemporary French sculptors than they do at present. I sat opposite two Royal Academicians at a public dinner, one a sculptor and the other an architect, neither of whom had ever heard of the name or works of M. Puech, one of the most prominent and most gifted of modern French sculptors.

been dissolved in a nitric acid bath. Among pictures to be noticed is M. Albert Maignan's grand work *Eve et le Serpent*, not only as a remarkable conception, with its iridescent serpent with the human torso and head, but as a fine example of style. The nude figure of Eve, it will be observed, does not attempt realism either in finish or texture; the figure and the details are all harmonised down to a unity of effect, and the picture is a fine piece of colour, one of the best in that sense in the French galleries. Colour has been the difficulty with M. Emile Friant's large picture *Douleur*, which no one can miss, and in which all the figures are clad in deep mourning. M. Friant, who is always worth attention, seldom paints on so large a scale as this, and perhaps this would have done better on a smaller scale; yet it seems to me now, as it did when I first saw it at the Salon, one of the most pathetic of modern pictures dealing with scenes in real life. It is now apparently in the Museum at Nancy, and must, therefore, have been a Government purchase. Among other pictures which should not be passed over are M. Humbert's portraits, especially *Mlle. Legrand* and the singularly spirited and characteristic one of M. Jules Lemaître; Delaunay's *La Peste*, an allegorical picture of the old school, interesting on that account, and as representing a class of picture and a style of execution much esteemed in their day and entirely *passé* now; and Delacroix's *Mirabeau et de Brézé*, an historical picture of a past generation which still keeps its place, and always will, for its dramatic realisation of the situation and of the principal actor in the scene.³ Those who do not know the work of M. Joseph Bail, that masterly painter of interiors, should not pass over the pictures by him, though they do not represent the best that he has done; nor is M. Paul Chabas's *Joyeux Ébats*, from a recent Salon, quite one of his best works, but it gives an idea of the work of a painter who has made a style of his own, and whose picture in this year's Salon has already been mentioned in these pages as perhaps the most perfectly-balanced work of the year. M. Tattegrain, also, a painter of great and very versatile powers, is shown to advantage in his seashore scene *L'Épave* (a much better work than his larger shipwreck picture). M. Hébert's *Le Matin et le Soir de la Vie* was exhibited a great many years ago at the Royal Academy, I think under the title *Youth and Age*, when it made an impression on me which renewed acquaintance does not quite ratify. It is painted in a somewhat loaded manner, and is perhaps a little theatrical, though it is a powerful work in the style of a past generation. And if the visitor wishes to realise to what depths of vulgarity the vagaries of the 'New Salon' can descend, he can have an object lesson in the preposterous and impudent scrawl by M. Willette

³ It was, perhaps, just this kind of dramatic element in his work which puzzled and alarmed the men of Delacroix's own generation. It seems odd now, but it is the fact, that Delacroix in his own day was considered as a dangerous innovator, who was breaking away from the old traditional classic formulæ of historical painting.

out for enthusiasm than Mr. Orpen's *The Valuvers*, a study of two or three figures of the meanest and most repulsive types of humanity. Is that our progress during the last forty or fifty years, according to the contemporary 'art critic'? From Millais' landscape to Mr. McTaggart's splashes; from Leighton's *Summer Moon* to Mr. Orpen's *Valuvers*? A pretty descent in the period! These amateurs of the ugly and repulsive remind one of Mephistopheles' contemptuous gibe at the habits of mankind, in the *Prologue in Heaven*—

In jeden Quark begräbt er seine Nase.

However, thank goodness, there is not much of the New English Art Club element in this fine and representative collection of the work of living English painters. Not a few are represented each by almost his best work. Mr. Sargent certainly, by his two grand portrait groups—that with the pearl necklace in it, and that with the great yellow (though I do not see how the lady's face in the latter can show it against the sky); Sir E. Poynter by the finest of his large pictures, *Antonia's Pace*, and by that remarkable little work, *The Sirens* (or *The Nymphs*, as it was originally called), a masterpiece of drawing which, as such, will always keep its place; Mr. Holman Hunt by *The Pot of Basil* (not forgetting also that beautiful little work, *Morning Prayer*); Mr. Tuke by his best work, *The Diver*. Then there is Mr. Orchardson's *The Borgia*; Mr. Somerscales's first exhibited sea-painting, *Corvette shortening Sail*; two of the finest of Sir L. Alma-Tadema's works; Mr. Leslie's *In Time of War*, the best example of his later style; and perhaps the very best of Mr. Adrian Stokes's landscapes, exhibited at the Academy a good many years ago under the title (I think) *Changing Pasture*; here called simply *French Landscape*. It is that in a double sense; it is a landscape of the French school, and the best French school; and those who would realise what *style* in landscape means should look at the treatment of nature in this painting; the broad and perfectly effective manner in which the long meadow grass (*laetae segetes*) and the blowing of the wind over it are indicated, without the slightest realism; the consentaneous movement of grass, trees, and cattle, all in one direction, giving such a unity of expression to the picture. It is one of the best landscapes ever exhibited at the Academy, and it is a satisfaction to meet it again.

Style in landscape is shown, too, with equal perfection in the largest of the works of M. Harpignies in the French picture-galleries, in which, as has been said, the selection is less typical and representative than in the English galleries. There are a good many things one does not care much for, and there are eminent painters who are not represented by their best works. Henner, however, appears to advantage in one of his earlier nudes, *Jeune Fille endormie*, painted before he lapsed into that exaggeration of Hennerism in which his figures look as if, like the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan, they had

gives a pretty good *résumé* of what is being done in English architecture, public and domestic, at present. As far as public architecture is concerned, it shows that classic architecture, or architecture based on classic forms, is in the ascendent at present; and there are some signs that new combinations may be evolved from it. For public buildings revived Gothic is entirely at a discount now. And if there must be a revived style, there can be little doubt that the classic type of architecture is more suited to modern public buildings in England than the Gothic, both as regards practical requirements and sentiment. Our civilisation and habits of life are much nearer to those of the Roman or Renaissance periods than to those of mediæval life. There may, no doubt, be such a thing as a modern style evolved which is dependent upon neither form of precedent. But it must be acknowledged that there is not much sign of it in the architectural exhibits at Shepherd's Bush.

Among the more important erections in the grounds is the 'Ville de Paris' pavilion, built for the special exhibition of the Municipality of Paris, and no doubt designed by one of their official architects. Almost needless to say, it is one of the best designed structures in the exhibition; refined classic architecture with some good decorative use of modelled figures in the round and in bas-relief. But, alas! the 'Ville de Paris' is hopelessly unpunctual. In the Dublin exhibition they had their own pavilion, which, a month after the opening of that exhibition, was still closed; and at the time this is written, more than two months after the official opening, the 'Ville de Paris' pavilion is still not ready. Whenever its doors are opened, it will probably be found to be one of the most interesting special exhibitions in the place. Meantime, we can take a glance at the French and English pavilions of 'Applied Arts.' The contents of these do not exactly bear out their name. With one important exception (to be noted just now) they do not represent the work of artists in applied art. If they did, we should feel (patriotically) happier. For no nation is now producing such good work, in such things as jewellery and silver-smith's work, as English artists such as Mr. Fisher, Mr. Nelson Dawson, Miss Steele, and others are doing, combining so much invention with such pure taste. The jewellery of Lalique, about which so much fuss has been made lately, exquisite as it is in execution, is false and tawdry in taste compared with the best English work; the trail of the *article de Paris* is over it all. But it is not in these pavilions that we shall find the jewellery or silver work of the artist. These are *shop* exhibitions; the productions of such firms as Christofle, and Barbédienne, and Mappin and Webb. But it is worth while comparing the results, which are significant. In the French pavilion the one quality which seems to be aimed at before anything else is what may be called movement of line—all things are twisted, convoluted, restless in outline and detail. This is an element of vulgarity, but it cannot be denied

called *Parce Domine* ; apparently a coarse satire on modern life. It is to be hoped that the Committee of the French Section are ashamed of it, as they have skied it. At the New Salon, a year or two ago, it hung on the line, and it is an instance of what journalistic art-criticism has come to with us, that this vulgar caricature (looking like a *Punch* picture magnified to the *n*th power) was praised in some of the leading English journals as a remarkable picture. Apparently nothing is too ugly and *outré* for the modern art-critic ; that it should be ugly and *outré* seems, in fact, to be a positive recommendation.

A general retrospective glance over the whole comparative show of paintings leads to the conclusion that in the eighteenth century, and in the latter part of the nineteenth, the English painters were, and that on the whole they are now, better colourists than the French. There was a ghastly interval, no doubt, when the pictures of the elder *David*, and *Maclise*, and *Ward*, and *Landseer*, passed for colour ;¹ and when the early works of the P.R.B. produced on Philip Hamerton's French wife, when she accompanied him to England, a feeling that she could only compare to 'setting one's teeth into unripe fruit.' Looking round the walls at the Franco-British Exhibition, and taking the average of the two collections, it seems to me that there is better colour, and more of the sense of colour harmony, on this side of the Channel than on the other.

It is worth while to give a glance at the architectural designs to be found in a narrow gallery in each suite. The two collections are characteristic of the two nations. The French architects can hardly be got to exhibit drawings of the current architecture of the day. They produce much finer and larger drawings than are usually produced in England, but these are chiefly of restorations of ancient buildings, or highly worked-up illustrations of them, many of the latter being made for the archives of the 'Commission des Monuments Historiques.' That is always the defect of the architectural gallery at the annual Salons ; you get very little idea from it of the architecture in progress at the moment. On the other hand, at the Academy, hardly anything is supposed to be exhibited in the architectural room except drawings of buildings executed, or in contemplation ; and at the Franco-British Exhibition there is quite a representative collection of drawings of the principal English buildings recently completed, or intended to be carried out. There are illustrations of a good deal of what is going on in London in the way of new street architecture, as well as of such public buildings as the Victoria and Albert Museum, the London County Hall, the Cardiff Town Hall, the new Wesleyan Methodist Hall at Westminster, and other large and important buildings. The collection

¹ This with all deference to Landseer's great and incontestable powers as an animal painter. But his sense of colour was truly Early-Victorian. And after all, M. Aimé Morot's lion in the Franco-British Gallery would eat up any possible lion of Landseer's.

for instance ; and the attempts of Canada to treat the interior of her pavilion in a decorative manner are the worse for their very pretentiousness, and remind one of that dreadful trophy arch which Canada was allowed to erect in Whitehall at the period of the Coronation. The sense of Art will dawn on the Colonial mind some day, no doubt, but the time is not yet.

However, we must not be too superior, for we can be as Philistine ourselves in other ways. Music is also an art, and there are one or two good bands in the grounds. That they should, for the most part, play very poor music is perhaps only what was to be expected in a place of public entertainment in this country. But there is worse than that to be charged against them. One day I heard from a distance the familiar strains of the opening of the *finale* to the C minor Symphony, started by the band in front of the Fine Art pavilion, and moved nearer to hear what they made of it. The first thirty or forty bars were played as far as the end of the intermediate subject (the unison passage leading up to it being absolutely vulgarised by the omission of the *contra tempo* accent which gives it all its force) ; the principal ' second subject ' was omitted entirely, and a jump made to a few bars of the *prestissimo* passage at the end, which concluded the performance. No one seemed disturbed ; no one offered to throw anything at the band-master's head. Is such a piece of Vandalism possible in any other European country ? No ; when we can thus hear Beethoven's grandest *finale* reduced to a *pot-pourri*—

Butchered to make a British holiday—

we realise, in spite of the word ' Franco-British,' that we are in England—very much in England.

H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.

that there is a pervading quality of cleverness, of a certain 'go' about it. In the English pavilion we do not find this element of vulgarity; there is, in a sense, better taste, but unhappily the good taste is entirely of a negative order; the designs are absolutely dull and commonplace. They look as if they might have been designed by machinery, and that at all events cannot be said of the French work. The latter includes some finely modelled bronzes, too, replicas of statuary; and Barbédienne's miniature reproductions of the works of Barye, the great animal sculptor, are distinctly good. But the curious thing is that amid all this shop work there is one unpretending case, which no one looks at, containing purely artistic work of the highest class, exhibited by the French 'Administration des Monnaies et Médailles.' Let visitors to the French Applied Art pavilion look at this work, at the exquisite art displayed in the modelling of the medals by MM. Chaplain, Roty, Bottée, Cariat, and others of the French medal engravers—sculptors on a minute scale—work worth all the other exhibits in the room put together. The right place for such a collection should have been in the sculpture hall, not in a trade exhibition.

The British Textiles pavilion does not show much in the way of artistic work. It is worth notice how far more artistic are the patterns of Manchester goods prepared for the half-civilised races than those for home use. Almost the only two artistic stuffs of the kind are on lay figures of Indian wearers; home taste seems to be content with simple stripes and checks. Among the contents of this pavilion is a little historic exhibition of dresses during the last century, enabling us to realise the hideousness of the mid-Victorian costume, and to see how Emma Woodhouse would have been dressed when she went out to dinner at Randalls. One or two of the dresses of that early Nineteenth Century period are very pleasing, and say much for the taste of the day. Nor does the Women's Work pavilion display anything very noticeable in the way of artistic design; but it presents a contrast between French and English work in one instance, which is characteristic. There is an exhibit of dresses by one or two London firms, which impress one as made of very handsome materials cut into a satisfactory shaping; but in the dresses exhibited by a Biarritz firm one is not struck either by the richness of the materials or by any particular line that the eye can single out, but by a charm which seems undefinable, and to be the result of a kind of happy inspiration rather than of formal design. The contrast is rather a parallel one with that between the contents of the English and French Applied Art pavilions, and serves again to illustrate contrasts of national character and taste.

The Colonial pavilions contain only displays of useful products, and it is curious to observe how completely the artistic instinct, in the method of displaying them and of decorating the buildings, seems wanting here. We have triumphal arches of wool from Australia,

for instance ; and the attempts of Canada to treat the interior of her pavilion in a decorative manner are the worse for their very pretentiousness, and remind one of that dreadful trophy arch which Canada was allowed to erect in Whitehall at the period of the Coronation. The sense of Art will dawn on the Colonial mind some day, no doubt, but the time is not yet.

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It is always the custom to describe a stag as 'the noble animal.' As a great admirer, I regret to say that his nobility is confined to appearance, and does not extend to character. If the truth be told he is a selfish old fellow, much addicted to the pleasures of the table and the harem. He is a dreadful bully to the hinds and young deer; and, though well armed by nature, is a poor fighter save at the season when the lust of the flesh is upon him. Now in satisfying his appetite he does a great deal of damage to crops. Not only what he eats but what he spoils has to be considered. The hunt pays some 1000*l.* a year in compensation, and there are rumours that the sum does not cover all the damage done. Yet the stag, if not a welcome, is usually an unmolested guest. The farmer is very loyal to the hunt, and though he often growls he seldom shoots. And so the stags have the best of everything for years. Some live to a ripe old age, escaping pursuit or at all events capture, in the summer, looking on and laughing when hinds are hunted in the winter. There was an old nodd stag on Dunker, and an old one-horned stag on the Quantocks, well-known characters both, that eluded hounds for years. For even when a stag is hurt it is by no means certain that he will be killed. He has many chances in his favour, as all who follow the hounds know well. It is true that it is the business of those responsible for the hunt to make the odds against him as great as possible. Horses must be fast and fit. Hounds must combine drive with steadiness. The staff must thoroughly understand their work. Then, if luck is with the pursuers, to kill a stag looks easy. It is not really so. I have hunted a great many deer myself, and I cannot remember a day when at some period or other of the chase I did not expect my quarry to escape. In hunting a stag, if you make two mistakes you will probably lose him; you will probably lose a hind if you make one. The deer indeed has many chances. If all fail him, he is killed with as much speed and humanity as possible. He has lived a life of luxury for years, and has a bad half-hour at the end. From his point of view surely the pleasure predominates over the pain. For if it were not for the hunting he would not exist at all. Everyone's hand would be against him. In the middle of last century, when stag-hunting was dropped for a few years, the deer very nearly became extinct. And then it must be remembered that one animal only is killed to provide sport for hundreds. I do not wish to malign other sports. But compare this with the shooting man's bag of pheasants or the fisherman's basket of fish. It is true the hinds are killed. The country would be overrun with deer, were they not. But they have a far longer period of grace before and after the birth of their young than any other hunted animal; and I have never heard of a hind that was not killed being any the worse for being hunted. It is said there is an element of cruelty in all sport. It may be so, and in all life as well. I doubt if any form of sport is less cruel than the chase of the deer.

THE CHASE OF THE WILD RED DEER ON EXMOOR

In an article in this Review, towards the close of the last season on Exmoor, Lord Coleridge described with hereditary eloquence a stag-hunt from the stag's point of view. Reduced to plain prose that article tells how he saw a stag hunted and killed, and how the onlookers, old and young, male and female, lay and clerical, all seemed to enjoy themselves. But the sight spoilt the pleasure of Lord Coleridge's walk. He does not judge us, and asks us to think kindly of him in return.

Now the sport of stag-hunting with the Devon and Somerset is supported by the practically unanimous opinion of the countryside. It attracts hunting men from every county in England, and from many foreign countries; and not hunting men alone, but men distinguished in politics, literature, law, medicine, and the Church. Could they be consulted I believe the deer would support it too. That, I own, is matter of conjecture. The support of the countryside and the field is undeniable, and that support implies that a very large number of good men and women look on stag-hunting as a pursuit which none need be ashamed to enjoy. The object of this article is to show the reasons for that belief. And though sentiment operates quite as strongly on the one side as on the other, I wish at first to treat the matter on the strict Benthamite system: to strike a balance of pains and pleasures.

Let us take the stag first. His size and beauty win for him a degree of sympathy that is not extended to the fox or hare. And an eminent philosopher propounds a curious theory that the cruelty of killing varies with the nearness of the animal killed to man on the ladder of evolution; so that the slayer of a deer is more guilty than the slayer of a fish. This is surely moonshine. It is more reasonable to say that the amount of cruelty varies with the amount of pain inflicted, and I know of no evidence to show that a large animal feels pain more intensely than a small one. In the words of one who was no mean naturalist,

The poor beetle that we tread upon
In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great
As when a giant dies.

stag is hunted in summer when men make holiday. There are no fences to frighten the inexperienced horseman. So many come who hunt at no other time, and many horses are seen that nature did not mean for hunters. Some may see little of the chase, but they enjoy themselves and are the better for it. For Exmoor is a health-giving place; the high air is a tonic second only to that of the Alps. And riding is healthy exercise, whether the rider is close to hounds or far away. Many a pale, tired-looking man have I seen come down in August to go back to chambers or office two months later with face brown and muscles hard, ready for another year's work. There is much truth in Jorrocks's

Better to rove in fields for health unbought
Than fee the doctor for a nasty draught.

There is pleasure in it too, even for those who do not mean to ride hard. They meet friends in that informal way that is characteristic of the hunting field. They picnic at Cloutsham or Haddon while the tufters are at work in the great woodlands; and they are surrounded by some of the most beautiful scenery in the world. There is beauty too in much of the hunting that anyone may see. Stand by the farm at Cloutsham, and watch the scarlet coats of the huntsman and whip moving about the tall fern of Sweetworthy. Now and then a hound is visible in an open space. Then suddenly a great body springs up. The glad notes of the horn, the holloa of a sporting farmer with that shrill note only heard in the West country, and the opening cry of the tufters come to you across the deep combe. You must be made of stone if your pulses do not beat quicker. Or take another scene. I remember waiting one day on the side of one of the deep combes that runs down to Charget Wood. The faint note of hounds in the distance told that a deer was on foot. Suddenly, on the top of the fence deep down in the combe, a great stag appeared. There he stood for a full minute, outlined against the deep green of the trees behind him, as still as the few watchers on the hill above, then backed into the wood again, to reappear a few hundred yards further off and bound away over the heather. 'It is worth coming out just to see that,' said a good sportsman beside me who had ridden fifteen miles to the meet.

And then there is the pleasure of riding to hounds. To many to ride at all is a source of keen enjoyment. But the enjoyment is greatly enhanced when hounds are running. For then the feeling of emulation comes in. The rider is trying to play the game a little better than others; and riding to hounds on Exmoor is not altogether an easy game. The runs are often long enough to tire the best of horses; the hills are steep; the ground is rough. Frequently you cannot ride just where the hounds go. To see all that can be seen of a run you must 'bucket' your horse downhill, you must ease him up, you must

I have tried to show that even from the deer's point of view there is much to be said in favour of stag-hunting. This may be uncertain. But it is quite certain that, when the deer's pain has been considered, the pain side of the account is exhausted. There is absolutely nothing else that can be said against the sport. But there is a great deal that can be said in its favour. As already stated, it is supported by the practically unanimous opinion of the countryside. It may be replied that the motive of the countryside is self-interest. And that is the truth, but not the whole truth. It is perfectly true that the hunting of the deer is the means of bringing a great many thousand pounds into the district every summer. The number of people mounted at a meet in August or September varies from two to five hundred. There are often as many more in carriages or on foot. Nine-tenths of these people are visitors on a summer holiday—not cheap trippers who think they are being done at every turn, but rich trippers who spend money as a man on his holiday should. It is obvious that this annual influx does much to enrich the district. And material prosperity is not to be altogether disregarded. But, apart from that, the moor villager loves the hunting. When the hounds meet at some places the labourers will not work on the farms. They all take holiday to see the sport. The children, when they come out of school, play at stag and hounds in the road. I have even seen the word 'hunting' solemnly entered on a school attendance sheet as an excuse for absence. As a stranger rides home he is surprised at being asked by every passer-by, 'Did you kill to-day?'—an embarrassing question if he has got thrown out. Labourers in the fields leave their work if the hunt goes by. I have known a horse taken from the plough and ridden straight on after hounds. Should a town or village be passed, the population turns out as one man. There is no wish for gain here. It is the instinct of sport, however that may be defined, the thrill and excitement caused by the sight and sound of hounds running, and caused by nothing else. Probably this instinct is lacking in many people. It is almost universal in the West country. And another influence should not be forgotten. The hunt can trace its history for several centuries. It has great traditions behind it; and West country people are proud of their traditions. They are proud also of possessing something which nobody else does. For this stag-hunting is unique. In no other country in the world is a wild red deer hunted over an open country. And so people come from all over the world to see it; and the natives of the country are kind to the strangers, and delight in telling them stories of the hounds and the deer—some true, some maybe not. And if stag-hunting ceased and the deer were shot down, all these things would cease too, and much pleasure would cease with them.

And now we come to the pleasure of the field—that strange field, unlike anything to be met in any other hunting country. For the

alone can say whether he is fit to run or not. But this ought not to happen. Someone ought to be in the right place, not only to see him, but to stop the tufters. And this is even more important than seeing the stag; for if a single tuffer is allowed to go on he spoils the scent when the pack is laid on. For the benefit of the uninitiated it should be explained that only a few old hounds are used as tufters to find the deer; and the rest of the pack does not generally come into play till he breaks covert. These old hounds should obey the voice. There should be no need of whipcord. A Russian master of hounds who was among our visitors one year was more impressed with the ease with which hounds were stopped than with any other part of the day's sport. In all the work that is done before laying on the pack the field takes no part. These preliminaries and the choice of the right moment at which to lay on look easy when all goes right; but they are a science in themselves, and a most interesting science too.

But suppose the preliminaries over, the pack laid on, and the chase begun. Now is the time to see how the young hounds enter. Many of them will dash to the front at first; there is a moment of anxiety when a flock of sheep runs in front of them, for the one unpardonable crime in a staghound is to take the line of a sheep. But there is the keenest delight when two young hounds seem to run the line of the stag for a few yards, then branch off up a narrow path, where the slot shows the stag has gone. So hounds run on through the covert or over the moor, and the horsemen gallop to their heart's content; but presently there is a check at the water. The deer has come to a stream, and gone up or down. And now comes one of the most fascinating features of the pursuit, hunting the water. Perhaps the leading hounds will dash confidently downstream; but an older one, not quite so fast as he was, knows better. He goes up the water very slowly and carefully, sniffing at every bush and overhanging tuft of grass, and at last gives a deep note that proclaims that he is right and those young headstrong fools are wrong. Or perhaps hounds can make nothing of it, and the huntsman has to cast up or down as the spirit moves him. He will send a whip on to try and view the deer, or find out if anyone else has done so. If that succeeds, of course, the task is simple; but if there is no news, hounds must be divided between the two banks of the stream, the stones must be watched to see if there are splashes on them, and bars that cross the river carefully examined for traces of a deer's passage under them. At times enclosed land may be encountered where the huntsman cannot ride, but has to get off and walk. On one occasion a deer took to the Mole near South Molton, and went down the river for seven miles without being seen. At one place a sporting farmer found a hair from a deer's coat on a bar. With that exception there was no sign for all that distance save that hounds did not take a line on either bank. At the end of seven miles they hit the line where he left the water and killed him soon after. On another occasion the

steady him over rough or boggy ground just enough to save a fall, but not too much, or you will be left behind. You must remember the lie of the land to know where you can go, and where you cannot. If you cannot follow hounds exactly you must decide at once whether to go right or left of them; and you must have your eyes very wide open all the time to look for any distant object that may modify your course. In fact you want horsemanship, memory, quickness and eyesight. These are all valuable qualities, as we discovered in South Africa. There one of our generals remarked that a Boer could see about twice as far as an Englishman. An Exmoor training would do much to correct that inequality. But, apart from utility, to excel in these things is what Englishmen enjoy. And they enjoy talking about it all afterwards. In the summary of the pleasures of the chase, the chat on the way home and the discussion in the smoking room after dinner must never be omitted. All these pleasures are hard to analyse, but very real. If it was not so the same people would not return year after year to enjoy them.

So far I have tried to discuss stag-hunting from the point of view of the deer, from that of the countryside, and from that of the field. I think I have already shown that the pleasure resulting from it is far greater than the pain it causes. But the keenest pleasure of all is reserved for the initiated few, the sporting farmers, the old inhabitants, some constant visitors, and those intimately connected with the hunt. To them the ride is a secondary affair. They love the genuine sport, the matching of the endurance and cleverness of hounds and men against those of a very strong and very cunning wild animal. To these every detail of a day's hunting possesses an extraordinary interest and fascination. There is first of all the harbouring. That is one man's work; and he must be a man of the greatest skill and experience, or the day's sport will probably be spoilt. His duty is to tell the master where to find a deer that very likely he has never seen, and what that deer will look like when he is seen. The system on which he works is described in many books; but to see it in detail, and to test whether he is right or wrong, is a bit of woodcraft in which there is infinite variety and interest. Whether the expected stag is there at all, whether he is alone or with other deer, whether he is in the depths of the big covert, or lying in the fern, or in the little copse close by: these are all questions on which the likelihood of a successful day depends. Then, when a deer is roused, there is a time of tense excitement till it is known whether it is the right deer or not. And that only the initiated can tell. For stags are not hunted till they are five years old, and it is no easy matter to tell a stag's age when he is moving and not very close. Even the points on his head are very difficult to count, and some old stags have no points on top at all—a most unkind trap for the unwary. And sometimes a stag will go away without being seen at all, and then the slot

To these difficulties, which are peculiar to stag-hunting, must be added one that is common to all forms of hunting—that is, working out the twists and turns made by the hunted animal, especially when sinking. There are periods in the course of most hunts when the deer seems hopelessly lost. The huntsman knows that he has neither gone to ground nor climbed a tree, and so far has the advantage over his fox-hunting colleague; but, on the other hand, the fox-hunter can draw for another fox, whereas one stag is usually enough for one day. And so it often happens that a deer is an hour or more ahead of hounds. He has then plenty of time to make arrangements for baffling his enemies. Sometimes he will run along a road, then come back on his own tracks, sometimes go up to a fence, but, instead of jumping, run down beside it, either to jump or turn back further on. Sometimes he will make an enormous bound into thick gorse or coppice, and lie there concealed, not moving unless hounds or man come actually to the top of him. But the most perplexing case of all is when a deer beats back on his own tracks for perhaps half a mile. Hounds and horn-men coming on the forward line completely obliterate the scent in the opposite direction. I remember a hind baffling hounds near Cragstone for an hour and a half by that manœuvre. An old hound put her out of a patch of gorse within a few yards of where the whole hunt had come along. It is the slow hunting after a deer a long way ahead that appeals to the old stag-hunter, while it may bore the hard-riding stranger. Every time the line is recovered is a triumph for hounds and huntsman; and when, after long hours of patient work, sometimes under a scorching sun, sometimes in pouring rain, the occasional notes of hounds slowly working out the line suddenly change into the frantic chorus that proclaims a fresh find, the stag-hunter, old or young, gets those few moments of delirious excitement which are the acme of every form of sport. Even then it may not be all over. It is possible that hounds have put up, not the hunted deer, but a fresh one. It may be that those who see the deer cannot be sure; for after a long rest a hunted deer may look quite fresh. Then watch the hounds. If the old hounds, outpaced earlier in the day, are dashing to the front, you may be sure they have a sinking deer in front of them. Some two years ago, on a very hot day, hounds were laid on at Yard Down about three in the afternoon. They ran right across the moor to Lord Lovelace's plantation. There fresh deer were on foot and difficulties ensued. After some time hounds drove a stag up from the depths of the covert. He had two short points on either horn. So had the hunted stag; so have countless others. It was uncertain at first whether this was a fresh deer or not; but when hounds came up after him there were old hounds that had been tufting for three hours in the morning driving at the head of the pack. There was no doubt then, and the stag was killed at Porlock just before dark.

I have tried to describe the fascination and difficulties of hunting a

hunted stag escaped by going straight down a stream and either over or under some bars where it seemed impossible for a deer to pass without leaving some trace. On coming to the bars, hounds were taken back to be cast elsewhere ; but next day news came that the stag had gone straight on.

The water is one of the difficulties to be overcome in hunting a deer. Another and even greater arises from the chance of getting on fresh deer. This may happen in a covert. Hounds may run a line all through, but when they come out a fresh deer is in front of them. Then one of three things may have happened. The hunted stag may have remained in the covert ; he may have gone out in front of the fresh deer ; or he may have gone out somewhere else. Here some of the best hound work may be seen. Frequently the situation is saved by a few old hounds, who stick to the line of the hunted deer when the rest of the pack is after the fresh one. The French hounds are better than ours in this respect. There are in a French pack a certain number of *chiens de change* that will stick to the hunted deer, no matter how many others intervene. We have never got so far as that ; but when I am told that if you want to hunt a second deer in a day the *chiens de change* will not hunt at all. If the hounds cannot put him on the huntsman has to take the situation in hand. He will send one or two men that he can trust to try and slot the deer across any neighbouring road. If there is a stream close by he will take hounds there and cast along the water ; for a hunted deer will probably have gone there. If he can make nothing of it forward his only resource is to go back and draw the covert—a somewhat forlorn hope if there are many deer about. But, great as the difficulties are in covert, they are even greater when hounds come on fresh deer in the open. Then the hunted deer may have joined the herd, or may be ahead of them. Unless someone can get close enough to see, it is impossible to tell which is the case. In any case it is best to stop hounds. Before long the herd will probably stop too. Then someone must be sent on to get as close as possible, and see if he can recognise the hunted deer in the herd. If he is not there the best chance is to cast the nearest stream ahead, and try to hit a line from the water. If he has joined the herd, he may possibly run with them for miles, but probably will leave them before very long. As a rule, a stag will not remain long with a herd of hinds, nor a hind with a herd of stags. The essential thing is that someone should be in the right place to see him when he leaves the herd. I remember one day tufting on the open moor, and rousing a good stag with six hinds. They went away together. I stopped the hounds and sent a whip to ride after the deer. After giving them about five minutes law I let the hounds go. The deer ran together for about two miles ; then on the side of a deepcombe the stag lay down in the fern, while the hinds went on. The whip saw what happened, and the day was saved.

THE NEO-ROYALIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

VERY few readers will, I am sure, glance at this preposterous title without feeling either surprise or distrust. The day is far when the Republican constitution seemed so much a fact of yesterday that it could hardly be expected to be one of to-morrow, when the notion that there is a radical incompatibility between the French temperament and democratic institutions was regarded as an incontrovertible principle, and when you could rouse the whole country by the mere mention of a Royalist plot. Who remembers now that the Republic was actually founded by Royalists, who thought that a few years of that harmless and ephemeral government might give them time to adjust their internal difficulties? Who remembers their disgust, and, soon after, their rage at finding themselves caught in their own snares? What used to be called the Conservative party seems to belong—does, indeed, belong—to a generation gone. The idea that a Duc de Broglie was a Republican Premier seems an absurdity. Nineteen peasants out of twenty ignore the very name of the Duc d'Orléans. Ask the average journalist—nay, the average Deputy—who is the present Royalist leader in Parliament. He will be silent for a minute, and at last will hesitate between two or three names. You could count on the fingers of one hand the Royalists who get themselves returned to the Chamber under their own ticket. Every now and then the *Gaulois* announces that the Duc d'Orléans is cruising in the North Sea, or doing Napoleon's battle-fields under the guidance of a retired general, and all the papers print the news in their fashionable column, but it awakes less interest than the expeditions of the Prince of Monaco. The Legitimist feeling is dead, and the Royalist party gone; nobody deplores that the Pretender is childless.

What interest can the present writer hope to gain to a revival of the monarchist ideal by thus prefacing what he has to say? Who will listen to the praise or dispraise of Orlando's mare?

The fact is that the curious phenomenon to which I would invite attention seems, in its present stage, to be exclusively of speculative import. It is an intellectual rather than a political manifestation,

stag. They must have come home forcibly to all who took part in a run from Cutcombe on October 6, 1906. On that day we started with three stags, and ran them into a wet mist. We emerged after one of them. Then a false holloa gave the stag a long start. After that we twice got on fresh deer. Once a clever bit of slotting set things right. Once a sage old hound stuck to the line of the hunted deer while all his fellows went wrong. Then followed a tortuous line over heathery enclosures. It was all slow hunting, each hound doing his very best. Presently they came to a marshy bottom. We had to go round, and lost sight of them for a few minutes. We were in a country seldom reached by stag-hounds, and had run a thirteen-mile point. We were wondering where we should get to next, when suddenly from the other side of the swamp came the sound of hounds baying. They had come right up to the stag in a pool beside a great beech fence. All was soon over then, and we found it was the biggest of the three that had been roused nearly five hours before. It was a very contented little band that gathered round the fallen monarch. For to kill your deer is success; to lose him is failure; and the greater the difficulties the sweeter the success when it comes.

Such are the pleasures of the chase of the deer; and the memory of these things is pleasant too. The stag roused after a long draw, the quick gallop over the moor, the long check, the fresh find, the last wild rush down the water, and the long ride home, very tired, very wet, very hungry, maybe a little thirsty, but, above all, very happy. Such recollections are dear to many; and with them I make bold to say, the association is not of cruelty, but of good fellowship, good health, great endeavour, and great enjoyment. If any doubt me, let him come and see for himself. The season begins on the 5th of August. *Felix faustumque sit.*

R. A. SANDERS.

their persuasion to write treatises against pontifical interference, and stopped their contribution to Peter's Pence.

A few years of this highly edifying conduct were sufficient to alienate the younger clergy, suddenly become, by a mysterious process, quite democratic in tendency, break up the remnants of the Opposition, and add another element of confusion to the vast seething of appetites, prejudices, and hatreds of which France was unfortunately the scene in the last years of the past century. During the last two Parliaments monarchist opposition has consisted exclusively in teasing the Government by a violent outcry against now their weakness, now their tyranny, their unmanly fear of Germany, or their colonial foolhardiness, against Clémenceau as well as Combes, comfortably irrespective of times, men, and affairs. This childish attitude has long been beneath notice, and the soberer members of the aristocracy as soon as they come in contact with the solid realities of modern life carefully avoid to call themselves more than traditionally monarchists. There are among them several able historians, whose favourite study is natural the France of the kings, but they are sufficiently interested in the past and present to let the future alone.

At the very moment when the Royalist feeling was growing torpid as to seem dormant for ever the Royalist ideals were reappearing in quarters where they were the most unexpected. The tendency of the French youth to speculate, analyse, and generalise has been evident since the days of the early Romanticists. Each successive generation sees dozens of schools of French thought triumph in the Latin quarter. Year after year the final formula of the literary *beau idéal* is discovered by some genius under age, and sounded to the echoes of the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève by a few score of clamorous admirers. Every now and then the public is deceived by all this uproar, and the utterances of a M. Lajeunesse or a M. Saint Georges Bouhélier are discussed in the *Mercure de France* until—the masterpieces designed to illustrate the theories not forthcoming—the theories are superseded by newfangled philosophies of art, and their inventors find themselves old by the time they are five-and-twenty.

One of the most flourishing of these short-lived little sects was undoubtedly one called Neo-Christians, *alias* Buddhists. It had been founded by a most estimable professor at the Collège Stanislas, M. Paul Desjardins, who, while holding the tenets of Christianity too obsolete to be preached, proved by his life and speeches that Christian morals add greatly to a man's elegance. Tolstoism is one of those doctrines which are bound to be re-invented and, to the credit of human nature, relived by many distinguished individuals, as long as the Gospel remains the Book of Mankind. But the moment it becomes a watchword the consequences must always be pretences of all sorts. Goodness is not to be worn by everybody like a fashionable hat. In fact, the disciples of M. Desjardins soon grew weary of playing

but as such it has taken a development which can no longer be left unnoticed.

The old Royalist party was virtually destroyed by the Boulangist catastrophe and by the famous encyclical of Leo the Thirteenth on Republicanism a duty to Catholics. With a very few exceptions the Royalists could never account very clearly for their hopes. They felt sure that the Republic could not last, that was all. The deeply religious Comte de Chambord waited for 'God's hour,' just as the more fatalist Duc d'Orléans still waits for the 'shifting of the wind'; but both Legitimists and Orléanists have never ceased to associate in their minds the Restoration with some sudden transformation of the public spirit. To the typical Royalist nobleman the Republic is a government of underbred individuals, occasionally exposed by an accident like the Panama affair, and caring more for their profits than for their politics. Such a man must feel sure that even the rudest peasant cannot but realise some day the unworthiness of his masters, and, by a natural sequence, go back to his old leaders. Never were hopes of this sort so near their fulfilment as in the eventful summer when General Boulanger declared war on the Government, got elected by thirty constituencies, showed himself in triumph everywhere, and seemed to have only to raise his finger to give the signal for the universal rising. Unfortunately the so-called dictator, who it was confidently asserted in Royalist circles was only a *condottiere* in the Orleans' pay, instead of marching into the Elysée thought it safer to take lodgings in Piccadilly, and the discomfited spectators of this gigantic farce once more sought refuge in their hopes and obscurity. Such a lesson is often lost on men of fifty, but never on their sons, and the younger generation only looked on with sceptical smiles when honest Déroulède made his quixotic gesture, and when the gallant but lamentably light-headed Major Marchand pretended to bestride Boulanger's legendary horse. One great hope of the Royalists had always been the secular alliance of the Throne and the Altar. The doctrine of Divine right had long been taught in the seminaries as one which it bordered upon heresy to deny, and the efforts of Lacordaire, Montalembert, and the rest of the Liberal school have failed to persuade the majority of Catholics that the words Republic and Revolution were not synonymous, and one could be religious without praying for a resurrection of the *ancien régime*. In default of a definite programme, which the Conservative party never boasted of, such a conviction was a powerful bond, and the two hundred members of the Right appeared a rather formidable Opposition. The encyclical of February 1892, which Pope Leo the Thirteenth had designed as the charter of unity, proved the very reverse. The Royalists had appealed to the Pope's authority as long as it seemed to support their policy; the moment they heard that the things of earth ought not to be mixed up with those of heaven, they retired to their country seats to sulk and mope, got the theologians in

of articles and addresses written and delivered by the adherents of the *Action Française*.

This was not at first identified with Royalism proper, but it soon led to it. For the chief enemy of integral nationalism is the revolutionary or individualistic spirit, 'with its crazy habit of introducing the concepts of pure ethics into matters foreign to them.' What are those matters to which pure ethics are foreign? Politics, to be sure. Politics means nothing if it is not facts, realities, and generally existences with which thought and the principles of morals have nothing to do. So, it appears, have reasoned Comte, Renan, Taine, Tocqueville, and the most distinguished intellects of the past century, with which it is certainly most comfortable to side.

But if the worst foe of a nation is the spirit of change, revolution, and untimely morality, its best friend must be the spirit of continuity—that is to say, the instinctive and spontaneous spirit of monarchy. And here again it appeared that the said Taine, Renan, &c., have written numberless pages in perfect distrust of the democratic institutions.

All these discoveries could not but be highly gratifying. In a period when French democracy was quickly drifting towards jingoism, but when speculative socialism was still so much the fashion as to engross a broad mind like that of Anatole France, there was something wonderfully elegant in being suddenly all by one's self and yet able to boast of having the best acquaintances.

Being monarchists was not the sole originality of MM. Maurras, Vaugeois, Moreau, &c. They were monarchists after a decidedly new pattern, by no means to be compared with the traditional and generally provincial Royalist, whose hopeless impotency was evident to the least attentive. The Royalism of M. de Broglie, M. Chesnelong, and their effete descendants had always been tainted with a certain amount of parliamentarism. The new Royalism was purity itself. Only just read M. Bourget's article in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* for the 6th of June; you will know what a principled man means by monarchy. The reader ought to know that M. Bourget was one of the first converts to integral nationalism: even the most superficial reading of those irritating books *L'Étape* and *L'Émigré* would make one suspect that there is some radical doctrine running under the tale. But M. Bourget's royalism is of the most radical description. The whole school holds that parliamentarism is the root of all evil, and that the prince ought to be completely uncontrolled; but M. Bourget traces all the corruptions of our system back to the elective fallacy. Wherever there is an election (M. Bourget forgets the Pope and himself as a member of the French Academy) there is essential wrong, as the principle of election or selection is the choice of the ablest by the least able, which is a *prima facie* absurdity. Consequently the new monarchy should avoid both the mistakes and the ill fate of its pre-

at asceticism, and retreated on the lower planes of politics and literature, where they professed themselves individualists and Ibsenites.

The common dogma of all Rousseauesque varieties is the superiority of the individual over society, of impulse over authority, and of the intimately felt over the artificially superimposed. The Dreyfus affair becoming the all-ruling interest just when Tolstoism was passing into individualism, on which side were the youthful individualists likely to be? Naturally on the side of the wronged individual against the oppressive collectivity, tribunals, codes, &c. So M. Desjardins's congregation was violently Dreyfusist.

It was all very well as long as Dreyfusism only meant the innocence of Captain Dreyfus; but the purely judicial case soon became, as everybody remembers, a political affair, in which individualism, *i.e.* in most cases, prejudices of all sorts and ugly appetites—could find itself free scope. It is a most unfortunate fact that the direct political offspring of Dreyfusism was M. Combes's Thirty Months' Terror, with its expulsions and confiscations, with General André's rage and M. Pelletan's methodical disorganisation of the Navy, wholesale anti-militarism and anti-patriotism.

These untoward results did not become manifest until the panic which caused M. Delcassé to be thrown overboard, but they had been foreseen by many who saw that France was at stake. Then it was that, according to a well-informed but undoubtedly biased historian of Neo-Royalism—M. Maurras—the individualist club which had gone on analysing, generalising, and respectfully realising their inward modifications became aware—at least some of its members did—that they had been helping in a dreadfully negative work, and, by one sudden impulse, went round from the pole of individualism to the extreme of Neo-Royalism, where they seem to have been fairly pleased with themselves ever since. They were led by two young men—MM. Vaugois and Moreau—whose names are very well known at present, but whose talents never appeared of the first order, and their reasoning—for without reasoning they do nothing—was as follows:

Individualism—so they reasoned—is after all lawlessness, and lawlessness is only the chance, not of clever young Frenchmen who have an undisputed right to come through, but above all of a set of nondescripts, Hebrews, and *mâtèques*¹ of all sorts who push themselves forward and help themselves to the best of everything in the country. To this unendurable consequence of individualism there is only one remedy. The nation must rise against the individual and crush him under its weight. Everything must be judged from the standpoint of national welfare and, when necessary, sacrificed to it. This was the first principle of what was called conscious integral nationalism, and since the first months of 1898 it has been the key-note of thousands

¹ The word is of M. Maurras's coining and seems rather a felicitous insult. The Neo-Royalists apply it to all aliens trying to pass themselves off as Frenchmen.

—the signs are even more remote than they were five years ago—possibly in consequence of a war, or of financial mismanagement, a discontent which might result in a change of constitution. To this revolution the *Action Française* would give its individual assistance, but it never could force its principles upon those who took advantage of it. Nobody can tell whether there will ever be a Restoration in France, nor in whose behalf, but one can confidently assert that the monarch will not be the Absolute First imagined by the *Action Française*. Switzerland is surely a better type of the future organisations than Russia.

Probably when M. Maurras and his friends have spoken for a few years of their General, his conscience, and his duties, some other fad¹ will take possession of the raw imaginations of the young and the violent, and the daily *Action Française* will shrink back into original weekly, and one more political farce, less contemptible some ways than many others, will have been played out.

The tone in which M. Lamy and the Marquis de Vogüé, in the orthodox organ of the Royalist aristocracy, *Le Correspondant*,² the claims of M. Maurras to dictate to them as he does show that, in spite of its official communications with the Duc d'Orléans, the *Action Française* preserves in clear-sighted eyes its primitive character of a literary club with rather original pretensions to elegant anarchism.

ERNEST DIMNET.

² See *Correspondant*, 10 June, 1908.

deceivers by being more absolute than any of them. This, you will perceive, is only absurd in practice, and the philosopher is exclusively concerned with the theoretical.

Another feature of the scientific royalism is its complete independence of any religious ideas. The great prophet of the school, M. Maurras, has always been and still is a confessed atheist. He has learned of late to refrain from indulging in a certain elegant profanity to which he used to be much addicted, but he is too proud of his conceptions to sacrifice any of them, and one is rather confused to see at the Royalist Institute—a sort of private university in which the scientific methods of the school are propounded—a chair filled by a priest commenting on the *Syllabus* beside another devoted to the crudest positivism.

This is not all. The same logic and fearless originality distinguish the practical politics of M. Maurras. It is useless, he argues, to try to persuade the electorate that self-destruction is their unique chance. The lower classes ought to be treated as non-existent. All the effort of the enlightened minds should be to create in the higher ranks a system of incipient convictions from which some general—M. X., they always call him—can start to do away forcibly with the present Republican corruption. Dozens of generals might do for this work; but it is enough if the conscience of one should clearly show him his duty. The *coup d'état*, in the present state of France, is the sole remedy, but it may take time to impress its necessity upon those who alone can make it a reality. The *Action Française* has no other aim than the preparation of a man and a day.

These are the rough outlines of the Neo-Royalist doctrine as set forth in an already voluminous library of books, tracts, and papers. None of its champions, not even M. Maurras, who, however, is above the average journalist, is very remarkable either as a thinker or writer; yet there is in everything that comes from those quarters a tone of decision, something positive and almost steely, which, in default of all magnetism and sympathy, is a power in itself. Those self-contented doctrinaires enjoy their invention and its paradoxicalness with a contagious satisfaction. Young men are undoubtedly strongly drawn towards them; for a few years there will be a sense of distinction in being a Royalist at the beginning of the twentieth century, as there used to be in being a socialist. Many uncultivated minds too—for which brute strength is a charm—will go the same way without much minding the beautiful arrangement of the esoteric system. Certainly the *Action Française* as a movement is a success; the quite recent foundation by the group of a daily paper is another proof that it appeals to a comparatively large audience.

But its future is precarious. What are twenty or thirty thousand men, most of them at halfway between the ordinary voter and those who influence him, in the ocean of French opinion? There may be

also with their religious opinions, and if he were dissatisfied with these, if he detected a Jansenist heresy or an attack upon the Jesuits, or if he fancied a coolness towards himself or his favourites, inflicted punishment as one might punish a troublesome child. Here are two summary orders of Louis the Fifteenth and Louis the Sixteenth; a third concerns the carrying of coals.

Lettre de cachet. Personnelle

Mons. Duval de Beauvais, je vous fais cette lettre pour vous dire que mon intention est que vous sortiez de la ville de Paris dans le jour sans voir ni parler à personne, vous défendant d'approcher de ladite ville plus près que de deux lieues, à peine de désobéissance. Sur ce, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, Mons. Duval de Beauvais, en sa sainte garde. Ecrit à Versailles le 24 may 1771.

Phélypeaux.

LOUIS.

Lettre de cachet du 14 Août 1787

Mons. N—— je vous fais assavoir que vous aiez à rester chez vous, à quitter Paris dans vingt quatre heures, et à vous rendre dans quatre jours à Troyes où je vous ferai connaître mes intentions. Sur ce, je prie Dieu, Mons. N——, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde. À Versailles ce 14 Août 1787.

Le Baron de Breteuil.

The paternal tone of the letters is apparent, and also the French in which they are couched. The punishment inflicted does not seem to have been severe; in the case of M. Duval de Beauvais, his exile from Paris was of short duration, for he was soon reinstated in his old posts at the Châtelet. He does not appear to have appreciated the interest shown in him, for a few years later there is an official entry against his name, 'S'est pendu.'

The accusations made against persons sent to the Bastille, as given in the registers, were diverse, and appear to modern ideas strange indeed. 'Pour la Religion' accounts apparently for more than half the prisoners. Such a phrase easily covers a variety of religious misdemeanours. Thus we find as causes of detention such charges as 'Mauvais Catholique' (this charge occurs on every page), 'De la Religion prétendue réformée' is also frequent. Then we have 'Accusé d'être quêtiste,' 'Accusé d'être Janseniste,' 'Pour Libelles contre les Jésuites.' An Irish Jacobin priest is imprisoned as 'Fou furieux.' L'Abbé Primi, an Italian who had been persuaded into writing the life of Louis the Fourteenth, but whose history did not gain the royal approval, was sent to the Bastille, his book suppressed, his papers seized. Fréret, who ventured to publish a study on the origin of the Franks in 1714, in which he challenged the views then current, was also sent to the Bastille. Paulet, a distinguished man of science, one of the first members of L'Académie de Médecine, narrowly escaped a like fate, for having taught that small-pox was contagious! The Abbés who took part in the *Encyclopædia* were not only censured by the Sorbonne, but one of them had to leave the country, another expiated his fault in the Bastille. Year after year the charges against

THE BASTILLE

THE chance traveller, some fifty years since, alighting at a small Yorkshire town, and inquiring his way to the best inn, might very probably have had this conundrum given him for answer, in all good faith, to enlighten his ignorance. He would be told to 'Goo oop bāa stille.' Reflection and further inquiry would interpret the meaning, that he must go up past the Workhouse. Carlyle, in a memorable passage in his *Past and Present*, tells us how the picturesque tourist on any autumn day through this bounteous realm of England found the Union Workhouse on his path. 'Passing by the Workhouse of St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, on a bright day last autumn,' says the picturesque tourist, 'I saw, sitting on wooden benches in front of their Bastille and within their ring-wall and its railings, some half hundred or more of these men.'

Readers of Carlyle may not generally know that his expressive epithet was the common name given by the rough, independent Yorkshire workman to that which he loathed most on earth, a name suggestive of the most gross injustice, but also of assault and final disappearance.

It is the fashion to-day to suggest that the Bastille was a grand fortress belonging to the Crown, a sort of Tower of London, where inconvenient persons were temporarily lodged at their sovereign's expense; where there was an undoubtedly good cook who sent up pleasant little dinners for three or even four persons; where visitors came and went freely, where the Governor himself entertained you if your reputation entitled you to such an honour, and where on the whole it was not unpleasant to be forced to reside if you had a poem or a play on hand, or wished to launch a political satire. Possibly even a short sojourn in the Bastille was a distinction in its way, much as an execution or two for high treason, amongst the members of a great house in Tudor times, marked its importance and doubtless raised it in the estimation of the vulgar crowd.

We know now all that needs to be known about the famous sealed letters, or *Lettres de Cachet*. We know that they did not always conduct their recipients to the Bastille. A *Roi Soleil*, if he took upon himself the material interests of his courtiers, concerned himself

received a design for a grand monument to be erected, where the Bastille once stood, with the inscription 'to Louis the Sixteenth, who gave his people liberty.'

The terror of the great prison was the arbitrary nature of the imprisonment for acts or beliefs which were not properly offences against the law, for the dark secrecy that prevailed, for the impenetrable mystery that enveloped the unhappy prisoners, who were in the absolute power of the Governor, upon whose character for clemency and justice everything depended. While the horror of being forgotten and left to perish darkened hope.

As to the fate of the unfortunates imprisoned in the underground dungeons, Dr. Rigby, a well-known physician of Norwich, can enlighten us. He, with three travelling companions, entered Paris on the evening of the 7th of July 1789. He was in Paris at the fall of the Bastille, though he did not actually witness the surrender, and was present at the historic scene of the deliverance of the prisoners. History tells us that in consequence of the hot public feeling about the Bastille, prisoners had been sent away to other prisons, so that the time of the fall seven only remained in the fortress.

Dr. Rigby, writing home to his wife and daughters, gives a description of how in the Rue St. Honoré they first perceived a crowd advancing towards the Palais Royal bearing aloft some huge keys, a flag, and a paper on which was written, 'La Bastille est prise, et les portes sont ouvertes.' 'A sudden burst of the most frantic joy instantaneously took place,' he says. The crowd shouted, wept, laughed; the Englishmen were recognised and seized and embraced; the people shouting 'Now we are free as you.' The crowd swept by, and was quickly followed by another even larger. Its approach was heralded by loud and triumphant acclamations with an undertone of angry and defiant murmurs. The Englishmen were soon horrified to see two gory heads borne aloft on pikes. Many of the onlookers fled in alarm, and the night that followed was an anxious one. Guns were continually fired from different parts of the city, and the tocsin sounded unceasingly. The Englishmen retired to their lodgings, and found next day that the Parisians had spent the night in felling trees and throwing them across the principal thoroughfares, while the stone pavements had been removed and carried as ammunition to the tops of the houses.

On the morning of the 15th of July, Dr. Rigby and his friends were again in the streets, and again were led by the sound of an approaching crowd to the end of the Rue St. Honoré.

There (he says) I witnessed a most affecting spectacle. Two wretched victims of the detestable tyranny of the old Government have just been discovered, and taken from some of the most obscure dungeons of this horrid castle, and were being conducted by the crowd to the Palais Royal. One of these was a little feeble old man. He exhibited an appearance of childishness

prisoners are found to be 'Pour la religion, Janséniste'; 'Convulsionnaire,' or 'Prétendu Convulsionnaire,' or 'Jansénistes convulsionnaires,' in the case of a man and his wife. We know that Voltaire had a taste of the Bastille, and in his story of *L'Ingénu* he describes at some length the life as it might be of two prisoners—*L'Ingénu* himself and an elderly Jansenist.

What then was that life? We have enough evidence before us in these days to be sure of the truth. It must first be admitted that the Bastille was 'a Paradise' in comparison with the prisons of Bicêtre or of the Châtelet, which were under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris. There was, however, one highly important distinction, that whereas the prisoners of the city had to be tried and convicted, with many formalities of arrest and accusation, the mere signature of an individual consigned to the Bastille.

The Bastille as a prison was apparently better kept and cleaner than either Bicêtre or the Châtelet, and imprisonment within its walls did not, it would seem, dishonour the prisoner or his family. A great number of prisoners were charged as mad; and under this elastic term the lunatic, the ambitious madman, the young spendthrift, the adventurer, the searcher for the philosopher's stone or the secret of perpetual motion—all these tiresome persons—might be and were included.

How then did these prisoners live? In the underground cells or dungeons, as in the cells in the towers, the prisoners were on bread and water as a rule; in the other rooms in the main building, three meals were served a day with drinkable wine—'vin potable.' In certain cases, according to the quality and distinction of the prisoner, he might supplement the meagre furniture of his prison and get a provision of books. Very favoured persons were allowed their own servant, if he would consent voluntarily to undergo confinement. Voltaire began to write the *Henriade*, as prisoner in the Bastille; l'Abbé Morellet of the *Encyclopædia* speaks of the great fortress as the cradle of his fame; but we must remember that it was perhaps not advisable to say much about the Bastille when you were still living within its walls, and that as M. Mouin has reminded us, 'the old Spartans offered sacrifices to Fear.' Prisoners, moreover, had to sign on their release an elaborate declaration by which they swore never to divulge, directly or indirectly, anything they might have learnt as prisoners concerning the Bastille.

M. Linguet, however, who had been a prisoner under Louis the Sixteenth, and had signed his declaration like the others, published a *Memorial of the Bastille*, from London. In this he only voiced the demand of the people for the demolition of the fortress. Suggestions had been long made as to the buildings and streets which should be made upon the site when the old castle came down, and some five weeks only before the actual demolition the Academy of Architecture

Mr. Bernard Shaw, with his 'Dilemma,' and one or two fashionable doctors to keep him company. Court poets and painters would certainly be spending week-ends to revise verses and paintings. Mr. Stead and Mr. Chesterton might be let off with a threatening—but Father Vaughan would have a few months there for his attack on Society, and surely there would be delegates from the principal suffrage societies—'Suffragettes Convulsionnaires.' It would turn London into a really dull city.

Surely our fathers were right when they danced round the Tree of Liberty, and we do wrong to-day to scoff at their enthusiasms and at the freedom they won for us.

E. B. HARRISON.

and fatuity ; he tottered as he walked, and his countenance exhibited little more than the smile of an idiot. The other was a tall and rather robust old man ; his countenance and figure interesting in the highest degree. He walked upright with a firm and steady gait ; his hands were folded and turned outwards ; his face was directed towards the sky, but his eyes were but little open. Had he really been, as I was told, two and forty years shut up in one of those cells where the light of heaven is denied an entrance, it is easy to explain why his eyes were so little open. He had a remarkably high forehead, which with the crown of his head was completely bald ; but he had a very long beard, and on the back of his head the hair was unusually abundant, exhibiting a singularity which had the appearance of a disease not unknown to the human species, called the 'Plica Polonica.' It had grown behind to an incredible length, and, not having been combed, it had become matted together, and divided into two long tails very much resembling the tail of a monkey. These tails, I should suppose would have nearly reached the ground, but as he walked he supported them on one of his arms. His dress was an old, greasy, reddish tunic ; the colour and the form of the garb were probably some indication of what his profession or rank had been ; for we afterwards learned that he was a Count d'Auche, that he had been a major of cavalry, and a young man of some talent, and that the offence which he had sustained this long imprisonment had been his having written a pamphlet against the Jesuits. . . . Perhaps to some persons I should be blamed to acknowledge it, but you will not think the worse of me ; I was not able to bear the sight, I turned from the crowd. I burst into tears.

The names of the two prisoners thus conducted through the streets have never been absolutely ascertained, though it is fairly certain that one of them was the Count d'Auche. According to the *Moniteur* of the 24th of July, seven prisoners in all were released. The account given by Dr. Rigby of what he and his friends saw is enough to convince us that men were thrown into the Bastille on the flimsiest pretences without trial, that they lay there for long years without hope of justice as without legal sentence ; that they were forgotten, or that it was deemed impolitic to release them. We may be quite sure that the Count d'Auche was not invited by the Governor to dine, or allowed to play bowls on the famous bowling green !

Voltaire was himself, as we know, a prisoner in the Bastille, and in his defence of General Lally complains bitterly that the General was confined there without trial for fifteen months. If he began his *Henriade* in the solitude of the fortress, he has left us his true opinion of it in the well-known lines quoted in *L'Ingénu* :

De cet affreux château, palais de la vengeance,
Qui renferme souvent le crime et l'innocence.

It would be an easy and a pleasant pastime to make a selection of distinguished English men and women who would be eligible for the Tower, if that delightful haunt of American tourists and children served as a Bastille, and it would help us to understand why the *ancien régime* found it so useful.

All the new theologians would have to go—agnostic or otherwise. Mr. Wells would certainly have a suite reserved for him, as would

Considering that in that age Horace was the favourite study of politicians and the chosen ornament of their speeches, it is surprising that they failed to recognise the poet as described by Horace when they came across him, or at any rate refused to accept Horace's assurance of his entire harmlessness. For Wordsworth and Coleridge fell under suspicion as French spies or English revolutionaries or both, and a detective was sent down from London on purpose to watch them.

It has always been a matter of surprise that so much suspicion should have attached to them. For even if Coleridge did hold Radical views, nothing more harmless than their life in Somersetshire can be imagined. Coleridge with his wife and baby took a little cottage at Stowey in January 1797. In July, Wordsworth and his sister Dorothy paid them a visit there, and during that time heard of a house to let at Alfoxton, and took it at once. It was a large house—Dorothy Wordsworth calls it a mansion—and the Wordsworths were allowed to have it at the nominal rent of 23*l*. Evidently, the object was simply to keep it inhabited and habitable while the owner was a minor.

The two Wordsworths and Coleridge lived in the closest association. 'We are three people but only one soul,' said Coleridge. The two poets were each writing or putting the finishing touch to a tragedy; they were also writing the lyrics which were published in *Lyrical Poems and Ballads*; and Dorothy Wordsworth's Journal—printed in Professor Knight's *Life of Wordsworth*—shows them constantly roaming about the country at all seasons and in all weathers and making studies of Nature in every aspect and mood. The journal shows at once how extraordinarily subtle and precise was their observation of Nature, and how directly it was used as matter for their poetry. Here is a typical entry: '18th (March 1797).—The Coleridges left us. A cold, windy morning. Walked with them half-way. On our return, sheltered under the hollies during a hail shower. The withered leaves danced with the hail stones. William wrote a description of the storm.'

Compare Coleridge's own account: 'My walks were almost daily on the top of Quantock and among its sloping coombes. With my pencil and memorandum book in my hand, I was *making studies*, as the artists call them, and often moulding my thoughts into verse with the objects and imagery immediately before my senses.'²

They had a fair number of friends and visitors. Stowey was the home of Thomas Poole, an active politician and philanthropist, and a warm friend and kind helper of Coleridge. Cottle the publisher and Southey could easily come over to see them from Bristol. Lloyd lived with Coleridge for part of the time; Sir James Mackintosh and Charles Lamb were occasional visitors, and Hazlitt has left a very striking description of a visit to Stowey and Alfoxton. A visitor

² *Biographia Literaria*, 1847, vol. i. p. 200.

WORDSWORTH, COLERIDGE, AND THE SPY

Hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas
Virtutes habeat sic collige : vatis avarus
Non temere est animus ; versus amat, hoc studet unum ;
Detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet ;
Non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo ; vivit siliquis et pane secundo ;
Militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi.¹

Had he had the gift of prophecy he could not have written a more accurate description of the life which Wordsworth and Coleridge led together during the year of productiveness which brought forth *Lyrical Poems and Ballads*. There never were two men less concerned about money-making or more whole-heartedly devoted to poetry. As for their fare and their indifference to the minor misfortunes of life, everyone will remember Cottle's story of his visit to Alfoxton. The provisions laid in for the supper of the company were bread and cheese, lettuces, and a bottle of brandy. On the way the cheese was stolen by a tramp ; the brandy bottle fell out of the cart and broke ; and in the end the party supped with philosophic cheerfulness off bread and lettuces alone, without salt, for the servant had forgotten to buy any. It is true that Wordsworth's military qualities were never tested ; but Coleridge had served for some months in a cavalry regiment, where he had distinguished himself by incapacity either to groom or to ride his horse.

¹ Or, in Pope's imitation :—

' Yet, sir, reflect ; the mischief is not great ;
These madmen never hurt the Church or State.
Sometimes the folly benefits mankind,
And rarely avarice taints the tuneful mind.
Allow him but his plaything of a pen,
He ne'er rebels or plots like other men.
Flight of cashiers or mobs he'll never mind,
And knows no losses while the muse is kind.
Enjoys his garden and his book in quiet,
And then a perfect hermit in his diet.
Of little use the man you may suppose
Who says in verse what others say in prose ;
Yet let me show a poet 's of some weight
And though no soldier useful to the State.'

ing on the hills towards the Channel and along the shore, with books and papers in his hand, taking charts and maps of the country?' This clearly points to their being suspected as spies rather than as democrats, and the stories which Coleridge's friend and publisher Cottle tells in his *Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey* (1847, p. 181) also suggest that it was the habits and behaviour of the poets rather than any political views which they were known to hold that had alarmed their neighbours.

The wisecracks of the village had, it seemed, made Mr. Wordsworth the subject of their serious conversation. One said that 'He had seen him wander about by night and look strangely at the moon! and then he roamed over the hills like a partridge.' Another said, 'He had heard him mutter as he walked in some outlandish brogue that nobody could understand!' Another said, 'It's useless to talk, Thomas, I think he is what people call a "wise man"' (a conjuror). Another said, 'You are everyone of you wrong. I know what he is. We have all met him tramping away towards the sea. Would any man in his senses take all that trouble to look at a parcel of water? I think he carries on a snug business in the smuggling line, and in these journeys is on the look for some *wet* cargo!' Another very significantly said, 'I know that he has private still in his cellar, for I once passed his house at a little better than hundred yards distance, and I could smell the spirits, as plain as a faggot at Christmas!' Another said, 'However that was, he is a desperate French Jacobin, for he is so silent and dark that no one ever hears him say one word about politics.'

The gentleman who gave information to the Government is said to have been Sir Philip Hale, of Cannington;⁴ but according to a letter of Southey's,⁵ General Peachey claimed a few years afterwards to have had a hand in the affair.

August 28th, 1805.

General Peachey spoke of the relationship with us: he said of me and Wordsworth that however we might have got into good company, he might depend upon it we were still Jacobins at heart, and that he believed he had been instrumental in having us looked after in Somersetshire. This refers to a spy who was sent down to Stowey to look after Coleridge and Wordsworth. This fellow, after trying to tempt the country people to tell lies, could collect nothing more than that the gentlemen used to walk a good deal upon the coast, and that they were what they call 'poets.' He got drunk at the inn and told his whole errand and history, but we did not till now know who was the main mover.

It is not surprising that the accounts given of this affair have been looked upon with much suspicion by biographers. The idea that Wordsworth and Coleridge should ever have been taken for dangerous characters—still more for French spies—seems too ridiculous to be seriously entertained. And the authority is by no means first-rate. The story was not published till 1847, fifty years after the incident happened, and apart from Southey's letter it rests entirely on Coleridge's authority; for Cottle says in so many words that he

⁴ See *A Group of Englishmen*, by E. Meteyard, p. 78.

⁵ *The Life and Correspondence of Southey*, Vol. ii. p. 343.

better known at the time than either of these was Thelwall, the notorious democrat, who had lately been tried for high treason. He was visiting at Alfoxton on the 18th of July 1797. In fact he wanted to settle in the neighbourhood, but this his friends strongly discouraged, foreseeing that his constant presence would cause trouble for all of them; and Coleridge had to write and tell him that it would not do.

The greater part of our information about the spy incident comes from Coleridge, who told the story as he knew it in his *Biographia Literaria*.³

The dark guesses of some zealous *Quidnunc* met with so congenial a soil in the grave alarm of a titled Dogberry of our neighbourhood, that a spy was actually sent down from the Government *pour surveillance* of myself and friend. There must have been not only abundance but variety of these 'honourable men' at the disposal of Ministers, for this proved a very honest fellow. After three weeks truly Indian perseverance in tracking us (for we were commonly together), during all which time seldom were we out of doors, he contrived to be within hearing (and all the while utterly unsuspected; how indeed could such a suspicion enter our fancies?), he not only rejected Dogberry's request that he would try yet a little longer, but declared to his belief that both my friend and myself were as good subjects, for aught he could discover to the contrary, as any in his Majesty's dominions. He had actually hid himself, he said, for hours together behind a bank at the sea-side (our favorite resort), and overheard our conversation. At first he fancied that we were aware of our danger; for he often heard me talk of one *Spy Nozy*, which he was inclined to interpret of himself and of a remarkable feature belonging to him; but he was speedily convinced that it was the name of a man who had made a book and lived long ago. Our talk ran most upon books, and we were perpetually desiring each other to look at this, and listen to that; but he could not catch a word about politics. Once he had joined me on the road (that occurred as I was returning home alone from my friend's house, which was about three miles from my own cottage), and passing himself off as a traveller, he had entered into conversation with me, and talked of purpose in a democrat way in order to draw me out. The result, it appears, not only convinced him that I was no friend of Jacobinism, but (he added), I had plainly made it out to be such a silly as well as a wicked thing that he felt ashamed though he had only *put it on*. I distinctly remembered the occurrence, and had mentioned it immediately on my return, repeating what the traveller with the Bardolph nose had said, with my own answer; and so little did I suspect the true object of my 'tempter ere accuser' that I expressed with no small pleasure my hope and belief that the conversation had been of some service to the poor misled malcontent. This incident therefore prevented all doubt as to the truth of the report, which through a friendly medium came to me from the master of the village inn, who had been ordered to entertain the Government gentleman in his best manner, but above all to be silent concerning such a person being in his house.

It was not clear from this what were the precise points about the poets' behaviour that had aroused suspicion; but Coleridge refers a little later to his friend the landlord having been questioned as to their habit of roaming about the hills—'Has he not been seen wander-

unfortunately incomplete; but enough remains to throw a flood of light on the details of the whole affair.

The first letter of complaint has not been preserved, but the subsequent correspondence shows that it was addressed to the Duke of Portland, who was then Home Secretary, by Dr. Lysons, of Bath, on the 8th of August 1797. No doubt the original was given to the detective employed, and no copy kept. On the 11th of August Dr. Lysons addressed a supplementary letter to the Home Office. This also was sent to the detective, but a copy was kept in the Home Office. It is docketed, 'Copy of Mr. Lysons' second letter to the Duke of Portland,' and is as follows:—

Bath, 11 Aug 1797.

MY LORD DUKE,—On the 8th instant I took the liberty to acquaint your Grace with a very suspicious business concerning an emigrant family, who have contrived to get possession of a Mansion House at Alfoxton, late belonging to the Revd. Mr. St. Albyn, under Quantock Hills. I am since informed, that the Master of the House has no wife with him, but only a woman who passes for his Sister. The man has Camp Stools, which he and his visitors take with them when they go about the country upon their nocturnal or diurnal excursions, and have also a Portfolio in which they enter their observations they have been heard to say were almost finished. They have been heard to say they should be rewarded for them, and were very attentive to those near them—probably the River coming within a mile or two of Alfoxton from Bridgewater. These people may possibly be under Agents to some principal at Bristol.

Having got these additional anecdotes which were dropt by the person mentioned in my last I think it necessary to acquaint your Grace with them, and have the honor to be &c.

D. LYSONS.

The next paper in the series is a report from the detective employed by the Home Office. It is addressed to Mr. J. King, then Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Bear Inn, Hungerford, Berks: 11 Aug 1797.

SIR,—Charles Mogg says that he was at Alfoxton last Saturday was a week, that he there saw Thomas Jones who lives in the Farm House at Alfoxton, who informed Mogg that some French people had got possession of the Mansion House and that they were washing and Mending their cloaths all Sunday, that He Jones would not continue their as he did not like It. That Christopher Trickie and his Wife who live at the Dog pound at Alfoxton, told Moggs that the French people had taken the plan of Their House, and that They had also taken the plan of all the places round that part of the Country, that a Brook runs in the front of Trickie's House and the French people inquired of Trickie whether the Brook was Navigable to the Sea, and upon being informed by Trickie that It was not, They were afterwards seen examining the Brook quite down to the Sea. That Mrs. Trickie confirmed everything her husband had said. Mogg spoke to some other persons inhabitants of that Neighbourhood, who all told him they thought these French people very suspicious persons and that They were doing no good there. And that was the general opinion of that part of the country. The French people kept no Servant, but They were visited by a number of persons, and were frequently out upon the heights most part of the Night.

Mogg says that Alfoxton lays about Twelve miles below Bridgewater and within Two Miles of the Sea. Mogg says that he never spoke to Doctor Lysons, but that a Woman who is Cook to the Doctor had lived fellow Servant

got his information from Coleridge. Coleridge's own account of his knowledge is that it came to him 'through a friendly medium . . . from the master of the village inn, who had been ordered to entertain the Government gentleman,' or, in other words, he only knew what someone else told him that the innkeeper had said. It is clear that he would himself have been suspicious of the story if it had not been confirmed by the incident of his conversation on Jacobinism with the spy. Add to this that Wordsworth himself had never heard of the affair until the *Biographia Literaria* was published, fifty years after; and that Coleridge has a bad reputation as an historical authority. His sons say of him (in the biographical sketch prefixed to *Biographia Literaria*): 'It is true that on a certain class of subjects it (his memory) was extraordinarily confused and inaccurate; matter of fact, as such, laid no hold on his mind. . . . A certain infidelity there was doubtless in the mirror of his mind, so strong was his tendency to overlook the barrier between imagination and actual fact.' No wonder, then, that, as Professor Knight says, 'the story of the spy has been deemed apocryphal by many persons,' and that sober scholars handle it very delicately. It is only the independent attestation afforded by Southey's letter that prevents them from rejecting it entirely.

But though the bare fact that a spy was sent is thus established, most people are agreed in rejecting Coleridge's account of what passed. 'Most of Cottle's stories of the suspicions excited in the neighbourhood by the poets' goings on, and much of Coleridge's own account of the spy's proceedings wear a dubious complexion,' says Mr. Campbell in his admirable *Life of Coleridge*. The biographers find an explanation of the surprising fact in the presence of Thelwall in the neighbourhood and his visits to Wordsworth and Coleridge. Wordsworth himself was of this opinion; and it has been generally accepted. Very reasonably, upon the information then existing; for it seems too ridiculous to imagine that Government would trouble to send a spy into Somersetshire because the country-people suspected some dark design concealed under the eccentricities, the country rambles, and the commonplace books of two poets; but it is not unnatural that the visits of a man who had just been tried for high treason should bring suspicion on his hosts.

But happily for the humours of literature, further information is now available which goes directly counter to the rationalising tendencies of this scientific age, and restores to authentic literary history—in substance, at any rate—the old version which is so attractive to every reader of *Biographia Literaria*. Some of the original correspondence as to the surveillance of Wordsworth and Coleridge is preserved in the Home Office records for the year 1797.⁷ It is

⁶ See his note to the *Anecdote for Fathers*.

⁷ Vol. 137—Domestic, Geo. III., 1797.

Stowey: 16th Augt 1797.

SIR,—The inhabitants of Alfoxton House are a Sett of violent Democrats. The House was taken for a Person of the name of Wordsworth, who came to It from a Village near Honiton in Devonshire, about five Weeks since. The Rent of the House is secured to the Landlord by a Mr Thomas Poole of this Town. Mr Poole is a Tanner and a Man of some property. He is a most Violent Member of the Corresponding Society and a strenuous supporter of Its Friends, He has with him at this time a Mr Coldridge and his wife both of whom he has supported since Christmas last. This Coldridge came last from Bristol and is reckoned a Man of superior Ability. He is frequently publishing, and I am told is soon to produce a new work. He has a Press in the House and I am informed He prints as well as publishes his own productions.

Mr Poole with his disposition, is the more dangerous from his having established in this Town, what He stiles *The Poor Man's Club*, and placing himself at the head of It, By the Title of the *Poor Man's Friend*. I am told that there are 150 poor Men belonging to this Club, and that Mr Poole has the intire command of every one of them. When Mr Thelwall was here, he was continually with Mr Poole.

By the direction on a letter that was going to the Post Yesterday, It appears that Thelwall is now at Bristol.

I last Night saw Thomas Jones who lives at Alfoxton House. He exactly confirms Mogg of Hungerford, with this addition that the Sunday ~~the~~ Wordsworth came, he Jones was desired to wait at table, that there were 14 persons at Dinner Poole and Coldridge were there, And there was ~~this~~ a Stout Man with dark cropt Hair and wore a White Hat and Glasses (Thelwall) who after Dinner got up and talked so loud and was in such a passion that Jones was frightened and did not like to go near them since. That Wordsworth has lately been to his former House and brought back with him a Woman Servant, that Jones has seen this Woman who is very Chatty, and that she told him that Her Master was a Phylosopher. That the Night before last Two men came to Alfoxton House, And that the Woman Servant Yesterday Morning told Jones that one of the Gentlemen was a Great Counsellor from London, and the other a Gentleman from Bristol.

Jones had been apply'd to by the Servant to weed the Garden, but had declined going, as he was afraid of the people. But upon my applying a few shillings Mr Jones has got the better of his fears and is this Day weeding the Garden, and in the evening is to bring me the Name of the Great Counsellor and every other information he can Collect. It is reported here that Thelwall is to return soon to this Place and that he is to occupy a part of Alfoxton House.

I have the honor to be Sir

Your most obedient Humble Servt.

G. WALSH.

At this point the correspondence unfortunately breaks off,* and we are left in uncertainty as to why the watching was discontinued, and whether Mr. Walsh on personal acquaintance actually formed so favourable an opinion of Coleridge as Coleridge says he did.

* There is nothing to show what became of the later letters. It is possible that the Duke of Portland took them away when he went out of office, and that they may still be among the Portland archives. At that time the line between official correspondence and private or semi-official letters was very loosely drawn; and Secretaries of State took away with them much that would now be considered official correspondence, and on the other hand left with the files some things that would certainly be treated as private papers at the present time.

with Mogg at Alfoxton, and that in his way from Thence home, he called upon her at the Doctor's House in Bath last Monday, when talking about Alfoxton, He mentioned these circumstances to her.

As Mr. Mogg is by no means the most intelligent Man in the World, I thought It my duty to send You the whole of his Story as he related It.

I shall wait here Your further Orders and am

Sir,

Your most obedient Humble Servt.

G. WALSH.

On receipt of this letter further instructions were at once sent to the detective. The next paper is docketed 'Copy of Mr. King's letter to Walsh.'

Whitehall Aug 12th, 1797.

SIR,—I have considered the contents of your letter to me from the Bear Inn, Hungerford, of yesterday's date. You will immediately proceed to Alfoxton or its neighbourhood yourself, taking care on your arrival so to conduct yourself as to give no cause of suspicion to the Inhabitants of the Mansion House there. You will narrowly watch their proceedings, and observe how they coincide with Mogg's account and that contained in the within letter from Mr. Lysons to the Duke of Portland. If you are in want of further information, you will call on Sir P. Hale Bart of Boymore near Bridgewater, in showing him this letter you will I am confident receive it. You will give a precise account of all the circumstances you observe, with your opinion thereon; you will of course ascertain if you can the names of the persons, and will add their descriptions—and above all you will be careful not to give them any cause of alarm, that if necessary they may be found on the spot. Should they however move you must follow their track and give me notice thereof, and of the place to which they have betaken themselves. I herewith transmit you a bank note for £20.

J. KING.

The following letters show how Walsh obeyed his instructions :

Globe Inn, Stowey, Somerset : 15th Augst 1797.

SIR,—In consequence of Your orders which I recd Yesterday, I immediately set off for this Place, which altho it is five Miles from Alfoxton, is the nearest house I can get any accommodation at.

I had not been many minutes in this house before I had an opportunity of entering upon my Business, By a Mr. Woodhouse asking the Landlord, If he had seen any of those Rascalls from Alfoxton. To which the Landlord reply'd, He had seen Two of them Yesterday. Upon which Woodhouse asked the Landlord, If *Thelwall* was gone. I then asked if they meant the famous Thelwall. They said Yes. That he had been down some time, and that there were a Nest of them at Alfoxton House who were protected by a Mr. Poole a Tanner of this Town, and that he supposed Thelwall was there (Alfoxton House) at this time. I told Woodhouse that I had heard somebody say at Bridgewater that They were French people at the Manor House. The Landlord and Woodhouse answered No, No. They are not French, But they are people that will do as much harm, as All the French can do.

I hope To-morrow to be able to give you some information, in the mean time I shall be very attentive to your instructions.

I think this will turn out no French affair, but a mischievous gang of disaffected Englishmen. I have just procured the Name of the person who took the House. His name is *Wordsworth* a name I think known to Mr. Ford.

I have the honor to be Sir

Your most obedient Humble Sert.

G. WALSH.

suspected than that they should seriously have been mistaken for French spies. But the ridiculous explanation is the true one. It is plain from Dr. Lysons' letter and from Walsh's first report that the original information sent to the Home Office was based entirely on the theory that the Wordsworths were French and spies, and was silent about any connexion with Thelwall. It was not till Walsh got to Stowey that he discovered that 'this would turn out no French affair, but a mischievous gang of disaffected Englishmen.'

Evidently the country folk at Alfoxton were genuinely alarmed at the eccentric behaviour of the Wordsworths and their friends, and could only explain their want of any apparent occupation, their love of country walks, their note-books and sketches, and their inquisitiveness about the brook on the theory that they were spies. Why they took them for French people is not so plain; but rustics are always prone to put down people of outlandish habits as foreigners; and the French were the foreigners most in men's minds then. Possibly also it may be accounted for by Wordsworth's north country accent, and the introduction into Alfoxton of the Continental Sunday-school, evidenced by the Sunday washing and mending of clothes. This scandalised and frightened Thomas Jones.

It is interesting to note that the accounts given by Dr. Lysons and Charles Mogg bear out Coleridge's story in one striking feature. Mogg reported 'that a brook runs in front of Trickie's house, and the French people inquired of Trickie whether the brook was navigable to the sea, and upon being informed by Trickie that it was not, they were afterwards seen examining the brook quite down to the sea.'

This at once confirms and is explained by a passage in the *Biographia Literaria*:

I sought for a subject that should give equal room and freedom for description, incident and impassioned reflections on men, nature and society, yet supply in itself a natural connection to the parts, and unity to the whole. Such a subject I conceived myself to have found in a stream, traced from its source in the hills among the yellow-red moss and conical glass-shaped tufts of bent, to the first break or fall, where its drops become audible and it begins to form a channel; thence to the peat and turf barn, itself built of the same dark squares as it sheltered; to the sheepfold; to the first cultivated plot of ground; to the lonely cottage and its bleak garden won from the heaths, to the hamlet, the villages, the market town, the manufactories and the seaport. . . . Many circumstances, evil and good, intervened to prevent the completion of the poem, which was to have been entitled 'The Brook.' Had I finished the work, it was my purpose in the heat of the moment to have dedicated it to our then committee of public safety as containing the charts and maps with which I was to have supplied the French Government in aid of their plans of invasion.

The official correspondence breaks off before the detective came into personal contact with the poets. It is useless therefore to look for any confirmation of Coleridge's delightful story about Spinoza and the personal interpretation which the spy put upon that celebrated

It will be obvious that these letters greatly affect the views hitherto accepted about this affair. To begin with, they make it plain that the information which led to the sending of the detective came not from Sir Philip Hale, but from Dr. Lysons of Bath. It is easy to see how Sir Philip got the credit. Walsh was instructed to go to him for help, probably because he was a leading magistrate and supporter of Government in the immediate neighbourhood. No doubt he did so; and as Sir Philip was prominent in the later stages of the affair, the country folk from whom Coleridge got his information naturally concluded that he had been the prime mover throughout.

But it is clear that Dr. Lysons was merely transmitting to the Home Secretary reports which had reached him, and that he had no personal knowledge of the matter. The correspondence printed above makes it probable—in fact almost certain—that Dr. Lysons' informant, and the direct cause of Wordsworth being watched, was the Charles Mogg of Hungerford who figures so largely in it.

It is obvious that the original instructions given to the detective were merely to go to Hungerford and make some inquiry there; otherwise there would have been no need for the Under-Secretary to send Walsh instructions to go to Alfoxton (and a fresh supply of money), as he did in his letter of the 12th of August, written after receiving Walsh's report from Hungerford. The only object in sending a detective to Hungerford can have been to interview Mogg; and his report does in fact relate solely to an interview with Mogg. The reader will have noticed also that the Hungerford report begins about Mogg without introduction or explanation, as though he were already well known to the Under-Secretary in connection with the affair. This can only be explained on the assumption that Mogg was the informant mentioned in Dr. Lysons' first letter. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that Walsh in his report takes special pains to explain Mogg's precise connexion with Dr. Lysons. 'Mogg says that he never spoke to Dr. Lysons, but that a woman who is cook to the Doctor had lived fellow-servant with Mogg at Alfoxton, and that on his way from thence home he called upon her at the Doctor's house in Bath last Monday, when, talking about Alfoxton, he mentioned these circumstances to her.' The dates fully bear out this view. The passage just quoted was written on Friday, the 11th of August, the previous Monday would therefore be the 7th, and we know that Dr. Lysons' first letter of complaint was written on the 8th. The natural inference is that Dr. Lysons' letter to the Home Office was due to the startling reports of French spies at Alfoxton which his cook told him that Mogg had brought.

A more important result of the correspondence now printed is to make it clear that the rationalising explanation given by the biographers is mistaken. *A priori* it is far more reasonable that the visits of a notorious democrat like Thelwall should have led to the poets being

UN PEU DE PICKWICK À LA FRANÇAISE

HAVING had occasion to rearrange my collection of books, which conscientiously I cannot describe as 'a library,' I came across a few odd volumes of a French magazine entitled *Journal pour tous*, which having come into my possession some considerable time ago, had been put aside for examination and reference when some special occasion might require it. The hour has come, bringing the opportunity. This French magazine, which seems nowadays so old-fashioned in form, was illustrated in a style occasionally reminding me of the *London Journal* of half a century ago, when its pictures were by John Gilbert, afterwards Sir John Gilbert, whose masterly work in black and white has rarely been equalled, and, as far as I am aware, never been surpassed.

The *Journal pour tous* was started in 1855, its first number appearing on the 1st of April (an unfortunate date perhaps) in that year. The price of this *Magasin Hebdomadaire illustré* was *dix centimes*, and it could be obtained, among other places, 'à la librairie de MM. L. Hachette et Cie., rue Pierre-Sarrazin.' Its object was to interest and amuse, and, writes the editor of that time, Charles Lahure, 'Nous faisons une loi absolue à tous nos collaborateurs de ne rien écrire qui puisse blesser la morale.' With this excellent purpose in view, *Romans Etrangers* were immediately laid under contribution, and in the first number appear translations of works by such well-known writers as Carleton, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Warren (*Dix mille guinées de rente*), W. M. Thackeray, Longfellow, N. Hawthorne, and others. It is noticeable that in this list the name of Charles Dickens does not appear in the first four volumes of the magazine, although we are supplied with two pages of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*, *Mémoires d'un Officier de Marlborough*. As far as I can make out, we are not presented with any selection from the works of Charles Dickens, until we reach the last two months of the fifth year of the *Journal pour tous*, when suddenly we are confronted with *La Prison pour Dettes*, which is the title given by the adapting translator to the excerpt from Mr. Pickwick's adventures commencing with the celebrated trial and ending with his incarceration in the Fleet Prison.

name. But the whole tone of the correspondence makes against the truth of it. To judge from his reports, Walsh was a man of some education and plenty of natural shrewdness, and would have been very unlikely to entertain such a delusion. If the incident really happened, it seems much more likely that it was Thomas Jones or some other rustic informant who heard Coleridge talking about 'Spy Nozy,' and concluded that it was his name for the detective.

But even if all the details of Coleridge's narrative cannot be accepted, it is undoubtedly true in the spirit. The people of Alfoxton, suddenly confronted with a group of poets in the flesh, were deeply impressed with their interest in all the details of the country-side, and could only account for it on the theory that they had some mysterious but strictly practical object. It was an exact reproduction in real life—only substituting the country for the town—of the somewhat fantastic situation that Browning described in 'How it Strikes a Contemporary':

I only knew one poet in my life :
And this, or something like it, was his way.
You saw go up and down Valladolid
A man of mark, to know next time you saw. . . .
He took such cognizance of men and things,
If any beat a horse, you felt he saw ;
If any cursed a woman, he took note. . . .
So, next time that a neighbour's tongue was loosed,
It marked the shameful and notorious fact,
We had among us, not so much a spy,
As a recording chief-inquisitor,
The town's true master if the town but knew !
We merely kept a Governor for form,
While this man walked about and took account
Of all thought, said, and acted, then went home,
And wrote it fully to our Lord the King.

A. J. EAGLESTON.

what Mr. Mantalini would have termed a 'demmed, moist, uncomfortable' umbrella.

We now come to the moment 'vers sept heures et demie du soir,' which has been selected by Mr. Jackson of the house of Dodson and Fogg as opportune for serving subpoenas on Messrs. Tupman, Snodgrass, Winkle, and Sam Weller, ordering them to appear as witnesses at the forthcoming trial of Bardell *versus* Pickwick. Mr. Snodgrass having been duly 'served,' Mr. Jackson, turning sharply upon Mr. Tupman, said, 'I think I ain't mistaken when I say your name's Tupman, am I?'

The difficulty for the translator is to convey to the French reader the commonplace, vulgar personality conveyed in the expression 'I ain't mistaken.' 'Ain't' is the difficulty. It simply could not be rendered. So Monsieur Jackson, 'le clerc lui dit, "Je ne me trompe pas en disant que votre nom est Tupman, Monsieur?"'

And again, how difficult for a Frenchman to exactly render the vulgar English colloquialism used by Jackson, who, to a question put to him by Mr. Pickwick, playfully rejoined, 'Not knowin', can't say.' This seems to me effectively done by 'Peux pas dire ^{rien} Sais pas.'

Then to Mr. Pickwick's question as to why the subpoena ^{has been} served on his friends, Mr. Jackson replies, 'slowly shaking his head.' 'Very good plant, Mr. Pickwick. But it won't do. There's no harm in trying, but there's little to be got out of me.'

Which is thus rendered in good French slang of the period:

'Votre souricière est très-bonne, Monsieur Pickwick,' repliqua Jackson en secouant la tête; 'Mais je ne donne pas dans le panneau. Il n'y a pas de mal à essayer, mais il n'y a pas grand' chose de tirer de moi.'

This is put very neatly and effectively.

I wish it were possible to reproduce here the illustration which appears on this page, showing Mr. Pickwick *à la Française*, indignant, bareheaded, irately addressing himself to a wigged and gowned barrister, wearing enormous bands and low shoes with buckles, who, as I had at first imagined, was intended as a Mephistophelian legal functionary representing Messrs. Dodson and Fogg in person; but, as will be evident later on, I was misled. Behind Mr. Pickwick, a little to the right, stands a strapping Sam Weller, six feet high if he's an inch, with folded arms, clutching in his right hand his master's hat, which the latter has given him to hold. On Sam's head is a sort of Court footman's hat with a cockade attached; instead of an overcoat he wears an ostler's old-fashioned long waistcoat with sleeves, and his continuations are baggy breeches with a line of exterior buttons from hip to ankle, where they become very full, and just by a couple of inches fail in reaching the toe of his boot. The faithful servant is stolidly standing with eyes closed while his somewhat heavy countenance is slightly lit up by a gentle half-smile. The whole scene is

The extract from *Pickwick* which I have just come across in the *Journal pour tous* commences with what I find to be the second chapter of the second volume of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* as published in that well-known form so convenient for travellers' pockets, in more senses than one, 'The Tauchnitz Edition, 1842.' This 'chapter ii. vol. ii.' corresponds with Chapter XXXI. in Chapman and Hall's 'Memorial edition.' These details I mention for the benefit of any of my readers who may wish to compare the quotations with the original.

The French translator evidently did his work most conscientiously and most carefully. The difficulty that will present itself to any Dickensian student will of course be expressed in the question, 'How on earth could Sam Weller's cockneyisms be anything like equivalently rendered in French so as to convey to the foreign reader a correct idea of the English original—that is, of the "English as she was spoke" by the immortal Samuel, not Johnson, but Weller?' We shall see.

We commence with the description of certain dark and dirty chambers in various holes and corners of the Temple, in and out of which we see constantly hurrying with bundles of papers under their arms an almost uninterrupted succession of lawyer's clerks, 'une armée de clerks d'avoués portant d'énormes paquets de papiers sous leurs bras et dans leurs poches.'

Then comes Dickens's delightful enumeration of the various kinds of clerks, their habits, customs, and manners, followed by a picture of the sequestered nooks which are the public offices of the legal profession, that is as Charles Dickens knew them, not it may be as they are nowadays, since so many extensive alterations have been effected.

The French adapter came across this picturesque Hogarthian kind of description of the mouldy rooms where

innumerable rolls of parchment which have been perspiring in secret for the last century send forth an agreeable odour which is mingled by day with the scent of the dry rot, and by night with the various exhalations which arise from damp cloaks, festering umbrellas, and the coarsest tallow candles.

Now how would the translator manage the 'festering umbrellas'? I give the passage:

Ce sont, pour la plupart, des salles basses, sentant le renfermé, où d'innombrables feuilles de parchemin qui y transpirent en secret depuis un siècle, émettent un agréable parfum, auquel vient se mêler, pendant la journée, une odeur de moisissure, et, pendant la nuit, des exhalaisons de manteaux, de parapluies humides et de chandelles rances.

His rendering of 'festering umbrellas' is decidedly disappointing, for though it may be no easy task for an English admirer of Dickens graphically to explain, or, if a draughtsman, to draw a picture showing precisely what the author intended to convey by his strikingly, but strangely, chosen adjective 'festering,' yet the substitution of *humides* takes all the noisomeness out of the description and gives us simply

So our light-hearted French adapter nimbly skips from p. 103 to p. 125, and alights upon the summing-up of Mr. Justice Stareleigh, who gives the plaintiff's social status correctly, as 'Mme. Bardell, and at its conclusion *'les jurés se retirèrent dans leur salle pour délibérer, et le juge se retira dans son cabinet pour se rafraîchir avec une côtelette de mouton et un verre de sherry,'* which certainly sounds like something far more *recherché* than the mere ordinary 'mutton chop and a glass of sherry.'

With the verdict of the jury in favour of the plaintiff the trial ends. The mournfully apologetic epilogue uttered by Mr. Weller, Senior, follows the fall of the curtain on this dramatic scene, 'O Sammy, Sammy ! pourquoi qui ne se sont pas servi d'un alébi ?' which in this old gentleman's peculiar English is memorable as 'Oh, Sammy, Sammy, vy worn't there a alleybi !' which ungrammatical specialty it was impossible to render colloquially in French.

From the fifth chapter our adapting translator, keeping steadily in view his design when he entitled his Pickwickian papers *La Prison pour Dettes*, skips over five chapters devoted to the Bath incidents, and nimbly alights on 'chapter xi.,' which, according to the original descriptive heading, 'introduces Mr. Pickwick to a new, and as is hoped not uninteresting scene, in the great drama of life,' which is, at the end of the chapter reveals, 'within the walls of a Debtors' Prison.'

The chapter commences with the arrival of the sheriff's officer, Mr. Namby, and his man Smouch, with both of whom Sam exchanges a few scarcely complimentary remarks. Namby, turning very white, summons his follower :

'Here, Smouch !'

'Well, wot's amiss here ?' growled the man in the brown coat.

'Ici, Smouch !'

'Ben ! quoi qui gnia ?' grommela l'homme à la rédingote brune.

This strikes me as an excellent rendering in French slang of Dickens' 'wot's amiss,' which is equal to the more modern 'what's the row ?' or the rather more modern American inquiry 'what's the trouble ?' and, as I take it, the equivalent for this slang in ordinary French would be in the perfect tense of the verb *saveter*. How the slang word *gniaf* ever became a popular form of *savetier* is a puzzle, but, as vulgarly expressive of difficulties in the shoe-trade, and meaning cobbling, botching, bungling, and so forth, its parallelism with 'what's the difficulty' or 'what's the row' is not far to seek.

I should have mentioned that our adapter ingeniously contrived to abbreviate Mr. Pickwick's walk from the 'George and Vulture' to his solicitor's chambers by omitting Sam Weller's story of the 'celebrated sassage factory,' and by bringing up the narrative sharply to the point when 'Sam toucha le bras de son maitre, et lui apprit qu'ils étaient arrivés.' Another excision, most judicious from the point of view of the French magazine's editor and readers, is the omission of all the

thoroughly characteristic of a clever French artist's representation in black and white (curiously resembling some of Sir John Gilbert's earlier work) of such dramatic action as ought to be furnished by a 'situation' in an English court of law. Underneath is the legend, '*Mr. Pickwick mit ses lunettes et contempla le chef du jury.*' So that the individual in wig, gown, and bands whom at first I had taken for some distinguished legal functionary, born of the artist's imagination, representing the firm of solicitors, Messrs. Dodson and Fogg, turns out to be intended for 'le chef du jury,' whom Mr. Pickwick, having put on *ses lunettes*, regards with '*un cœur palpitant et une contenance agitée.*' Needless to say, this thrilling scene as represented by the imaginative artist, is not to be found in the original *Pickwick*, where, not in the hall, but from his seat in the court which he never quitted during the trial, Mr. Pickwick 'put on his spectacles and gazed at the foreman with an agitated countenance and a quickly beating heart.'

Before leaving this interesting chapter we cannot help being struck by a note explanatory of a certain portion of the dialogue before the trial between Mr. Pickwick and Sam, who points out to his master the day fixed for the trial is 'Valentine's day, sir, reg'lar good day for a breach o' promise trial.'

But the French writer cannot contrive the rendering of the 'w' for the 'v' which, though the common vulgarism of Dickens' time, has long ago almost, if not quite, entirely disappeared; old boatmen, labourers and their wives, in some parts of Kent, retained, and still retain this substitution, long after it had disappeared from London.

'Le jour de Saint Valentine, monsieur. Fameux jour pour juger une violation de promesse de mariage.' And to this our author adds this explanatory note :

Jour où un grand nombre d'amoureux et d'amoureuses s'adressent, sous le voile de l'anonyme, des déclarations sérieuses ou ironiques. Miss Bardell [note the 'Miss'] était une intrigante qui, dirigée par Dodson et Fogg, voulait profiter d'une plaisanterie pour se faire épouser par M. Pickwick.

This puts the whole story into a nutshell, and at once disposes, at least for all French readers, of 'Mrs.' or rather '*Miss Bardell.*'

The French adapter makes short work of the trial, breaking off in the middle of the eloquent address delivered by 'M^c. Buzfuz'—*Maître* being taken as equivalent to the ancient title of 'Serjeant,' which has now ceased to exist—and giving his own explanation as to the omission of all the evidence for plaintiff and defendant. Thus he treats it :

M^c. Buzfuz continua avec grande émotion. . . . Mais le sténographe chargé de recueillir ses paroles s'étant obstiné à nous refuser la communication de ses notes, nos lecteurs y perdront un morceau qui eût fait envie à Démosthène. Qu'il nous suffise de dire que M^c. Buzfuz dans sa péroraison, foudroya M. Pickwick. Le philosophe trembla un instant d'avoir été jusque-là un profond scélérat, sans s'en être jamais douté.

The next move Mr. Pickwick has to make is when he has received from Mr. Roker his 'chummage ticket,' which translated into slang French becomes '*billet de copin*'; '*copin*' being the lower slang rendering for '*copain*.'

Of the three chums (*copins*) on whom Mr. Pickwick found himself billeted, 'one expressed his opinion that it was a "rig," and the other his conviction that it was "a go."' 'Having recorded their feelings in these very intelligible terms,' adds Dickens, 'they looked at Mr. Pickwick and each other in an awkward silence.'

Here is the translation: 'Ces deux gentlemen ayant à leur tour parcouru le billet de M. Pickwick, l'un exprima son opinion que c'était caligulant, et l'autre sa conviction que c'était une scie.'

Une scie is a slang expression, now, as then, in common use. It signifies 'a bore,' 'a nuisance,' its meaning being intensified by the tone and manner of utterance, just as the force of the expression 'a go' will be regulated by the utterer. '*Caligulant*' bothered me. On referring for information on this point to M. Louis Roche, than whom on such matters it were difficult to find a more competent authority, he writes to this effect: 'I happen to know that *Caliguler* means, in *argot*, "*ennuyer*." It is a word coined by *littérateurs* to express their opinion that a play, or book, or poem, is a "bore," or "very slow." It originated when Alexandre Dumas wrote *Caligula*, which the critics howled down as a boredom-creating work.'

The chums suggest buying the new-comer out, that is, subscribing between them a sum which he will accept as the price of his consenting not to impose his society on them:

'What will you take to be paid out,' said the butcher; 'the regular chummage is two and sixpence. Will you take three bob?'

'— and a bender,' suggested the clerical gentleman.

'Bobs' and 'benders' were certainly difficult to translate, seeing that a Frenchman would have had to change them into French slang equivalents, and then not lose money by the transaction. Thus he solves the problem:

'Combien demandez-vous pour vous en aller? D'ordinaire c'est trois francs, mais on vous en donnera quatre; ça vous va-t-il?'

'— Au besoin nous nous fendrons d'une roue de cabriolet, suggéra M. Simpson.

Now the *roue de cabriolet* is a five-franc piece, so that Monsieur Pickwick will have the advantage over Mister Pickwick in this transaction, and it is therefore somewhat puzzling to find the Frenchman reckoning all this up as only amounting to *quatre schellings* after all, whereas, unless the money market was at a very low ebb, *la roue* would certainly have been worth four shillings and twopence. Anyhow, the French representative of Pickwick would have gained over his English original.

incidents that occur between the time of Mr. Pickwick's interview with Perker and his arrival at the Fleet Prison—'la prison de la Flotte'—which occupy from p. 173 to p. 177 in the Tauchnitz edition. It may be, nay I am sure it will be, remembered how Sam knocked off Mr. Namby's hat, and contented himself with coolly observing, in answer to his master's severe reprimand, that 'if Mr. Namby would have the goodness to put his hat on again, he would knock it into the latter end of next week.' As the French equivalent for the ultimate destiny of Mr. Namby's hat we find Sam giving '*aux grandes Indes*.' He says, 'si M. Namby voulait avoir la bonté de remettre son chapeau sur sa tête, il le lui enverrait aux grandes Indes.'

This is expressive of considerable distance, but is powerless in its attempt at conveying the infinity of 'the latter end of next week' and the hopelessness of any attempt at the recovery of the lost treasure.

When Mr. Pickwick, on his arrival in the Fleet Prison, wished to be informed where he could sleep, the stout turnkey showed him a bed which he could have for the night, saying, 'It ain't a large 'un, but it's an out-and-outer to sleep in.'

This description seemed to me to be somewhat difficult to deal with in French. So, I fancy, thought the ingenious translator, who renders it thus: '*Il n'est pas grand, mais on y dort comme une douzaine de marmottes*.' 'Dormir comme une marmotte' is to sleep like a dormouse, so that the French turnkey transfers the description of the sleeper's happy state to the somniferous charm of the bedstead. The original text presented a considerable difficulty, very cleverly met by the adapter.

In No. 251 of the *Journal pour tous*, Janvier 1860, we find 'continued in our next,' the fourth chapter of *La Prison pour Dettes*, which corresponds to chapter xii. p. 180 of the second volume of the Tauchnitz edition of *Pickwick*, and to chapter xli. in the '*Daily News Memorial Edition*,' published by Chapman and Hall.

Here, after the acquisition of the 'out-and-outer' for one night, our adapter omits a little more than two pages in which occur Mr. Pickwick's conversation with Sam and Sam's story about 'Number Twenty,' and 'après avoir fait quelques tours dans la cour peinte' Mr. Pickwick bids Sam betake himself to a lodging close at hand and return early in the morning.

Then comes the awakening of Mr. Pickwick when suddenly aroused by the dancing of Mr. Mivins as Zephyr and the applause of his companions. After the episode of the nightcap, and of apologies offered and accepted, Mr. Pickwick enters into conversation with Smangle, who says, 'Here am I in the Fleet Prison. Well; good. What then?' and so forth.

Very naturally our Frenchman renders this 'Je suis ici dans la prison de Fleet Street. Bon.' The old Fleet Prison was in Farringdon Street.

artist's best effort. Mr. Pickwick's marvellous recovery of temper after the departure of the solicitors will be remembered as showing him at his best, when he withdrew his head from the open window in Perker's office.

The Sterne-like touch given by Dickens to the strikingly impressive scene of the Chancery prisoner's death does certainly not gain by its translation into French.

'The turnkey stooping over the pillow drew hastily back. "He has got his discharge, by G——!" said the man.'

'He had. But he had grown so like death in life, that they knew not when he died.'

Le guichetier s'étant courbé sur le traversin se releva précipitamment.

'Ma foi ! dit-il, le voilà libéré, à la fin.'

Cela était vrai. Mais durant sa vie il était devenu si semblable à un mort, qu'on ne sut point dans quel instant il avait expiré.

The strength of the turnkey's forcible exclamation and the impressive solemnity of the author's brief comment are entirely lacking in the French translation.

The interview between Sam and his father, who is afterwards joined in his visit by Mrs. Weller and the 'red-nosed man,' Mr. Stiggins, must have given the readiest adapter some trouble. Sam calls his chuckling father 'an old picter card born,' which term becomes simply '*un grimacier*.' Then 'Vot are you bustin' vith, now?' asks the dutiful son. This, barring the mis-spelling and the omission of the final 'g,' representing the sound of the vulgar pronunciation, is adequately rendered by '*Qu'est-ce que vous avez à vous crever maintenant ?*'

This scene is capitally done into French, with a strong appreciation of its irresistible humour.

At the end of this number (No. 254) appears the usual announcement that '*la fin*' is to appear '*au prochain numéro*.' But after carefully examining not only the index at the end of the volume but also its remaining pages from 18 Février 1860 to 31 Mars of the same year, I can conscientiously affirm that there is no sign of Mr. Pickwick's reappearance either in or out of *La Prison des Dettes*.

I am inclined to doubt if the close of Mr. Pickwick's incarceration ever came within the scope of the French adapter's original intention. Practically he has given us the essence of Mr. Pickwick's personal experience in the Fleet. The incidents that led to his surrendering himself to the wish of his friends do not belong to the story of his self-willed incarceration.

It seems to me incredible that the translation and adaptation of this portion of *Pickwick* could have escaped the notice of either Charles Dickens or of his publishers ; yet, as far as I can ascertain—though no doubt some certain evidence on the point must be in existence, and may be easily attainable—there is no sort of allusion to it in Forster's

The next important scene is the meeting of Mr. Pickwick with Alfred Jingle and Job Trotter in the poor side of the prison, 'le côté des pauvres.' But as the adapter has not hitherto had the opportunity of exhibiting Jingle and Job to his French readers, he is bound to explain them, which he does by stopping to address his public :

Ce que c'était que M. Alfred Jingle, lecteur ? Si vous l'aviez vu jadis, avec son camarade Job Trotter, sur les planches du Théâtre Blinsbury, à Bath, lui si brillant et Job si étrangement comique, il ne vous serait pas sorti de la mémoire.

This is something quite new. Evidently the translator is confusing Jingle with the strolling player, 'Dismal Jemmy,' Job's brother.

M. Pickwick ne l'avait pas oublié non plus, car il lui avait soufflé sa maîtresse ;

This *maîtresse* means the maiden Aunt Rachel, old Wardle's elder sister, whom Jingle persuaded to elope with him.

Et Sam se souvenait de Job Trotter, qui lui avait administré une volée de bois vert. Ah ! les deux amis menaient la vie joyeuse du temps du Théâtre Blinsbury !

The possibilities of *la vie joyeuse* at Blinsbury Theatre would have been a delightful revelation, an inspiration, probably, to Charles Dickens had he ever come across the account of it. As it is, this introduction must have considerably puzzled any Pickwickian students into whose hands *Le Journal pour tous* may have fallen.

The inventive translator now suddenly breaks off in order to give his artist a chance which the original does not offer :

En ce moment on vint appeler M. Pickwick pour passer au greffe. 'Au greffe !' dit-il ; 'n'a-t-on pas rempli toutes les formalités nécessaires ? Il est bien difficile,' ajouta-t-il en souriant à demi, 'de se faire mettre en prison.'

Mr. Pickwick is summoned to the clerk's office, it appears, so that he may find himself 'en présence des procureurs de Mme. Cluppins.'

Of course the real scene on which this is founded will be specially fixed in the memory of all by Hablot K. Browne's illustration of it.

'*Jamais auparavant on n'avait vu le philosophe dans un tel état*'—it is needless to add that Messrs. Dodson were not 'on in this scene,' which must have been entirely invented in order to suit an illustration which the ingenious or mistaken artist had already finished and sent in—

et jamais on ne l'y revit depuis. Dans son indignation il jeta au nez des dignes associés le journal qu'il tenait à la main. Ils enfilèrent la porte avec précaution ; et M. Pickwick, dont les colères ne durent guère, remonta chez lui tout pensif.

The dramatic action is shown in the tableau which represents the two sneaking attorneys backing out of the office door. It is not the

COKE AS THE FATHER OF NORFOLK AGRICULTURE

A REPLY

IN a long article entitled 'A Great Norfolk House,' which appeared in the June issue of this Review, Dr. Jessopp attempted to discredit the statement that Coke of Norfolk had transformed the agriculture of his native county, and that prior to his labours and experiments the condition of that county, especially of the Holkham estate, was such as it is represented to be in his biography recently published under the title of *Coke of Norfolk and His Friends*.

Dr. Jessopp's views are presented with a decisiveness which admits of no appeal. Let us examine them briefly and see upon what grounds he bases his assertions.

After a lengthy recapitulation of the history of Coke's ancestry, culled from the biography above mentioned, but in which many palpable errors are introduced by him, he proceeds to annihilate Coke's claim to be considered a leading agriculturist in the following terms :

It is a very great mistake, which the general reader makes who looks back carelessly upon the past, that Thomas William Coke was the father of Norfolk agriculture and the bringer-in of new things to the agriculturists of East Anglia. The real pioneer of the army of advance was Nathaniel Kent, born in 1737. Kent published his *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* in 1793, and the book attracted very wide notice and approval, and was specially welcomed by the Norfolk farmers, who presented the author with a handsome testimonial in 1808. Four years Kent's junior was Arthur Young, who published his *Letters to the Farmers of England* in 1767, when Coke was a schoolboy, and his *Farmer's Tour through the East of England* in 1771. Mrs. Stirling seems to believe that Norfolk was a desert till the great landlord took up his residence at Holkham and took the oversight of his vast Norfolk estates—an absurd delusion! Arthur Young, writing in 1771, speaks with enthusiasm of the advanced state of farming in Norfolk: at Docking he found two great farmers who held 1,700 acres between them; at Burnham one farm of 1,000 acres was apparently in a high state of cultivation; and from this same Burnham to Wells, extending, that is, almost exactly over the land now beautiful with the Holkham Park, there was a highly cultivated farm, producing crops of wheat, barley, turnips, and with tenants intelligent and

Life, nor in any of the plentiful Dickensiana which, within recent years, have been brought under my notice. Charles Dickens, in his letters, delivers himself of deservedly severe slaps at pilferers who were principally, if not entirely, American.

At the end of every chapter of this cleverly arranged French adaptation appears the name of 'Charles Dickens' appended as the author, and followed by a note, in italics, conveying this warning to all and several, '*Reproduction interdite. La suite au prochain numéro.*' But this notice, as it seems to me, applied only to the work of the translator who was adapting it specially for the *Journal pour tous*, and does not refer to the original by Charles Dickens, which was partly the property of Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

I am informed by the Paris house of Messrs. Hachette et Cie. that 'the publication of the *Journal pour tous* was continued after 1850'—they do not say for how long—but that all volumes are now out of print.' I may therefore, at all events, congratulate myself on the accidental preservation of this exceptionally interesting series which, published between 1854 and 1859, came into my possession in 1863, and *per tot discrimina rerum*, from house to house, and from London to country, is still in my possession.

F. C. BURNAND.

Holkham was *so poor and unproductive* that much of it was not worth five shillings an acre.²

On page 98 of this same edition he describes more fully the condition of the land before Coke came into possession of his property, and also the wretched inhabitants of this poverty-stricken district :

These parishes [of Warham and Holkham] are situated near the sea, and in the vicinity of the small port of Wells ; and not many years ago the site on which Mr. Coke's stables, &c., now stand was occupied by a few mean straggling cottages, inhabited by miserable beings, who, unable to obtain a maintenance from the inadequate produce of the agricultural labour of the neighbourhood, derived a not less precarious subsistence from smuggling, and the predatory habits connected with it . . . It was nearly the same with the unfortunate inhabitants of Wells.

Later, he draws the contrast :

The present inhabitants of both parishes are, happily, of a different character . . . and the moral influence on the poor, not less than their increased numbers, is obvious. . . . Holkham has in the last forty years tripled its numbers, having increased from two to six hundred, and Warham has increased from two to more than three hundred within less than that period ; and if it be true that population follows subsistence, and subsistence grows out of labour, we must look for these in some increased sources of labour ; and where, in these parishes, can they be found, but in the greatly changed system of agriculture ?³

Then, having given particulars of Coke's system of agriculture, he says :

And what has been the result ? *Sterility has been converted into fertility.* What before was principally a *meagre sheep-walk*, here and there only exhibiting patches of ordinary rye, oats, barley, and badly cultivated turnips, *with not a single ear of wheat to be seen to nod over its whole surface*, has become a most productive land ; much more than the average of crops, of even the best soils and of the most valuable grains, having grown upon it ; of—I repeat it—from ten to twelve coombs of the best wheat and nearly twenty coombs of excellent barley per acre.⁴

He further remarks :

In the neighbourhood of Holkham, and in the greater part of the west of Norfolk, it may, however, be observed that the land is light and naturally sterile ; many extensive tracts of this kind were, under the old system, as *unproductive as Holkham*, and the country is equally indebted to the new system for the ample supply of corn they now produce.⁵

Yet compare this statement with Dr. Jessopp's assertion that long before Coke commenced his agricultural career, 'extending over the land now beautiful with Holkham Park, there was a highly cultivated farm, producing crops of *wheat*, barley, turnips, and *with tenants intelligent and prosperous* !'

The fact is that on the Docking farm, to which Dr. Jessopp's

² *Holkham and its Agriculture*, Ed. 1818, p. 78.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 98.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 106.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 87.

prosperous. . . . Among the Norfolk landlords and the Norfolk farmers in the middle of the eighteenth century there was a real craze for the new methods of tillage that were already in vogue, and a rage for making experiments and improvements in every direction. . . . In the meantime, where Mrs. Stirling got her amazing statement that from Wells to Lynn was a sheep-walk, and a bad one, and that in all those twenty miles or so neither wheat, barley, nor rye were cultivated, *I know not*. It reads very like the reminiscence of one of my own dreams, which occasionally trouble me with nonsensical dialogues.

And because Dr. Jessopp does not know the authority for the statement referred to, he proceeds to inform his readers, with a gravity which is unconsciously humorous, that 'we must be upon our guard against admitting that Thomas William Coke was the leader of the agricultural movement in Norfolk.'

Yet the question which he dismisses thus summarily is one which is of paramount interest, not only to the agriculturist, but to the student of progress and to the historian who deals with a bygone age. None the less, Dr. Jessopp first casually misquotes my statement, *which related to wheat only*, and next, by his naïve admission of ignorance respecting the origin of that statement, at the outset tends to disqualify his subsequent assertions. For a critic should, presumably, be conversant with the subject of which he treats; yet the most superficial student of Coke's agricultural career would not attempt to pronounce a verdict upon a matter which requires careful analysis of facts and statistics, without first having studied the chief authority on the question at issue. Had Dr. Jessopp, however, even glanced at Dr. Rigby's able book on *Holkham and its Agriculture*, he could not have been at a loss to know whence came the remark which so amazes him, nor the grounds for believing that remark to be veracious.

Dr. Rigby was a man who, in his day, acquired a considerable scientific and literary reputation. His book on Holkham, published 1816-18, achieved an international reputation. It was translated into three different languages and had an extensive sale in Germany, France, Italy, and America. Obviously, therefore, it was held to contain reliable information by those who were in a position to gauge its accuracy; while the writer himself was a contemporary of Coke, and was an eye-witness of that which he attested.

Writing of Holkham in 1817, Dr. Rigby says that when Coke came into possession of the estate, in 1776, wheat was not cultivated in the district, and then follows the emphatic statement which has bewildered Dr. Jessopp: '*In the whole tract between Holkham and Lynn not an ear was to be seen, nor was it believed that one would grow*. The system of farming was wretched, and the produce of the soil of little value.'¹

Referring to the great sheep-shearings instituted by Coke, he adds: 'When he [Coke] began this institution [in 1778] the land of

¹ *Holkham and its Agriculture*, by Dr. Rigby. Ed. 1817, p. 3.

the rabbits, being hardy in their nature,' for which reason he asserts confidently that the Norfolk farmers will 'never be able to substitute any other sheep but these native sheep,' a belief which Coke subsequently proved to be entirely erroneous, for, having improved the land beyond what Kent, in 1796, conceived to be possible, Coke successfully substituted the breed of Southdowns, which may be seen there to-day, for the wild, hardy Norfolk sheep which had been indigenous to the soil in a less productive period.

As to Arthur Young, he corroborates Kent's testimony of the condition of Norfolk prior to Coke's labours. Speaking of the Styleman estate about Snettisham, he describes it as 'scarcely to be called land,'¹⁰ and writing thus in 1771, he says that all the western tracts of Norfolk forty or fifty years before that date were sheep-walks, while much of it was in the same condition only thirty years before the date at which he was writing, thus bringing his evidence practically down to the middle of the eighteenth century. This, it may be added, is endorsed by a report of the condition of the county of Norfolk drawn up for the Board of Agriculture in 1790, a copy of which is in the possession of Sir William Folke, of Hillington, King's Lynn, and which affirms that 'landlords and farmers had been asleep before this date.'

Having thus examined the statements of Kent and Young, the two witnesses who Dr. Jessopp imagines support his theories, let us glance briefly at what other authorities state to have been the condition of the county prior to Coke's labours and experiments.

Lord Erskine, born in 1750, stated that *within his own memory* he had seen 'Holkham as a heath and the beautiful fields surrounding it as a barren waste.'¹¹

Samuel Copland, who wrote a work on agriculture in 1866, under the name of the Old Norfolk Farmer,¹² tells how he had 'heard old people say they remembered the time when from Holt to Lynn, embracing a tract of forty miles in extent, and comprehending Holkham and Fakenham in its sweep, there was scarcely an acre of land thought strong enough to bear a crop of wheat.'

R. N. Bacon in 1845 stated that by reason of Coke's example and influence, 'the vast tracts of uncultivated land in sheep-walks, warrens, and commons, with which Norfolk abounded, almost instantly became a scene of the busiest employment.'¹³

Mr. Rew, reporting in 1895 to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in the county of Norfolk, remarked that 'perhaps in no part of the world can be found a better example of the triumph of agricultural skill and enterprise over the niggardliness of Nature than in the

¹⁰ *Farmer's Tour through the East of England*, vol. ii., 1771, p. 150.

¹¹ *A Report of the Transactions at the Holkham Sheep-Shearing*, by R. N. Bacon 1821, p. 25.

¹² *Agriculture Ancient and Modern*, by S. Copland, 1866, p. 109.

¹³ *Norfolk Agriculture, 1845*, p. 88.

remarks refer, the chief husbandry was sheep. Arthur Young, moreover, admitted having stated that this farm was more than double the size which he afterwards found it to be.

We must now consider Dr. Jessopp's assertion that Nathaniel Kent was the true 'pioneer of the army of advance.'

When Kent published his *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* in 1793, Coke had been labouring at agriculture for seventeen years. By 1787 Coke had already produced corn where it had previously been believed that none could grow; 'while in 1792, two celebrated farmers, Boys and Ellman, visited Holkham and wrote their account of all which he had accomplished by that date,' laying special stress on their surprise at finding that he had produced 'immense fields of barley, very great crops, and perfectly clean, on land naturally poor.' In 1804, viz. *four years before the date at which Dr. Jessopp triumphantly points out that a testimonial was presented to Kent*, Coke had already received a public recognition of his services from the farmers of Norfolk, which, according to Roger Wilbraham, cost them seven hundred guineas, voluntarily expended. In 1796 Kent, with, as Dr. Jessopp patronisingly concedes, 'a certain measure of authority,' himself added his testimony respecting what Coke had accomplished: 'The Holkham estate,' he relates, 'has been increased in the memory of man from five to upwards of twenty thousand a year in this county, and is still increasing like a snowball'; yet, even at that period, it was not the luxuriant, richly cultivated land which Dr. Jessopp represents it to have been fully a quarter of a century earlier. Kent gives the following statistics:

Sedgy and swampy ground	1,500 acres
Unimproved commons	60,000 „
Marsh lands	63,346 „
Warrens and sheep-walks	63,346 „

'It is a lamentable thing,' Kent concludes, 'that these large tracts of land should be suffered to remain in their present unprofitable state,'⁶ and we must again call to mind that, principally through Coke's agency, between 1804 and 1821 no less than 153 enclosures took place in Norfolk alone, while between the years 1790 and 1810 not less than two millions of waste land were brought into tillage.⁹

Further, Kent emphasises the fact that 'a great part of this county is known to have been, within the space of a century, a wild, bleak, unproductive country comparatively with what it is now [in 1796]; *full half of it was rabbit-warrens and sheep-walks*,' and he proceeds to describe that 'the sheep were as natural to the soil as

⁶ *Coke of Holkham*, Walter Rye, 1895, p. 5.

⁷ Vol. xix. of *The Annals of Agriculture*, 1793.

⁸ *Kent's Agricultural Survey of Norfolk*, 1796.

⁹ *Sketch of Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester*, printed by Whiting, Beaufort House, Strand; also *Norwich Mercury*, the 9th of July, 1842.

writing from fifty to 130 years after these witnesses, and having by his own confession devoted inadequate research to his subject, Dr. Jessopp attempts to discredit, by the very force of his self-assertiveness, that which they took pains to demonstrate for posterity by a careful enumeration of facts and statistics.

Coming nearer to our own times, and to the statements of men who have sifted the evidence which he ignores, we find in the R.A.S.E. the assertion that, in 1776—

Farming in Norfolk was then in a backward state. It is true that the cultivation of turnips had become general since 1727, and that marling had been introduced in 1768; but there was *little energy displayed*, and the 'rabbit and rye lands'—the thin, drift soil which was jocularly said to be ploughed by rabbits tethered to a pocket-knife—*were generally thought to be hopeless.*¹⁷

Again, in *Social England*, we are told that in 1776 'the sandy soil' on Coke's estate 'yielded only a thin crop of rye and a bare subsistence for a few milch cows and Norfolk sheep.'¹⁸ But the evidence which might be adduced in proof of what Coke accomplished and of the condition of the land from which his results were achieved is so overwhelming that to give any adequate summary of it would become tedious. It must be borne in mind that I have purposely quoted solely from the material accessible to the general reader, and that only very partially. I have not attempted to bring forward the strong evidence afforded by the mass of private correspondence of which I am cognisant, and which space will not permit me to utilise. Enough, however, has been mentioned to show the value of Dr. Jessopp's statements, and how completely his theories represent a striking distortion of realities. Meanwhile, in one of the old letters lying before me is a sentence which seems as apt now as at the date when it was written by a Norfolk clergyman to William Roscoe during the riots of 1815: 'Those who would belittle the labours of Mr. Coke are indeed throwing snowballs at the sun; facts cannot be controverted by the sneers of the ignorant!'

Throughout his article, like a modern Don Quixote, Dr. Jessopp surely tilts at windmills. That Coke was the pioneer of all agricultural improvements, or that there were no farmers in Norfolk before his advent, no one has maintained; to do so would be manifestly absurd. But there is ample evidence, as I have demonstrated, that he was what Dr. Jessopp denies him to have been, 'the bringer-in of new things to the agriculturists of East Anglia,' that he was the great pioneer of practical experiments in agriculture, that the results achieved by him were astonishing to his contemporaries and far-reaching, and still more that before his date Norfolk was not the luxuriant, highly cultivated county, rich in crops and filled with intelligent farmers,

¹⁷ R.A.S.E., Series 3, pt. 1, p. 8.

¹⁸ *Social England*, edited by H. D. Traill, D.C.L., vol. vi. p. 79.

transformation of the light lands of Norfolk from barren heath to highly productive farms. A century ago the cultivation of wheat was practically confined to the fertile land in the east, and the heavy soils in the south of the county.'

Further, when Coke retired from public life in 1833, the condition of the land prior to his system of agriculture was described in all the speeches, pamphlets, and newspaper articles bearing upon this event. The Duke of Sussex, for one, publicly stated before an audience of five hundred people that Coke had made 'a garden of a wilderness,' and described that, on succeeding to his property, though Coke was possessed of 'a splendid habitation and magnificent estate, although he had a splendid mansion, numerous pictures, valuable statues and a still more valuable library, *the estate was little short of a rabbit warren.*'¹⁴ After Coke's death this fact was dwelt upon at length in all his obituary notices, and a very interesting summary of his work, written by Lord Spencer, appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, in which Lord Spencer stated emphatically that when Coke 'came into possession of his estate in the year 1776 . . . the whole district round Holkham was unenclosed *and the cultivation was of the most miserable character.*' But for Coke's exertions, he points out, 'no improvement would have taken place. *West Norfolk would still have been considered a district in which wheat could not be grown.*' And later in the same article he describes how, after Coke's labours, 'Holkham assumed the appearance of fertility which it has ever since held, and attracted the attention of everyone at all interested in the improvement of agriculture. *He was undoubtedly the original and greatest cause of these beneficial results.*'¹⁵

Some years later, when there appeared the published account of the erection of the public memorial to Coke, the above fact was dwelt on with reiteration.¹⁶ Again and again we are told in that publication how the extensive estate of Holkham had by Coke been 'converted from a comparatively barren soil to the most rich and exuberant domain in this part of the kingdom,' how completely he had transformed 'that soil which, *once a desert*, was now a rich domain,' that 'he had introduced the growth of wheat into Norfolk, by which Great Britain has been benefited,' and that 'it was not merely this county [Norfolk] which he had benefited, for the whole kingdom, nay, the whole world, was more or less interested in his conduct.' Dr. Jessopp has presumably never studied the publications of that date, which, it must again be emphasised, represent the evidence of men who were contemporaries of Coke, and who spoke from personal knowledge of that of which they had been eye-witnesses. Yet,

¹⁴ *An Account of a Dinner to Mr. Coke on the occasion of his Retirement from the Representation of the County.* Published Norwich, 1833.

¹⁵ Vol. iii. of the R.A.S.E., 1842, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Narrative of the Proceedings regarding the Erection of the Leicester Memorial.* Published by Bacon & Co., Mercury Office, Norwich.

charges' which 'with unabated hostility continue to be directed against Mr. Coke and his system, and which are not confined to the ignorant and prejudiced of the lower classes,' Dr. Rigby concludes cynically: 'They are, however, of easy refutation; a very simple statement will, probably, satisfy the ingenuous reader, and the most obdurate opposer of Mr. Coke will, I apprehend, be little able to resist *positive facts*.'

Upon the other inaccuracies in Dr. Jessopp's article it is not needful to touch. It is true that one reads with some surprise his assurance that the builder of Holkham was created Earl of Leicester sixteen years before this was the case. And when he, somewhat more warily, raises a doubt respecting the statement that old Lady Leicester had several children who died in infancy, because (in a work of a thousand pages) the authority for this wholly unimportant fact has not been quoted, one is inclined to remind him that the information is written indelibly upon the tomb of the lady in Tittleshall churchyard, not far from his own home. But misstatements such as these, in which his article abounds, are easily recognisable, and are worth noting only as a further indication of the scanty attention which he has devoted to each detail with which he attempts to deal. He would undoubtedly be on safer ground if he did not risk treating of questions of fact, but confined his comments to a mere expression of opinion. Yet even here he exhibits the same tendency to jump to hastily formed conclusions, and to assert those conclusions with a dogmatic finality which a more careful student would hesitate to do, especially when pitting partial information against knowledge obviously derived from a direct source.

Thus, in concluding his remarks, Dr. Jessopp, with a prudery which is militant, apparently upholds the conviction that history should be carefully expurgated before being presented to the public. Whether the public, and posterity, would appreciate this novel method of procedure it is not necessary to enquire. The incidents on which Dr. Jessopp bases his comments could not have been omitted from any honest biography of Coke, since they referred to his immediate family, and were thus closely connected with his own life. Moreover, Dr. Jessopp seems totally unaware that they are not now presented to the public for the first time, but have already appeared in numberless biographies—in the *Life of Richard Burton*, the *Memoirs of Karoline Bauer*, the *Pickering Memoirs*, Balzac's *Le Lys dans La Vallée*, and other publications, ancient and modern, English and foreign. They are matters of history, too well known to be ignored, and they refer to a character in history who, whatever her errors, will always remain one of the most fascinating and remarkable personalities of the last century.

Yet Dr. Jessopp's article leaves us confronted with the strange

which Dr. Jessopp, with a too-vivid imagination, fondly pictures it to have been. That Coke was not the original suggestor of all the innovations he adopted was stated in his lifetime, and fairly admitted by Lord Spencer after his death; but those who suggest theoretical improvements in agriculture are many, and those who have the courage and the patience to risk testing the utility of such theories and of enforcing their adoption by means of practical experiment are rare, and it is they who usually represent the great benefactors and leaders of their fellow-creatures.

It is obvious that, even during his lifetime, Coke had his detractors. What man has not, who has attained to any eminence in any department of life? Had this not been so, Dr. Rigby's book had never been written, giving a detailed account of Coke's system of agriculture, of the necessity for it, and of the result of it. Nor would Lord Spencer's admirable defence and analysis of Coke's methods have been published, nor would a score of pamphlets have appeared, now no longer accessible to the general public, but still extant among the muniments of Holkham and in the libraries of many Norfolk squires, and which repay research if only by proving the curious storm of opposition and jealousy which Coke's innovations excited in his generation. Yet if the Norfolk farmers were what Dr. Jessopp represents them to have been, *in advance* of Coke's methods; if they were, as he would have us believe, not only conversant with scientific agriculture but imbued with a 'real craze' for it, and enthusiastically practising it on their fertile farms long before Coke's advent, whence the storm of opposition with which Coke's practices were greeted? It is surely the pioneers, not the imitators who rouse condemnation and opposition. And when facts had proved that Coke's methods were successful, when statistics brought conviction to his detractors, why the overwhelming gratitude of those who, according to Dr. Jessopp, had been his precursors in the good work and *had shown him the way*? At Holkham stands a colossal monument erected as a lasting expression of that gratitude, and which, to the average mind, presents a more solid argument than any which Dr. Jessopp adduces when with a sweeping assertiveness he ignores all facts inimical to his own rash statements. 'I had to contend with prejudice, an ignorant impatience of change, and a rooted attachment to old methods,' related Coke; and he was never a man to utter an idle boast or to court personal aggrandisement. Was he speaking of the intelligent, enthusiastic, highly progressive farmers, revelling in the pretty scene of rural felicity which Dr. Jessopp paints as existent, even upon the Holkham estate, in the year 1771? One is almost tempted to emulate Dr. Jessopp's own manner of criticism, and pronounce his assertions to be '*an absurd delusion*'! while involuntarily one recalls the paragraph with which Dr. Rigby closed the second edition of his book on the 22nd of November, 1817. Speaking then of the 'extraordinary

A WORKMAN'S VIEW OF THE REMEDY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

IN common with other workmen readers of this Review, I turned to the perusal of Mr. J. A. R. Marriott's article on 'The Right to Work,' in the June number, with considerable curiosity and interest; and, after having read it, I must confess to a large measure of disappointment with its contents. For, whether reasonably or unreasonably, I fully expected we should have had detailed some method of constructive policy which, if not a 'panacea,' would at least have led up to a remedy for the shortage of employment that besets the working class body politic so persistently at the present time, and impels them to demand the right to work with which he is dealing. Instead of which we have a very interesting and instructive essay that practically ignores this point, and leaves the matter where he (Mr. Marriott) found it when he started out.

However, without indulging in further useless repining in this connexion, as this is essentially a working man's question I may be pardoned for taking up the inquiry on behalf of my class, and stating briefly what can be done, in the light of my experience and observation of workmen and their ways of life, to ameliorate this most unsatisfactory condition of British labour.

Speaking as one of the older workmen who in my time has known what it is to be out of employment, and to have to turn out and seek for work, in a period of depression in trade, day after day, and week after week, and fail to find it, I can certainly claim to have a living interest in the consideration of this phase of the difficulties of a working man's position. Not that it can be said there is anything novel or unusual in the fact that many worthy men and women are often laid idle through want of work. This has at all times been a regular occurrence. And it is only now, when the socialist unrest by which we are surrounded has become more accentuated, that attempts are being made to find 'cures,' whereby the cloud of unemployment which lowers darkly over many a workman's home can be dispelled, and work and its resulting wages resumed, along with the comfort and contentment they invariably bring in their train.

discovery that, while he will blindly champion one faulty character in history, in another—which presented conflicting elements and, despite failings, exhibited rare genius and exceptionally noble qualities—he can recognise only what is ‘sad and bad’; and that—perhaps this epitomises the whole—in a celebrated portrait, the beauty of which has delighted two generations, he can see only ‘a vulgar caricature.’

Such remarks cannot be taken seriously and detract from the dignity of criticism. The fact remains that history, whether agricultural or social, cannot be written in the fantastic manner which Dr. Jessopp advocates, suppressing some facts and misrepresenting others. It is sufficiently obvious that a biographer who would deal honestly with posterity must state his just convictions. Nor can he choose the materials with which he has to work. They are ready to his hand, the shade as well as the light, and a record from which some of the salient points are omitted is a work of fiction, not fact.

A. M. W. STIRLING.

A notable example of this character that has been strenuously brought to the front just lately is the establishment of Labour Exchanges as a 'cure' for unemployment. Public offices where employers could ascertain where bodies of workpeople are available for carrying out work they have in hand, and working people where their services are required. It is argued that through this medium workmen and employers could be more readily brought together, that the organisation and 'decasualisation' of labour would lead to greater permanence of employment; and that by a drastic process of weeding out, the 'reserves of labour' would be materially reduced, while those remaining would have—on the principle of the survival of the fittest—become more worthy.

All this very probably is true in the main; but to carry the argument so far as to believe that the registration of the requirements of labour, or giving more facilities for its movement from place to place, is a 'cure' for shortage of work, is, to my mind, simply a stretch of the imagination, and further, as the idea is not new, only another exemplification of the truth of the old adage—that there is really nothing new under the sun. For, if it is not exactly as old as the hills, it certainly carries us back to the Middle Ages; to the far times when the craftsmen's guilds and lodges of Freemasons were doing somewhat analogous work in this direction to that carried out in our own day by the trade unions of this country. Moreover, without it being necessary for us to rely upon the unions for information of this nature, or the Labour Bureaus established by many municipalities; or even setting up additional Labour Exchanges as proposed, where a shilling advertisement in an evening paper would serve the purpose quite as well; it would be easy to prove without all this bureaucratic routine that workmen generally are not now without accurate knowledge of where large works are in progress and employment likely to be met with; the freemasonry that obtains among all distinctions of labour prompting men to tell each other of any town or place where work is to be found. And my experience of this feeling of comradeship between man and man is that it is displayed independent of whether they are unionist or non-unionist, *esprit de corps* impelling men who are in employment to give this information to their less fortunate brethren. And, independent of the question of who would have to pay for their institution and upholding, they appear to me to be a work of supererogation, as the agencies we already have are ample for the purpose. And again, to elaborate this point, on which the whole argument hinges, I have never yet, after a life-long experience of the vicissitudes of labour, been confronted with the difficulty of getting to know where work was to be obtained, whenever or wherever it was to be had for the asking. And further, I believe the solution of this problem, when it is arrived at, will be found to lie far deeper than can be fathomed

by any schemes which can be devised for the mobility of labour. To my thinking, to put the whole matter into a nutshell, the most radical cure for unemployment—shortage of work—can only be defined by what is virtually a self-evident proposition—that is, the provision of a fuller and better paid average state of employment. And I have no doubt this remedy, although it may appear to be a fanciful one, could be easily achieved by wise economies on the part of capital and labour. Capital by according to the workman such a share of the profits of their combined management and industry as would impel him to believe that he was being fairly dealt with, and compel him as a fair-minded man to render a more adequate service for his enhanced wages. And labour by making a much more sensible use of the money which has been earned, in its expenditure on articles of utility, the production of which will in effect prove an addition to the sum total of employment.

With a view to clearing the ground somewhat before beginning to deal with other causes of and remedies for unemployment, I may mention one project that has been discussed lately—the Unemployment Bill of the Labour party. In my opinion we have had enough, and more than enough, of special law-making for the working classes, as many of us have already been well-nigh legislated out of our employment by well-meant but mistaken measures passed to promote our welfare. And I cannot but believe that this latest effort of the party will prove the last straw which will break the patience of the self-reliant workman, and make him kick against the notion that he cannot look out for himself and protect his own interests. For my own part I cannot conceive that any good can be done, at least within a reasonable measure of time, by suggesting such drastic changes in our present methods of work and conditions of service between employers and employed as were embodied in this Bill. And the short shrift recently accorded to the measure by Parliament and the country furnishes evidence which does not warrant our proceeding further in this direction. The broad fact is, the taxpayers and the ratepayers as represented by the State and the municipalities are not yet ready to provide employment for working men and women in all the industries. It is true they have already engaged in and achieved success in some special undertakings, notably, the provision of water, gas, electricity, the tramways, &c., which lend themselves more directly to collective ownership; although even these have often been built, and are run at a cost which would prove prohibitive in any private establishment that had not the power to draw upon public moneys for losses which had been incurred in the conduct of the business. No, we believe we can safely say that the people of this country are not yet prepared for the socialisation of its capital, and the means of production and distribution; and will not be until it has been proved to demonstration that the same constant watchfulness with regard

to economies in management which animates all successful business enterprise has become the dominant factor in the spending of moneys which are not owned by anyone in particular but by all in common.

In the earlier part of my working career we were equally as subject to ebbs and flows in the employment of capital and labour, which were quite as severe, and often more protracted than at the present time. These breaks in the continuity of labour were generally attributed to three reasons—over-production, foreign competition, and adverse seasons. The first—over-production—will be regarded by very few at this time as a tenable one, until each and all without class distinction have had their wants supplied. The next reason is more open to consideration, and will be dealt with afterwards. While as regards the last—adverse seasons—their evil effects are not felt so severely now that our commerce has become more increasingly world-wide than at the former period. To these must now be added another cause which exercises a decided influence in the production of unemployment: the encroachment of the machine on the workman's field of labour. Although, I must say, in my experience as an artisan, I have not found it a hindrance, but often a helpmate, as it has tended to make labour less arduous in the skilled trades, and even in the more laborious occupations where its adverse influence has been severely felt, its assistance has enabled many men whose physical strength is not equal to hard work, and others whose mental abilities through want of training are not sufficiently alert for the higher industries, to obtain and retain employment in our factories, engineering, and general workshops, who without this aid would have been more hampered in earning a livelihood. And, while many workmen decry its indiscriminate uses, I am convinced the machine, taking it generally, has wrought more good than harm to the labouring classes; especially in materially reducing the cost in the production of manufactured commodities, and consequently enabling the humblest of our toilers to have a better share in the products of labour.

Another phase of the question deserving notice is the large number of young men—and older ones, too, for that matter—who have not served a full apprenticeship to their trades, and were not bound, who as soon as they have learned enough of their business to make them believe they are worth two or three more shillings a week in wages, desert their old master and take berths as improvers; and often they have to continue as improvers for the rest of their days, through neglecting to make themselves more fully competent. This type of men in the building trades has been brought into existence mainly by the 'jerry' building fraternity; they are not fitted for doing even fairly good work, and are often out of employment, being the last to be set on in a busy time, and the first to be stopped on its slackening. A further influence in this direction that has not worked altogether for good is the product of legislation. The Workmen's Compensation

Act was, we have no doubt, passed in the best interests of labour. But it has certainly resulted in rendering the position of many of the older men in their employment more precarious—men who have grown grey in the service of their employers, of whom it is often facetiously said they would have to be taken over along with the freehold when a change of proprietorship was made. I have known several of these men who have had to be turned adrift from this cause; and others because of this and trade union regulations combined, which would not permit them to accept lower wages for easier and less dangerous work in the same employment. And in this way many an old tie between workman and employer has had to be severed, and the kindly associations engendered by long years of service between man and man has had to be cast to the four winds because employers must be just to themselves before generous to their employees; and from these causes many an old workman who was competent for lighter work at less wages has become unemployed.

Another side issue which has proved an important factor in the cause of unemployment among the masses of the people is the superficial education we have been giving to our children in the elementary schools during the last thirty odd years. Not only has this training failed in turning out a more intelligent and willing body of workers but it has also rendered many of its recipients through a feeling of false pride unemployable. At the same time I do not wish to infer from this objection that the requisite skill to carry out many mechanical operations cannot be more readily gained and successfully applied by a capable educated workman; always provided that his moral training, his conscientiousness, is commensurate with his acquired abilities. But, unfortunately, this is too often not the case. That little learning which is a dangerous thing has upset his mental equilibrium, and instead of his abilities assisting him in his labours they have tended to make his work more irksome and distasteful, and, as it were, beneath his dignity. Education is a most desirable adjunct to industry, but whenever it interferes with discipline it is not an unalloyed blessing. The truth is we have attempted too much; the superstructure cannot be substantial if the foundation has been badly laid. Instead of in the first instance teaching thoroughly the three R's, grammar, composition, history, geography, and, above all, what can be taught for the formation of moral character, we have wearied our children's minds with problems in geometry, algebra, and other abstruse subjects, which, if learned, are of no use to nine-tenths of our working people, and so are promptly forgotten. And, further, this is a fact that cannot be ignored, and one which promises little hope for improvement in the educational status of my class. If nine-tenths of our working men can read and write fairly well, and have mastered sufficient arithmetic to enable them to understand the 'state of the odds,' that is enough to satisfy their limited require-

ments. And, if it were possible to imbue the majority of our workmen with the enthusiasm for work they have for sport and play, they would be irresistible and carry all before them. Nor can this failure of education in its alliance with labour be ascribed altogether to faults of the system or the teachers, as many parents must be held in a measure blameable for this shortcoming through allowing their children to be absent from school so often; while many others who, by the exercise of stern self-denial, have kept their children under tuition beyond the regular school age have, when they set them to work, insisted on putting them to some occupation where they can obtain their livelihood with their coats on. And in this way many a lad with a happy knack for searching out the why and wherefore of mechanical contrivances has been doomed to an uncongenial life on a desk stool; whereas, but for the false pride which apes gentility, had he been allowed to pursue the top of his bent, he would have turned out a creditable and willing producer of wealth—a six o'clock man—instead of being an incubus on the labour of others as a consumer; a misfit, a round peg in a square hole, dissatisfied with himself and a drag upon the progress of the rest of the community. The notion that unfortunately prevails among the majority of working class parents, who by dint of hard work and strict economy have managed to give their sons an education above the common, that these qualifications must needs be used as a stepping-stone to some occupation otherwise than manual labour, is a mistaken one. For while the black-coated brigade is always overcrowded and treading on each other's heels for employment, and even when in work, except in the higher positions, badly paid, there are always opportunities for clever lads with some push in them to rise to positions as foremen and managers in our textile mills, engineering, building, and general workshops, which would afford them better pay and more regular employment.

The tariff reformers' Open Sesame for the remedy of unemployment—the imposition of import duties on manufactured commodities from over the sea—is not at present within the range of practical politics; nor, I venture to say, likely to be for many long years. Still, as it is being strenuously pushed to the front, we will try to ascertain if any comfort for the workless one can be gained from this source. In the first place we must ask, What duties can be imposed on foreign imports which will prove beneficial to the working classes? I am decidedly of opinion that foodstuffs of whatever nature, and from whatever quarter they come, must be resolutely ruled out of this category. While the raw materials of every class used in our varied manufactures should be as free of access to our shores as the air we breathe, as it is as necessary to our existence as a manufacturing nation. Then as regards the semi-manufactured material we have heard so much about, this is equally as advantageous to our employers and workmen. For instance, take steel billets; these are

the raw material for the rolling of steel plates, angles, joists, and other sections ; and it is more than possible that the coal and coke used in their production abroad was exported from this country, and that the workman in wages and the colliery owner in profit has benefited by the transaction. Further, the sole reason why these semi-manufactures *can be 'dumped'* is that they are less costly than that of the home producer ; and it is undoubtedly true that this 'dumping' has enabled our home traders in many instances to buy this semi-raw material, complete its manufacture, and then re-export the finished product to the country of its origin. And all through the process the course of barter and exchange has furnished wages for our workmen, employment for our ships, and profit for the capitalist. But there is another aspect of our foreign trade that cannot be ignored, which tends to cut the ground from under our feet and render less stable our opportunities for advancement in our trade relations with our foreign customers. Just now, and for years, our engineers and machinists have been busy building mills and workshops in India, China, Japan, and other countries, and fitting them with motive power and machinery for the production of manufactured goods of all classes. I would ask if it is in the nature of things, after we have fitted these factories abroad with all necessary appliances for the natives of those countries to make the finished product for themselves, that we can expect them to take our finished goods as well ? Our innate good sense tells us that we cannot. We must understand these manufactories have been built for use, and not for show. And, while our workmen and capitalist employers, and through them the country generally, have reaped the benefit of the foreign orders, their after effects must recoil on our own heads in making competition keener for our manufacturers in those countries. Personally I do not think we have any cause for complaint on this score ; we cannot both eat our cake and have it ; and while our workers in wood and iron are prospering by this labour, the competition it induces will compel our merchants and manufacturers to get out of the old groove, or otherwise be side-tracked, and strike out into new paths wherever these influences bar the way to the old.

Those of us who are old enough to remember the early fifties of the last century, when flour and bread—the workman's staff of life—were more than twice the price they are to-day ; when tea and sugar, and colonial produce generally, were dear and scarce articles on the workman's table ; when the purchase of a new suit, a dress, a bonnet or a Paisley shawl was an event which came so seldom that it was regarded as a red-letter day in the calendar of the workman's home, and celebrated accordingly ; when wages were from 20 to 30 per cent. less than at this time, and were further depreciated in their purchasing power under the shadow of the restrictions of trade which then obtained ; when employment was more scanty and trade

depressions more severe ; none of us who can recall our experiences of fifty years since would, I aver, even lift a finger to help to bring them back again. While the younger generation, if they will but read, can live over again in history the stress and durance of the time, and thus fortify themselves against any insidious attempts to check the free and natural flow of imports and exports under whatever name—tariff reform, broadening the basis of taxation, or bald protection—as these will only end in reducing the volume of employment and raising the prices of commodities to the consumer ; and in their special application to the working classes making them poorer.

But by far the most potent causes which affect the continuity and volume of employment, with reference to which it will be necessary to speak plainly, are the wastage of health and wealth on intemperance of all kinds ; and strikes and lock-outs. These factors in the production of slackness in the call for labour and dislocations in trade are undoubtedly the most powerful of which we are made cognisant. There are few of us who can afford to waste our capital in riotous living or in idleness and not be left the poorer. But to the great body of the people this extravagant misuse of their money and their labour simply courts disaster. And it is obvious we have in these reasons for national depreciation the root causes most inimical to the progress in well-being of the working classes of this country.

To begin with the drink bill : according to calculations which have been made, 6s. 10d. per week is the average sum spent upon intoxicating liquors by every working class family in this kingdom. This estimate has been examined in great detail by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, who have tested the figures in a number of ways. The result of their investigation is summed up as follows :

That a large proportion of the working classes spend very much less than the amount suggested is certain ; but it is equally certain that a considerable number spend very much more, and when all possible deductions have been made, it is doubtful if the average family expenditure upon intoxicants can be reckoned at less than 6s. per week.¹

Taking this estimate of 6s. per week for each household as our basis, and taking the number of working class dwellings as given by Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., in *Riches and Poverty* at 6,500,000, we have an expenditure on intoxicating liquors alone of 1,950,000l. per week by the six and a half millions of families involved. That this huge sum is far more than reasonable moderation can possibly require there are few will deny. And the question is, What is reasonable moderation in strong drink ? My own estimate, as it is my practice, is a half pint a day, 3½ pints per week, at a cost of 8½d. a week for bottled beer at 2½d. per pint. But as I am probably more abstemious than the average, we will allow two pints a day, or fourteen pint bottles for the week, which will entail an expenditure of 2s. 11d. a

¹ Mr. B. S. Rowntree's *Poverty : a Study of Town Life*.

week on this item by every working class family in the kingdom. But even this saving can be improved upon by buying our beer in the cask. A very good beer can be bought for 1s. a gallon, but as we have no desire to sacrifice quality to cheapness, we will pay 1s. 2d. for it; and as our beer will now cost us less money we will extend our allowance for the benefit of the toper to two gallons, or sixteen pints per week, which will cost 2s. 4d. We shall now be in a position to compute the saving which can be made in the workman's share in the annual drink bill, and also to show how useful this saving will prove in the provision of employment. Deducting the 2s. 4d. beer money from the 6s. given as the average, we have 3s. 8d. left per family as a saving on this item; or for the 6,500,000 families, 1,191,666l. per week, which makes for the whole year over 61,966,632l.

As it is obvious the necessities of the labouring classes would require them to spend most of this saving on articles of dress, we will try and ascertain what they could buy per family with it, and also what the sum total would come to for the whole country. For convenience in calculation it will be desirable to bring the 3s. 8d. a week saved into a lump sum for the year, which is 9l. 10s. 8d. Having presumed that the money will be spent on useful articles of wearing apparel generally, we will take woollens first, and make provision for material for suits for the father and son of the family; this will require six yards of cloth, wide width, at 7s. per yard, *i.e.* 2l. 2s., which leaves us with 7l. 8s. 8d. to apportion among the other members of the family. On the supposition that they will require new coats or mantles and as there are three of varying ages to provide for, we shall have to buy seven yards of double width cloth at 4s. per yard for the purpose, *i.e.* 1l. 8s., this reducing our balance to 6l. 0s. 8d. As the mother and girls will be needing new dresses we will lay out a portion of our residue on wide-width union dress goods, which will take twelve yards of this material at 1s. 6d. per yard, or 18s. for this item. We have yet 5l. 2s. 8d. in hand, and as cotton goods will be required for various articles of underclothing, which will be made at home, we will purchase thirty-two yards of calico and flannelette at an average price of 5d. per yard, which will cost us 13s. 4d. From the 4l. 9s. 4d. we have left, we will buy boots for the whole family at an average cost of 9s. per pair, *i.e.* 2l. 5s. for five pairs. We have still a remainder of 2l. 4s. 4d., which it would be good policy to keep as a nest-egg against possible bad times, or expended, if absolutely needful, on other articles of utility.

Having now accounted for our savings on the drink bill of the great body of the people, we will proceed to demonstrate their effect in the provision of increased employment in the textile and shoe-making industries. So far as the woollen trade is concerned, we have an annual additional requirement of six yards at 7s. per yard, seven yards at 4s. and twelve yards of dress stuffs at 1s. 6d. a yard, while

cotton fabrics account for thirty-two yards at 5*d.* per yard, for each family. While the call for boots over and above the normal demand will be five pairs for 6,500,000 families, or a grand total of 32,500,000 pairs.

It will now be interesting to extend these items, and present them in the form of a table.

Woollen goods at 7 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> per yard	39,000,000 yards	£13,650,000
" " 4 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> "	45,500,000 "	9,100,000
Dress " 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> "	78,000,000 "	5,850,000
Cotton " 5 <i>d.</i> "	208,000,000 "	4,888,888
Boots, average price per pair 9 <i>s.</i>	32,500,000 pairs	14,625,000
Savings available for other purposes	... ..	14,408,838
Total savings	... ..	£61,966,666

Thus, out of a total saving of 61,966,666*l.* per year, on the expenditure for this item of luxury alone, we have, after buying the large quantities of manufactured goods and boots shown, at a cost of 47,558,333*l.*, still a capital of 14,408,333*l.* available for the purchase of furniture, carpets, curtains, and other articles for making the house cosy and beautiful. And, further, as we are entitled to presume that the denizens of the 6,500,000 dwellings dealt with would have had their needs supplied—in a sort of way—before, we may take it that the manufacturing of the additional quantity of textile goods and boots enumerated would be a clear gain to the community in increased employment.

This huge saving, which to all intents and purposes, and to the advantage of all concerned, could be wrested from the clutches of a trade that furnishes the lowest average rate of employment, and pays the least percentage in wages to its employees in accordance with the capital used in its business, would be sufficient to pay a living wage of 30*s.* per week, or 78*l.* a year, to 794,444 workmen, and afford them constant work all the year round; a number which is in excess of the highest total average state of unemployment, taking both unionist and non-unionist throughout the country.

With reference to other fruitful reasons for fluctuations in the demand for labour to be dealt with—strikes and lock-outs. We are frequently being confronted with examples of this character which must fill the minds of all thoughtful workmen with dismay. In some of these cases it is a pitiful illustration of the tail wagging the dog. At times, as we have seen, even of open mutiny against constituted authority set up by the men themselves, where the recusants, actuated by political zeal rather than the furtherance of their own best interests and the interests of their fellow-men, are determined to work out their own destiny on untried political lines in lieu of the established principles of supply and demand, which always have and always will in the long run rule the market for labour, as they do all other markets. But, although the question is a tempting one to handle, I will forbear

at this time, as my object is to bring into a somewhat stronger light the fact that the effects of these industrial upheavals do not confine themselves to those actually engaged, but exercise a direful influence upon many innocent non-combatants; and are the source of much of the want of continuity of labour that we all deplore. For instance, the dislocation of employment in the industries immediately involved will lead very soon to the throwing out of gear of the subsidiary trades, which must depend in a large measure upon the prosperity of the more important industries for their own development and success. In these cases, the spending power of the special belligerents affected and other cognate trades being crippled, its effects will soon be seen in the textile, tailoring, boot, and other manufactures. The fact that many thousands of toilers are workless and wageless will result in a general disturbance of business. Goods, which in normal circumstances would have gone into consumption, will be lying on the shelves of the retailer; consequently the orders which under brighter auspices should, and would, have been forthcoming for goods to replace those which ought to have been sold, have to be withheld, and short time and discharges of working men and women become the order of the day. And before long there are cries of distress and poverty arising from a condition of unemployment brought about, too often, by the unwarranted action of a comparatively few irresponsible men, who in the majority of cases cover the whole of their family, or their family's cares, under their own hats. But men will not think, or at least will not think wisely. It is a word and a blow, and too often the blow first. When employment in the industries throughout the country is declining, when employers are experiencing a difficulty in replacing orders as they are being worked out; when vacant berths in the shipbuilding yards, silent machines in the workshops, and discharges of workmen week after week tell the tale eloquently that trade has become depressed; this is no time for causing further trouble by strikes and lock-outs. Far more sensible would it be for all concerned to bow to the inevitable; instead of flying in the face of fortune, in the front of a falling market, at a time when the employer could more profitably close down his works than try to keep them going. Workmen are perfectly justified in doing all they can to gain a fairer share of the proceeds of their labour in prosperous times. But the application of this principle cuts both ways. As they have a right to share in the good times, equity demands it is equally their duty to suffer depreciation with the employers in the bad times. Putting on one side for the moment the comparative relations of employer and employed: profit-sharing without loss-sharing does not imply a complete sense of duty or of justice such as should prevail, if not between master and workman, at least between man and man.

In conclusion, it hardly seems necessary to insist that the large wastage of industrial capital—the accumulated funds of the trade

unions, and the moneys disbursed by the employers during a struggle of this character—would have been more sensibly used in the provision of work, instead of being thrown away in starving one side or the other into subjection. This capital, usefully employed, would not only have provided work in their own business, but through the ramifications of the commercial machine its benefits would have extended to the whole body of labour in the country. A change of this nature in our industrial strife is a consummation devoutly to be wished for; and one that will be near at hand when workmen recognise they owe a duty to their employers, and equally, employers to their workmen; and when both acknowledge they have duties which in common justice they should render to the whole community. Finally, the reforms here briefly sketched out are such as the working classes can accomplish for themselves. And, once achieved, they would result in such an expansion of our home trade as would prove a remedy for unemployment, and render unnecessary any alterations in our fiscal policy.

JAMES G. HUTCHINSON.

THE WOMEN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

IN June 1889—nearly twenty years ago—an ‘Appeal against Female Suffrage’ was issued in this Review. It was signed by about 104 names, headed by the veteran Lady Stanley of Alderley, whose long social service, combined with her marked independence and originality, made of her, in this matter, a leader whom other women were proud to follow. Among the names are many, very many, of which the bearers have now passed away. The list was rich in the names of women remarkable for ability or high character, and of these many were also the wives of famous men—Mrs. Goschen, Mrs. Westcott, Mrs. Church, Mrs. T. H. Green, Mrs. Leslie Stephen, Mrs. Huxley, Mrs. Hort, Mrs. Spencer Walpole, Mrs. W. E. Forster, Mrs. Matthew Arnold, Mrs. Arnold Toynbee, Mrs. Max Müller, Mrs. Seeley, Mrs. Bagehot—whose names therefore conveyed a double protest against a national danger.¹

If we look at the appeal itself, and compare it with the arguments advanced to-day against woman suffrage, we see that the case put forward is substantially the same, but that the process of time has in some respects strengthened the older pleas, while in others it has made it necessary to add to them. The ‘Appeal’ was written immediately after the passage of the Local Government Act creating County Councils as we now know them, and it expressed hearty sympathy]

with all the recent efforts which have been made to give women a more important part in those affairs of the community where their interests and those of men are equally concerned. . . . As voters for or members of School Boards, Boards of Guardians, and other important public bodies, women have now opportunities for public usefulness which must promote the growth of character, and at the same time strengthen among them the social sense and habit. . . . The care of the sick and the insane; the treatment of the poor; the education of children; in all these matters and others besides, they have made good their claim to larger and more extended powers.

Since these words were written what may be called the Local Government powers of women—powers especially recognised and

¹ In furtherance of this Appeal a Protest against Female Suffrage was widely circulated amongst women readers, and a long list of signatures was published in the August No. of the same year—EDITOR, *Nineteenth Century and After*.

supported by this earlier manifesto—have been still further extended, and, finally, the right of women not only to vote for, but to become elected members of County and Borough Councils, has been conceded, thus bringing to a successful issue a movement covering some forty years of the national life.

At the same time it will perhaps strike a thoughtful reader of the earlier document, as he or she looks back over the twenty years which separate us from it, that important as women's share in Local Government has become, female suffrage as such has had very little to do with it, or with the general progress of reform. Women have been placed on local bodies by the votes of men, or by co-option, rather than by the votes of women; probably just as good or even better results might have been achieved by the American system, which *nominates* women—through the Governor or the Mayor—to sit on State or Municipal boards. And outside the Local Government sphere altogether a large amount of both legislative and administrative reform has been secured by the efforts of women, official and non-official, whose wide experience of life, together with their trained ability, acting on the minds and appealing to the justice of men, have borne admirable fruit. The 'Remonstrants' of twenty years ago maintained that 'during the past half-century all the principal injustices of the law towards women have been amended by means of the existing constitutional machinery; and with regard to those that remain, we see no signs of any unwillingness on the part of Parliament to deal with them.' Parliament in truth has been dealing with them, in the slow but steady English fashion, ever since; and if much is still unachieved, it is because the reforms yet to be won depend upon the growth of public opinion and moral conviction among both average men and average women,—a growth which is still in many important respects—I refer especially to matters concerning the relation of the sexes—weak and ineffectual.

Thus, while the advancing education of women, and their greater social power and efficiency have given them an ever-increasing influence on both law-making and administration, the important suffrage—let me repeat—which they possessed during the whole period has played an extremely insignificant part in the process. It has been very difficult to get them to vote in any numbers; only the pressure of religious interests has achieved it; and with regard to the important powers in respect of women and children possessed by local bodies, the woman *vote* has notoriously meant little or nothing.

This is perhaps one of the most striking features of the twenty years which lie between us and the manifesto of '89. It seems to show that women are not naturally voters, and that the instruments which suit and serve them best are of another kind.

But while the main case to be presented against the suffrage does not differ now materially from the main case as it was presented

in '89, it cannot be denied that the circumstances of to-day are different from those of twenty years ago. The speech printed below enumerates some of those recent events which are in all our minds. Urged by them, the women of to-day, who oppose female suffrage, can no longer content themselves with 'Appeals' or 'Remonstrances.' We have reached perhaps the crisis of the movement, and an active propaganda must be met by one no less active. Last year the first steps in opposition were taken; and in a few weeks 37,000 signatures were collected. This year a National Women's Anti-Suffrage League has been started, evoking the same instant and widespread response, and on the 21st of July a crowded meeting, under the presidency of the Countess of Jersey, was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, for the purpose of approving the Constitution, and adopting the Manifesto of the new League. The task of proposing the Manifesto fell to myself, and the editor of this Review, renewing the friendly co-operation shown by Sir James Knowles in initiating the appeal of '89, has expressed a wish to print the speech made on that occasion. No one can be more conscious of its shortcomings and omissions than myself. But it shows, I hope, that the newly started League is very much in earnest; and that while the old arguments of '89 are as strong as ever, time has added not a few new ones to our store.

The manifesto ran as follows:

1. It is time that the women who are opposed to the concession of the parliamentary franchise to women should make themselves fully and widely heard. The arguments on the other side have been put with great ability and earnestness, in season and out of season, and enforced by methods legitimate and illegitimate.

2. An Anti-Suffrage League has therefore been formed, and all women who sympathise with its objects are earnestly requested to join it.

3. The matter is urgent. Unless those who hold that the success of the women's suffrage movement would bring disaster upon England are prepared to take immediate and effective action, judgment may go by default and our country drift towards a momentous revolution, both social and political, before it has realised the dangers involved.

4. It is sometimes said that the concession of the franchise is 'inevitable,' and that a claim of this kind once started and vehemently pressed must be granted. Let those who take this view consider the case of America. A vigorous campaign in favour of women's suffrage has been carried on in the States for more than a generation. After forty years the American agitation has been practically defeated. The English agitation must be defeated in the same way by the steady work and argument of women themselves.

5. Let us state the main reasons why this League opposes the concession of the parliamentary vote to women:

(a) Because the spheres of men and women, owing to natural causes, are essentially different, and therefore their share in the management of the State should be different.

(b) Because the complex modern State depends for its very existence on naval and military power, diplomacy, finance, and the great mining, constructive, shipping and transport industries, in none of which can women take any practical

part. Yet it is upon these matters, and the vast interests involved in them, that the work of Parliament largely turns.

(c) Because by the concession of the local government vote and the admission of women to County and Borough Councils, the nation has opened a wide sphere of public work and influence to women, which is within their powers. To make proper use of it, however, will tax all the energies that women have to spare, apart from the care of the home and the development of the individual life.

(d) Because the influence of women in social causes will be diminished rather than increased by the possession of the parliamentary vote. At present they stand, in matters of social reform, apart from and beyond party politics, and are listened to accordingly. The legitimate influence of women in politics—in all classes, rich and poor—will always be in proportion to their education and common sense. But the deciding power of the parliamentary vote should be left to men, whose physical force is ultimately responsible for the conduct of the State.

(e) Because all the reforms which are put forward as reasons for the vote can be obtained by other means than the vote, as is proved by the general history of the laws relating to women and children during the past century. The channels of public opinion are always freely open to women. Moreover, the services which women can with advantage render to the nation in the field of social and educational reform, and in the investigation of social problems, have been recognised by Parliament. Women have been included in Royal Commissions, and admitted to a share in local government. The true path of progress seems to lie in further development along these lines. Representative women, for instance, might be brought into closer consultative relation with Government departments, in matters where the special interests of women are concerned.

(f) Because any measure for the enfranchisement of women must either (1) concede the vote to women on the same terms as to men, and thereby in practice involve an unjust and invidious limitation; or (2) by giving the vote to wives of voters tend to the introduction of political differences into domestic life; or (3) by the adoption of adult suffrage, which seems the inevitable result of admitting the principle, place the female vote in an overpowering majority.

(g) Because, finally, the danger which might arise from the concession of woman suffrage, in the case of a State burdened with such complex and far-reaching responsibilities as England, is out of all proportion to the risk run by those smaller communities which have adopted it. The admission to full political power of a number of voters debarred by nature and circumstance from the average political knowledge and experience open to men, would weaken the central governing forces of the State, and be fraught with peril to the country. Women who hold these views must now organise in their support.

6. We appeal, therefore, to those who disapprove the present suffrage agitation, to join our League, and to support it by every means in their power.

The woman suffrage movement can be defeated—it must be defeated—and by women themselves.

Women of England! We appeal to your patriotism, and your common sense.

Upon this text the following speech was delivered:

'The first part of the foregoing Manifesto dwells on the urgency of the situation. As to that there can, I think, be no doubt. When a Women's Enfranchisement Bill has passed its second reading in the House of Commons by a large majority; when we have a militant Society, amply supplied with money, and served by women who seem to give their whole time to its promotion; when we have before us the spectacle of marchings and counter-marchings, alarums and

excursions, on behalf of the Suffrage cause, in all parts of England ; when Ministers' houses are attacked and political meetings broken up ; when besides the pennyworth of argument, added to an intolerable deal of noise, with which the Women's Social and Political Union provide us, we have the serious and impressive sight of Mrs. Fawcett's procession of a month ago—then, indeed, it seems to be time that those women who, with no less seriousness, with, I hope, no less tenacity, and with certainly as much public spirit as Mrs. Fawcett and her supporters, hold the view that Woman Suffrage would be a disaster for England, and first and foremost for women themselves—that they should bestir themselves, that they should take counsel, that they should organise opposition, and prepare to see it through. For the fight will be a tough and a long one. We shall want work, we shall want money, we shall want enthusiasm. No member joining this League should be an idle member. Time, money, zeal—we ask you for all these—and if this newly formed League is not prepared to give them, we might as well not organise it at all. We want an efficient Central Office, and an efficient Executive Committee ; we want a good and active Publication Committee ; we want branches throughout the country, who will take up with energy the work of local persuasion, of interviewing members and candidates for Parliament, and of meeting the tactics and arguments of the Suffragists with counter-tactics and counter-arguments. Not that we intend to meet lawlessness with lawlessness ; far from it. This League cannot, in my opinion, uphold too strongly the old English standards of fair-play and courtesy in debate, of law-abiding and constitutional methods. The Suffragists, indeed, are already inviting us to go to prison for our opinions. We in return can only marvel at the logic of Miss Beatrice Harraden, for instance, who maintains in the *Times*, that because a small body of women whose “ blood is up,” to use Miss Harraden's expression, choose to invite imprisonment by violent methods, choose to subject themselves to discomforts in prison from which they could free themselves at a word, that therefore—therefore—this “ dear land of England,” this old and complex State, is to capitulate at once to a doctrine which, in our belief, the great majority of its inhabitants disapprove and condemn, is to change its ancient use and custom, and is to embark alone of civilised States of the first rank, on the strange seas of Woman Suffrage. The considerations are not equal ! and what is practically a revolution is not going to be bought so cheap !

‘ Let us, then, meet energy with energy, and in a spirit of hope. There is nothing in this movement which cannot be defeated, as this Manifesto points out. I have ventured lately to draw English attention to the state of things in America, where, after half a century of agitation, the Woman Suffrage movement is obviously declining, put down by the common sense of women themselves. They cer-

tainly could have got it if they had ultimately determined upon it ; and in the sixties and seventies, when Women's Clubs were spreading all over the States, with the avowed object of securing Woman Suffrage, when great meetings were perpetually being held, and petitions presented to the State Legislatures, or to Congress, it looked as though the movement would and must succeed. Four States had granted the Suffrage ; other States were being pressed to grant it. Then, in the eighties, the tide turned. The opinion of women themselves set against it. Women's Anti-Suffrage Societies sprang up, led in many cases by the women most actively concerned in social and philanthropic work ; appeals to State Legislatures were met by counter-appeals, ably argued, a vast amount of literature was distributed ; and now, not even Mrs. Cobden Sanderson can deny that the movement is receding, or, as Mrs. Fawcett prefers to put it, is "less advanced" than in England. Mr. Zangwill, indeed, announces that he is "bored" by facts drawn from Wyoming and Oregon. But I am afraid this is only when they are used against him ! The Society for which he writes is never tired of quoting the four Suffrage States, when it suits them to do so, and of printing a number of highly doubtful statements about them. One of their recent pamphlets deals entirely with the noble example of Wyoming and Colorado, Utah and Idaho. But when someone points out that there is a great deal to be said of another kind about these four States, and that the State of Oregon, which has for neighbours these very Suffrage States, has just defeated a Woman's Suffrage amendment by 20,000 votes, as against 10,000 last time, and 1,800 the time before—*then* Mr. Zangwill is "bored."

'We must fight then, and fight with hope.

'As to the reasons for the fight, we are probably all pretty much agreed in this room. Women are "not undeveloped men but diverse," and the more complex the development of any State, the more diverse. Difference, not inferiority—it is on that we take our stand. The modern State depends for its very existence—and no juggling with facts can get rid of the truth—on the physical force of men, combined with the trained and specialised knowledge which men alone are able to get, because women, on whom the child-bearing and child-rearing of the world rest, have no time and no opportunity to get it. The difference in these respects between even the educated man and the educated woman—exceptions apart—is evident to us all. Speaking generally, the man's mere daily life as breadwinner, as merchant, engineer, official, or manufacturer, gives him a practical training that is not open to the woman. The pursuit of advanced science, the constantly developing applications of science to industry and life, the great system of the world's commerce and finance, the fundamental activities of railways and shipping, the hard physical drudgery, in fact, of the world, day by day—not to speak of

naval and military affairs, and of that diplomacy which protects us and our children from war—these are male, conceived and executed by men. The work of Parliament turns upon them, assumes them at every turn. That so many ignorant male voters have to be called into the nation's councils upon them, is the penalty we pay for what on the whole are the great goods of democracy. But this ignorance-vote is large enough in all conscience, when one considers the risks of the modern State; and to add to it yet another, where the ignorance is imposed by nature and irreparable—the vote of women who in the vast majority of cases are debarred by their mere sex from that practical political experience which is at least always open to men—could any proceeding be more dangerous, more unreasonable? The women who ask it—able, honourable, noble women though they be—are not surely true patriots, in so far as they ask it. There is a greatness in self-restraint as well as in self-assertion; and to embarrass the difficult work of men, in matters where men's experience alone provides the materials for judgment, is not to help women. On the contrary. We are mothers, wives, and sisters of men, and we know that our interests are bound up with the best interests of men, and that to claim to do their work as well as our own is to injure both.

‘But we shall be told there is a vast field where men and women are equally concerned—the field of industrial and domestic legislation—and that women here ought to have an equal voice. And if there were any practical possibility of dividing up the work of Parliament, so that women should vote on only those matters where they are equally concerned with men, there would be a great deal to be said for a special franchise of the kind. But there is no such possibility. Mr. Gladstone tried something like it when in the case of the first Home Rule Bill he endeavoured to draw a line between certain subjects and others, in the case of the Irish members. We all know that he failed. The work of Parliament is one and indivisible. The handling of every subject bears on the handling of every other, and the vote, once given, can only carry with it the whole range of parliamentary power.

‘But what then? Are women without power over the subjects that specially concern them, because they are and, as we hope, will remain without the parliamentary vote?

‘By no means. They have first of all the power which will always belong, vote or no vote, to knowledge and experience wherever they are to be found. During the last half-century, as the education of women has advanced, and as their experience has been enlarged, their influence upon public men and upon legislation has steadily increased. Not a single Bill is now passed bearing on the special interests of women and children, but women are anxiously consulted. When the Special Schools for defective children were constituted throughout the country, the influence of women shaped the law at every successive stage; when the Midwives Act was passed, it was not, as Mrs.

Pankhurst says, "passed by men without consulting women"—it was, as I happened to know, mainly the work of a group of energetic and clear-headed women, who proved their point and achieved their reform, even against a strong masculine opposition. The Probation of Offenders Act of last year was framed throughout in consultation with women possessed of expert knowledge and experience; and as for the Children's Bill of this Session, this children's charter, which does Mr. Samuel such honour, it could not have been drawn up without the advice and help of women, which it has had, throughout. Women, moreover, are now placed on Royal Commissions, and we may be very sure that the influence of Mrs. Sidney Webb on the Poor Law Commission is at least equal to that of any man upon it.

'But this is not all. Women have not only the influence given them by special knowledge and ability, knowledge which enables them now in all fields to represent and speak for their sex; they have also freely open to them, whether as electors or elected, the immense field of local government. They have had the municipal vote for thirty-seven years; they have long been eligible as Poor Law Guardians, as parish or district councillors, and they have now been made eligible as county and borough councillors. If anyone will take up any competent book on local government and look at the powers of county and borough councils, he will ask himself, I think, how long will it be before women overtake or fill the immense sphere which has been here opened to them? They have not, indeed, shown any great zeal to fill it. The women's vote has been extremely small, except when some exciting cause has intervened—not unlike the men, however, in this! But all the time, if the vote were really the talisman that the Suffragists proclaim, what women might have done in local government!—what they still might do!

'If we get the vote," says one of the Suffragist leaflets, "more attention would be given to the condition of the children, to the care of the sick and aged, to education," and so on. But meanwhile all sorts of powers are lying unused under the hands of women. There has been much talk, for instance, of the evils of street trading for children of school age. But this is a matter which depends entirely upon the County Council; and if the women's vote in London, which they have now possessed for thirty years and more, had been properly used and directed, street trading could have been made impossible. Organised playgrounds again for children throughout London could have been established, as they have been established in Boston and New York; a hundred things could have been done for children, if voters and organisers had so willed it. Meanwhile, the need for women school managers of a capable sort throughout London is really urgent. In the Cripple Schools with which I have been specially connected, we cannot get women enough to do the work which urgently wants doing for these delicate and helpless children. And

meanwhile good brains and skilled hands are being diverted from women's real tasks to this barren agitation for equal rights with men, in men's own field, this sex-rivalry, which has too often masqueraded as reform.

'Two arguments often used in the controversy are not touched in the Manifesto, which had of necessity to be short. But they have had remarkable influence upon the working population of the north. I mean (1) the argument that the possession of the vote would raise the wages of women to an equality with those of men; (2) that hygienic regulation of the employment of women—married women especially—should not be imposed on women without their consent, expressed through the vote.

'Heavy indeed is the responsibility of those who are teaching an excitable factory population that the possession of a vote will raise their wages! If this were even remotely true, would the average wage of the agricultural labourer, twenty-four years after his political enfranchisement, be still 15s. or 16s. a week? Would all that mass of low-paid male labour disclosed by Mr. Rowntree's book on York, or Mr. Booth's London, still exist—if the vote could remedy it?

'The reasons why women's wage is generally lower than that of men are partly economic, partly physical. There are more women than men; men are stronger than women; there is far more competition for men's labour; marriage and the expectation of marriage affect the industrial value of women's work unfavourably; and above all the organisation of women's labour is still backward and weak.

'Many causes now in operation will, we hope, tend in time to the better payment of women; the more even spread of the world's population, better training, better organisation, and so on. But to teach the labouring women of England that a parliamentary vote is of itself to raise wages and bring them the economic millennium, is, as it seems to me, to poison the wells of thought and action among them, and to increase instead of lightening the burdens on our sex.

'As to factory regulations, the opinion of women in the matter, trained and experienced women, has been of increasing importance with the Government for many years past. I believe I am not wrong in saying that a very large proportion of the recent reforms in factory legislation for women and children are due to the reports of women inspectors, in daily contact with the people, and bringing their trained knowledge to bear. But let us ask a further question. Is the work of married women in factories the concern only of women? Not at all. It is the concern of the nation as a whole, who are the trustees for and the guardians of the coming generation.

'Whether the legitimate influence of women on legislation could be carried further, on the lines of responsible advice, and co-operation with Government departments, is a matter to which some of us have

given anxious thought. You will find a reference to this in the Manifesto. We have no hard and fast plan. We throw out the suggestion to show that we are far from admitting that everything is for the best in the best of worlds. We know that there are grievances of women, just as there are grievances of men, awaiting redress. But let us not throw out the child with the bath water. Let us not in pushing the claims and demands of women forget that the interests of the whole—of the great country to which we all belong—must come first. As one reads the Suffragist literature, Macaulay's lines come ringing in one's head :—

When all were for a party,
And none were for the State.

'The party of sex may be the worst of all parties. And there is too much of it in the Suffrage agitation.

'Practically, then, our new League meets the Suffragist demand by a direct negative, and by the strong assertion that women's true sphere is already secured to her, both in the home and the State, and what she has to do now is to fill and possess it. For the brutalities and wrongs that remain, force, political force, is no remedy. The task, alack, is harder than that.

'Finally, outside the political machinery necessary to the maintenance of the modern, civilised State, there is a world of thought and action common to both men and women alike, in perfect equality, a world more readily open to ideas than the world of party politics, a world where all reforms begin, and which provides the force which ultimately carries them. Every capacity of women can find, if we will, free scope in that world, and within it women's influence and women's power depend entirely upon what women are themselves.

'Well, now, we have to give practical effect to this belief. We have to carry the organisation of the League throughout the country ; we have to provide good and adequate literature ; we have, above all, to break down the 420 pledges that have been given to Woman Suffrage in this Parliament ; and if Men's Societies " for the promotion of Woman Suffrage " have been already formed—as they have been formed in the north—we must call on men to form Associations of voters " in opposition to Woman Suffrage." In short, we must fight—with good humour, I hope, and with constant respect for those—often dear friends of our own—who differ from us, but with a determination to make our voice heard, and to save England, if we can, from a national disaster.'

MARY A. WARD.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.*

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THE TURKISH REVOLUTION

THREE points are especially interesting in connexion with the remarkable change which has taken place in the condition of the Ottoman Empire. Firstly, the unprecedented manner in which one of the most despotically governed countries in the world has acquired freedom; secondly, the prospects of a satisfactory working of the new order of things and its permanence—in other words, the prospects of real reformation which the transformation offers; thirdly, the feelings with which the modified situation in which Turkey finds herself is viewed by her immediate neighbours and by the rest of the world.

I propose to deal with these three points as comprehensively as is possible within the compass of a Review article.

The re-establishment by Abd-ul-Hamid of the Constitution he had promulgated in 1876, and almost immediately afterwards suspended, came as a tremendous surprise to everybody, not excepting the chiefs of the Young Turkey party, who did not expect such a sudden fruition of their patriotic labours. Undoubtedly these labours have been very great during the last ten years or so, and marked by an ability and perseverance which reflect the greatest credit on the reorganiser of the party, Prince Sabah-ed-dine, own nephew of Abd-ul-Hamid, who, at

the early age of thirty, has gained undying glory as the prime agent in the destruction of one of the most infamous and yet most deeply-rooted political systems in the world. But the obstacles to success opposed by the ill-inspired genius of Abd-ul-Hamid, and the extraordinary difficulty of weaning the Turkish peasant, who forms the backbone of the Turkish Army, from his almost animal devotion to the Sultan-Caliph, were recognised to be of such magnitude by the party as to cause it to believe that at least two or three years more would be necessary to bring about that general revolt of the troops upon which it had rightly centred its efforts and which, by depriving the Hamidian régime of its principal support, would bring it to the ground. What hastened the event is that the indescribably wretched condition which has been the lot of the Turkish soldier under the autocracy of Yildiz, and which none but men of his admirably patient and disciplined race would have endured so long, became at last intolerable to him when he was brought into contact with his fellow-subjects, most of them his co-religionists, of the Macedonian Gendarmerie, whose treatment, under European supervision, formed such a contrast to his own. The army concentrated in Macedonia, which represented four-fifths of the military establishment of Turkey, having revolted, the movement spread with lightning rapidity to the neighbouring troops in the Vilayet of Adrianople, and from them to those in the vicinity of Constantinople, because it arose from a reaction against unbearable sufferings common to all the soldiers of the Sultan, with the exception of those belonging to the pampered Guard, garrisoned around Yildiz itself, and also because, unlike former mutinies, the rebellion in Macedonia broke out in the midst of a whole Army Corps simultaneously, and thus gave encouragement to other units and divisions to follow suit.

The Young Turkey party had no anticipation of this happy precipitation of events, due to unforeseen causes; but no sooner had the tendency manifested itself among the rank and file to take into its own hands the matter of the reformation of their lot—their object was purely selfish in the beginning, and confined to the desire of remedying military grievances only—than the party intervened through the numerous officers affiliated to its cause, and, adjusting the movement to its general purposes, gave it the significance of a political rising, which led, in an extraordinarily short time, to the attainment of its fundamental programme. Herein lies the great merit of Prince Sabah-ed-dine and his coadjutors. They were prepared for emergencies because they had patiently established a widespread connexion with the regimental officers of the Turkish Army, the great majority of whom had personal as well as patriotic motives for adhering to the Young Turkey creed, but who ran the greatest risks in joining the ranks of the party. In this way a military revolt was promptly transformed into a revolution: the first, be it noted,

which has taken place in the history of Turkey. It is a fact that, so far, all dethronements and other forced political changes in the Ottoman Empire have been the result of conspiracies or revolts. It is a sign of the times that, whereas it has been impossible in the past to bring the Turkish masses into line against the throne, because to them it represented an intangible Idol, semi-religious, semi-political, they have been awakened by their sufferings into a notion of solidarity, the underlying element of which is a new-born spirit of criticism in regard to the Sultan-Caliph. The great difference between the Turkish upheaval of 1876 and the present one is that the former represented the ideas of a small group of enlightened patriots, whereas the latter is thoroughly national in character. •

The rôle played by Abd-ul-Hamid in the drama which has just been enacted is intensely interesting to analyse. At first—that is, during two or three days—the crowned Machiavelli of modern times could not bring himself to believe that the system he had devised for preventing his subjects, and especially his troops, from combining against him in any but a sporadic and timid manner—that system which we cannot help admiring as a marvel of ingenuity, knowledge of human nature, and singleness of purpose—had failed to act after serving him so well for thirty-one years. When, however, with the quick perception which is one of the attributes of his extraordinary intellect, he realised that this was the case, and that resistance to the wishes of the nation was out of the question, he promptly adapted himself to the new situation and, shedding the despot, entered into the skin of a constitutional sovereign with a facility and good grace which came as a revelation even to those most intimately acquainted with him. It was an axiom with all students of Abd-ul-Hamid's character that, rather than part with the omnipotence of despotism, which appeared to be as necessary an element of existence to him as the breath of his nostrils, he would confront a hundred deaths or put an end to his days with his own hands. Is he not authentically known to have said that, so long as he could remain the absolute master of his subjects, the Empire might shrink to the size of a single province? And does not the whole history of his reign confirm this statement? Does it not teach that his object has been to weaken the Empire systematically, methodically, unrelentingly, in order the better to dominate it, but nicely calculating withal his destructive action so as to prevent the fabric from collapsing entirely before his death, and thus have some territory, if only that single province of which we have just spoken, to dominate? Never in history has the motto of '*Après moi le déluge*' been more thoroughly followed than by Abd-ul-Hamid as Sultan of Turkey. And yet that very man, when confronted by the inevitable in the shape of an unexpected revolution, bows to it, and says to his subjects: 'I thoroughly identify myself with the change. My dearest wish is to preside over its successful

development.' And he means what he says. Not that he would not take advantage of the smallest chance of recovering his lost power; but, seeing none, and rightly so, for reasons which will presently appear, he has no alternative, since he has decided to remain on the throne, but to play the part of constitutional sovereign as thoroughly as he has typified that of despot. It is indeed a wonder that, instead of abdicating or committing suicide—as one would have expected of a ruler who, having sacrificed everything to the possession of absolute power, and having enjoyed it in all its Oriental plenitude for thirty-one years, is suddenly deprived of it—he should bend himself to the tameness of limited monarchy. It is only another reason for admiring this prodigious man, in whom will-power is evidently the supreme quality among so many other remarkable attributes. But, it may be asked, what is it that has caused him to exercise his will-power in the direction he has adopted? No doubt the fact that, being no longer able to sacrifice the Empire to his misguided ambition, he has suddenly awakened to a sense of patriotism, and wishes to make amends to his country by serving it in the only capacity left to him, that of constitutional sovereign. Be that as it may, we need not hesitate to believe that the genius of Abd-ul-Hamid will act now as an invaluable aid to Turkey, as invaluable in the present as its ill-directed action in the past has been incalculably injurious to her. The writer is firmly convinced that, if only he live long enough, Abd-ul-Hamid is destined to become the best sovereign Turkey has ever had, after having certainly been the worst. None better than he, possessed as he is of an incomparable experience, a unique *coup d'œil*, and a deftness of touch that makes a very magician of him, could pilot the ship of State through the stormy seas of reform; for stormy they will soon become, the present glad calm and sunshine being the result of temporary causes, as will be presently explained. Who knows but what Abd-ul-Hamid may yet wipe out the memory of the wrongs he has inflicted upon his country by services of equal magnitude?

Another very remarkable circumstance accompanying the Turkish Revolution, and which justifies the pretty name given to it by Hilmi Pasha, *une évolution sans tache*, is that it has given rise to no excesses on the part of the soldiery or the civilian population. The movement has been, so far, kept well in hand by the Young Turkey leaders, who have used their new-found power with a tact and moderation equal to the consummate skill and dogged perseverance which has led to the triumph of their programme. Only two cases of violence against the representatives of the former *régime*, of which the horrors were sufficient to justify the most terrible reprisals on the part of the population, have been recorded up to date. Fehim Pasha, perhaps the greatest villain of the infamous gang which served as an instrument for the execution of the now defunct policy of Yildiz, was lynched at Broussa by the mob, and another myrmidon of the palace, a notorious

spy, was badly beaten at Salonica. For the rest, arrest and imprisonment have been the only forms of punishment to which recourse has been had. As for pillaging or even mafficking, there has been no instance of them. This constitutes the highest testimonial not only in favour of the leaders of the movement but of the Musulman population at large, and more especially the predominant Turkish element, which was credited in so many quarters with every instinct of brutality but has given the world, not excluding the West, which indulges in such complacent self-laudation, a lesson in self-restraint and generosity which should receive ample recognition from the detractors of the race, its English detractors especially, who have been loudest in their denunciations of the 'unspeakable Turk.' It is only fair to add that it is in England also that Turkey has found her staunchest friends, and that they have always formed the majority of the population.

While it developed without displaying excesses of any kind, the Turkish Revolution has been marked by the fraternisation of Musulmans and Christians, and of Christians among themselves, and, still more astonishing phenomenon, by the surrendering to the Turkish authorities of the 'Comitadji' bands of Macedonia. But this fraternisation, so far as the majority of the Christians is concerned, is attributable to no permanent feeling. Overjoyed at the suppression of the tyranny which weighed so heavily on them, the Christians, thinking for the moment of nothing else but of manifesting their wild delight, fell on the necks of their Musulman compatriots, who had already moved to meet them more than half way. The latter are certainly inspired by a sincere desire for permanent reconciliation. But it is just as certain that the former, or at least certain nationalities among them, will sooner or later, rather sooner than later, freeze into indifference and from indifference pass back to hostility. As for the 'Comitadjis,' the latest news to hand is to the effect that they are already reverting to their former occupation. This brings me to the second point of my article, namely, the prospects of good working and durability of the new order of things in Turkey.

The Turks proper, the founders of the Ottoman Empire, of which they have always been and will continue to remain the axis, and which is composed of nearly as many nationalities as the mosaic of peoples governed by the Hapsburgs, are giving conclusive proofs of their sincere desire to weld the variegated and, so far, antagonistic populations of Turkey into one whole, inspired by a feeling of common citizenship. This is natural. Chastened by a bitter experience, the Turks have become fully aware that they can only keep together what remains of the inheritance of Osman, *their* inheritance, through the contentment of the races they have conquered. It is for this reason that the first care of the Young Turkey party in its hour of triumph has been to proclaim and emphasise what, *du reste*, constitutes one of the fundamental principles of the resuscitated Constitution of

Midhat Pasha, namely, the equality before the law, under the common name of Ottomans, of all the elements of the heterogeneous multitude which inhabits the Empire. The Turkish population (I am still speaking of the Turks proper) has cordially adhered to this notion of its leaders. Few incidents in history are more touching than the visit paid by a large assemblage of Turks to the Armenian cemetery in Constantinople in order to deposit floral tributes on the graves of the victims of the massacre of 1894 and to have prayers recited, by a priest of their own persuasion, over the butchered dead. Truly, the Turks have shown to extraordinary advantage during the present crisis. Not only have they displayed marked steadiness of demeanour in a situation which would have produced disorderly intoxication in most nations, but they have also acted like men of feeling and refinement, confirming the verdict of those who knew them best that they are 'the gentlemen of the East.' And they have been well served by their instincts. For, if anything was calculated to placate the Armenians and throw them into the arms of the race from whose midst sprang their arch tormentor and which, though it did not lend itself to the execution of the sanguinary anti-Armenian policy of the Yildiz—it is the Kurds who are guilty of this revolting complacency—yet has much with which to reproach itself in regard to them, it is this charmingly simple act of contrition and redemption.

The Turks having offered moral reparation, in this and other gracefully inspired forms, to the Armenians for past ill-treatment, and the latter having accepted it in the same spirit, while, on the other hand, the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1876 has been already accompanied by preliminary measures of reform and other circumstances which make it imperative on every fair-minded person to give the ruling element in Turkey credit for the earnest desire and the ability to introduce competent government into the Empire—a point to which I will revert with greater wealth of argument at the end of this article, asking my readers to take it provisionally for granted that the Turks deserve the full confidence of the world in the new rôle they have assumed—nothing stands in the way of a permanent political association of the two peoples.

There are Armenians but there is no Armenia. In none of the Turkish vilayets or Russian provinces included in the boundaries of the defunct Kingdom of Tigrane the Great do the Armenians form the majority. Even if they did and were well grouped geographically they could not dream of achieving absolute independence, counting, as they do, less than 2,000,000, between two such powerful neighbours as Russia and Turkey. The Poles, who form a *compact* ethnic mass numbering 20,000,000, and who possess at least as much patriotism and vitality, not to speak of civilisation, as the Armenians, have renounced the idea, not, indeed, of regaining the unity of which the partition of their country has deprived them—that will come—but of

reconstituting an independent political entity. With the sense of realities they have developed in the school of adversity they have understood that, situated as they are numerically and geographically, the extreme form of self-government they can attain is that of autonomy as federal member of one of the two gigantic States between which and Austria their territory is divided, namely Russia, who offers them the advantage of reconciliation and union with a kindred race. Can the Armenians hope to do better than the Poles? As a matter of fact, only a small minority of the leaders of the race, which is sensible in the main, and has calmed down from the chimerical exaltation which possessed it at one time, as it possessed the Poles, have aspired for anything else but happy conditions of existence under Turkish rule. Excellent foundations for this exist in the very considerable autonomy which the Armenians as well as the other non-Muslim elements of the Empire already enjoy in a form which is remarkable in that it is racial, not territorial, and groups them into distinct units called *Millet* (nations) under their religious chiefs—Patriarchs, Exarchs, Rabbis, etc. If, to the full exercise of this legally recognised privilege which, under the autocracy of Abd-ul-Hamid, received many checks, be added the benefits of a good imperial government, nothing will be wanting to make the lot of the Armenians, as a people, as satisfactory as it is materially possible for it to become. The guarantees provided for the accomplishment of these conditions by the new era which has dawned in the Ottoman Empire make it less desirable than ever for the Armenians to join their brethren under Russian rule—a third section of the race lives in Persia—which is the only other alternative to their aspirations. Maltreated they have been by the Turks, administratively and socially; but with the adoption of a sincerely fraternal attitude towards them by the latter, and the memory of the political liberality which their conquerors have shown them, and which has allowed them to retain their national individuality and develop a considerable measure of civilisation, they cannot feel attracted to Russia, where, in addition to ill-treatment equal to that endured in Turkey, their compatriots have suffered and still suffer from legal disabilities, and are exposed to denationalisation. Indeed, what is more than likely to happen is that the Russian Armenians will emigrate *en masse* to Turkey, substituting for the religious centre of Etchmiadzin, in the Caucasus, which has been for centuries the seat of the 'Catholicos,' the supreme pastor of the forcibly disrupted race, some locality on Ottoman territory equally enshrined in national traditions and legends.

It will be seen from what precedes that the Armenians are destined to work in durable unison with the Turks in the remodelled Ottoman Empire. Their financial, commercial, and administrative aptitudes, which are of the highest order, will constitute a felicitous complement to the political and martial virtues which predominate in the Turks.

The co-operation of the two peoples will act as a conservative factor of great importance in the new situation.

The Albanians and the Kurds, living respectively at the western and eastern extremities of the Empire, and whose case, as subjects of the Porte, presents singular points of resemblance in that they have both been allowed to preserve a feudal system of organisation, and to indulge their lawless and rapacious instincts at the expense of their Christian compatriots, while, at the same time, they are practically exempted from military service—the so-called ‘Hamidic’ regiments of Kurdish cavalry are a voluntary militia which has sprung out of an understanding between Abd-ul-Hamid and the hereditary enemies of the Armenians, the better to enable the former to exercise their sanguinary hostility against the latter—have not the same reasons as the Armenians for rejoicing at the re-establishment of the Constitution. To them this great event means the loss of very substantial privileges. And, although the new *régime* will provide them with compensations in the shape of administrative benefits such as roads, education, and other characteristics of civilisation, in whose wake wealth will follow automatically and without violence, the more ignorant and thoughtless among them will not be in a position to appreciate them for some time to come, or, at all events, will consider that the enjoyment of lording it over others, pistol in hand, is far superior to that procured by progress and well-being under a system of equality with their former victims. But the Turkish soldier, disciplined, brave, and well armed, who has acted policeman throughout the Empire with such stolid devotion to an effete and wicked central government of which he has been one of the principal sufferers, will resume this duty with an increased vigour and goodwill inspired by the improved conditions of service under the colours, and will restore order in the disaffected provinces even quicker than when he was asked to do so before by the Sultan—which, in truth, was not often. Eventually both races will settle down contentedly to the modern conception of citizenship which the constitutional government of Turkey will set before them, backed by Mauser rifles and Krupp guns of the latest pattern. This will happen much sooner in the case of the Albanians, who, though wild and ignorant, are a highly intelligent race with traits of nobility in their character which are entirely lacking in their ‘colleagues’ on the other border of the Empire. The Shkipetars, as they call themselves, are destined, like the Armenians, to become a very valuable asset to the Empire whose councils have already benefited in the past, and will do so much more in the future, from their political genius—the famous Keuprullu dynasty of Grand-Vizirs was Albanian, as are so many of the Young Turks—and whose army will receive a considerable supplement of qualities from the dash and resourcefulness of these remarkable mountaineers whom ethnologists have been unable to classify any more than the Basques of the Pyrenees. As for any desire on their

part to unite with Greece, which fanciful and complacent theorists of that country attribute to them, the notion is simply grotesque. Even more grotesque is the supposition that they will care to pass under Austro-Hungarian or Italian rule, either of which will not be content to deprive them of their privileges, but will condemn them to a condition of political inferiority in the midst of the communities which constitute the monarchies governed respectively by the Houses of Hapsburg and Savoy. The position of their country in the new combination would be that of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a portion of Turkey, already occupied by Austria-Hungary, excellently administered, no doubt, but kept in distinct subjection to the older political formation.

The Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians inhabiting the Empire have derived genuine satisfaction from the change brought about by the Young Turks. But how long will this feeling last? To live free from degradation and outrage is necessarily the unique pre-occupation, *for the present*, of these races which, so far, have been the victims not only of the maladministration of Constantinople, but also, and in later times especially, of the armed bands vomited by the States formed around Macedonia by their emancipated congeners. These bands, of which Bulgaria was the first to conceive the notion, finding prompt imitators, or rather rivals, in Greece and Servia, have not been in the least concerned to ameliorate the lot of their unredeemed brethren. Their only object has been either to bring back to the national fold what were, or what they considered to be, lost sheep, or to attract new ones from the neighbouring enclosures. In their struggles to attain this object against one another, with a view to the establishment of favourable statistics to their plans at the expense of the 'Sick Man' (what irony this name contains to-day!), they have had recourse to methods of such violence as must surely make the 'Grand Old Man,' who was such a staunch believer in the righteousness of all in Turkey except the 'Unspeakable Turk,' turn uneasily in his grave. The bestial intoxication caused to them by the fumes of the human blood they were spilling with such accompaniment of cruelty, and of the innumerable villages they were reducing to cinders in the districts inhabited by their rivals, finally overcame all sense of the human in them, and being at the same time pressed by the want of funds, especially the Bulgar and Servian bands, which, unlike the Greek, lacked the patronage of wealthy merchant-princes, they actually resorted to methods of extortion against their own kith and kin, showing as much savagery in this pursuit as in their enterprises against their opponents. No wonder that the settled Greeks, Bulgars, and Servians of Macedonia—I have left out of consideration the Koutzo-Vlachs or trans-Balkan Roumanians as too insignificant a factor—overtaxed by the Ottoman authorities who gave them absolutely nothing in exchange, terrorised each by the bands

of the two other sides, and even by those which had taken the field in the name of their own particular nationalism, celebrated the wonderful change, so full of promises of relief, which had taken place all of a sudden in the management of the Empire, by shouting 'hosanna' and fraternising indiscriminately with one another and the Turks. It is less easy to explain why the bands surrendered to the authorities, since they were composed of maniacs exclusively intent upon 'pegging-out' claims at any cost for their respective nationalities, an operation which the reformation of government in Turkey is scarcely calculated to facilitate. But a reaction is bound to set in at no remote period in the case of all these populations, as has already happened in the case of the 'Comitadjis.' Emancipated Greece, Bulgaria, and Servia will act as irresistible magnets upon them. Secretly they will cherish the hope and foster the chance of amalgamating with their independent brethren across the frontier. No improvement in their condition will destroy this ideal, temporarily thrust back into some obscure corner of their hearts. On the contrary, as their well-being grows under the new Turkish rule, their national aspirations will develop in strength and impatience. I am not criticising, *je constate seulement*. The whole range of history is there to prove that they will only be displaying a fundamental trait of human nature in going through this process. Unless the chemical composition of their blood is modified, thanks to the invention of some Turkish *savant* of the future, so as to transform them into a new species of humanity, they will sooner or later resume, with renewed vigour, their subversive designs against the Ottoman State. If, in conjunction with their elder and politically 'settled' brethren, they succeed in reconciling their antagonistic claims on the basis of some compromise, Turkey will have a great deal more to do than to govern well in order to retain Macedonia. However unlikely this contingency may appear in the present state of intense hatred which divides Bulgaria, Greece, and Servia, it is one which Turkey has to take into serious consideration. *Caveant consules*. It is really her weakness which has brought about the intransigent attitude assumed towards one another by these pretenders to the Macedonian territory. Her restoration to health may, and, according to the writer, will, effect a reconciliation and *entente* between them which will also include restless Montenegro. Fortunately for Turkey, other Powers are interested in the maintenance of the *status quo*. They may be relied upon to act as a counterweight to a pan-Balkan combination.

On the whole, without ever becoming a source of strength to Turkey, the Christians inhabiting her European territory will not be in a position to imperil her integrity until—the time, just perceptible in the dim future, when Europe will enter into travail to bring forth a new system of political divisions based on the principle of pan-nationalist federations.

The Syrians, Arabs, and Egyptians wind up the list of races of importance which are included in Ottoman territory, and whose reaction to the touch of liberalism and its concomitant—reform—it is necessary to examine. Numerically they constitute an extremely important group—25,000,000 to 30,000,000—whose several sections, with the exception of 1,500,000 non-Musulman Syrians, profess the same religion as their conquerors, but whose tongue, racial characteristics, and civilisation, being radically different, place them in a separate category. The Arab expansion which followed upon the advent of Islamism united them, with many other peoples, into a gigantic State the memory of whose power and glories, aided by Turkish maladministration and decadence, has kept up in the breasts of its dethroned founders—I am speaking of the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, of which the Turks have subdued only a small fraction—a keen spirit of opposition to Ottoman rule and the firm hope of a restoration. The one thing this people have in common with the Turks—Islamism, which as a rule acts as such a powerful bond between its adherents—constitutes an additional source of division between them, because of what the Arabs consider as a usurpation by the dynasty of Osman of the supreme dignity of Islam, which, according to them, should by right have remained vested in one of the families descended from the Prophet—in other words, in their own race.

So far as the writer knows, no news of joyous manifestations such as those which greeted the re-establishment of the Constitution in other parts of the Empire has reached the outer world from Arabia. If any celebrations have taken place it can only be in those parts of the peninsula which are really under Turkish rule, and where maladministration has been even greater than in the less excentrically situated provinces of Turkey, and where, in consequence, the dawning era of reform must have come, in the first instance, as a welcome event to the inhabitants. But, as in the case of Macedonia, reaction is bound to follow, reaction inspired by the desire to see a unified Arabia under a national dynasty, wielding the supreme spiritual as well as temporal power, with, as a final goal, the re-inclusion in the sphere of its dominion of Syria and Egypt and—who knows?—the rest of the Arabic-speaking lands. Fortunately for Turkey, there is no feeling of solidarity between Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary of the *soi-disant* 'party' of Arab re-constitution whose manifestoes have constituted tissues of grandiloquent nonsense. In fact, Syria never seriously contemplated the severance of her connexion with Turkey, from whom she only demanded good government. Being assured of obtaining this now, she may be expected to become one of the most loyal portions of the Empire. But the fact remains that Turkish Arabia is disaffected, and, notwithstanding the particularist tendencies of the Arab race,

will eventually aspire to reunion with independent Arabia, as preferable to association with an alien people. On the other hand, Egypt, which already enjoys considerable autonomy, and whose prosperity and political potentialities are rapidly increasing, will strive to throw off Turkish influence if it exceeds the form of nominal suzerainty. The solution of the Arab-Egyptian problem, the most serious which confronts Turkish statesmen, seems to lie in the creation, in the fulness of time, of a dual monarchy on the Austro-Hungarian model, one half of which, with Constantinople as centre, would be composed of the Turkish, Armenian, Albanian, Greek, Bulgarian, Servian, and Kurdish elements occupying that part of the Empire which spreads to the north and west of a straight line drawn from Aleppo to the Persian frontier passing through Mossoul; and the other half of which, with Damascus as a centre, would comprise the Arabic-speaking peoples of the Empire, which, by reason of the very distinct geographical grouping of these peoples, could be organised on the federal system, so as to spare the susceptibilities of Egypt, who, besides autonomy, possesses a line of hereditary sovereigns of her own—the dynasty of Osman, still invested with the Khalifate, to remain the supreme and binding head of both portions. No insuperable difficulties lie ahead of Turkey in this direction either.

Thus it will be seen that, so far as internal action is concerned, liberal Turkey need not view the future with diffidence.

Some trouble there will probably be, at first, in Albania and Kurdistan, and later on the even course of the State may be considerably disturbed by Macedonian and Arabian intrigue. But, unless one or more of the Great Powers of Europe intervene to favour the separatist tendencies of some elements of the Empire, the latter will easily survive any commotion that may arise in its midst. This leads me to the consideration of the third and last point of my article.

If the Young Turkey party itself was unaware of the imminence of the upheaval which was to restore the Empire to liberty, it is not surprising that none of the European Governments should have had the faintest suspicion that Turkey was on the eve of the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1876. Indeed both in the official and private circles of Europe—we may say of the whole world including wide sections of the variegated Ottoman population itself—the past history of Turkey was interpreted to prove conclusively that, not only was there no prospect of a prompt reversal of the order of things created by Abdul Hamid, but that it would never come. As a consequence, the notion of the regeneration of the Empire was definitely relegated to the limbo of exploded theories. This being so, even such countries as Great Britain, France, and Italy, which had been such strong upholders of the necessity of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, gradually readjusted their Near Eastern policy so as to make it fit in with the idea of the inevitable disruption, at some more or less

near period, of what had been one of the greatest States in the world. Naturally each of them had to consider in what measure it would take over from the dispossessed dynasty of Osman the duties and, let us add, the advantages of government in that part of the globe—one of the most disturbed politically but also one of the most favoured geographically and otherwise. Russia, who had always entertained designs against Turkey, and even partially carried them out, was naturally engaged in the same pursuit. Germany, even if she had wanted to stand aloof, which was not the case, notwithstanding her rather puerile insistence to prove the contrary to a world which is not entirely composed of imbeciles, could not do otherwise but also form plans for her aggrandisement in the same direction. But the cake was most difficult to divide owing to the unevenness of its composition, the plums being more abundant in some parts than in others, and, also, owing to the specific and conflicting interests developed by the Great Powers in their relations with Turkey. Hence the common desire, in order to avoid a general conflagration, to bolster up the apparently tottering fabric as long as it was humanly possible to do so. For the rest it was to be *à la grâce de Dieu*. This is the explanation of the reassertion by Sir E. Grey, when launching the British project of reforms for Macedonia, of the principle of the integrity of Turkey. A pious falsehood, nothing more. But the reputedly impossible has taken place. In a trice, and as if by some conjurer's trick, Turkey has reverted from the despotic to the constitutional form of government, adding to the astonishment of the world by the bloodless and orderly as well as eminently businesslike fashion in which she has gone so far through this revolutionary process—the most radical the world has ever witnessed. Having rubbed their eyes and convinced themselves that this was not a dream but a tangible reality, the Great Powers find themselves obliged to reconsider their position in regard to Turkey from the standpoint of what necessarily appears to them to be, by reason of the extraordinarily promising circumstances of the case, much more than a bare possibility of regeneration for the Empire.

The change must have undoubtedly come as a violent shock to Russia, the only Power entertaining resolute and deep-laid plans for the further appropriation of Turkish territory. All the more must this have been so, as the only two other avenues to the temperate seas offered to her, besides that leading through Turkey, have been both barred, by Japan and Great Britain respectively. But she has just emerged from an exhausting and unsuccessful struggle with the former of these States, followed by an internal convulsion which has considerably aggravated the paralysing effects of her Manchurian adventure. She is not in a position to interfere with the development of Turkish reform. Making, in public, a virtue of necessity, but, no doubt, secretly cursing her helplessness which is completed by

the fact that she contains in her midst a body of 20,000,000 extremely progressive Musulmans, mostly of Turkish origin, and thus doubly hypnotised by Constantinople, she has declared that she will follow with sympathetic attention Turkey's steps in the path of Liberalism, hoping that they may lead her to the enjoyment of order and progress. Indeed it would appear that, if the Government of the Tsar is not sincere in the expression of its good wishes, his Majesty has been personally so impressed by the decisive advance Turkey has made in the direction of freedom that he has decided to add considerably, at the reopening of the Douma, to the concessions he has already made to his subjects. Strange irony of fate, that Russia should take lessons from Turkey !

Germany most certainly views the new situation in the Ottoman Empire with an equally painful surprise. She professes to be delighted, but we have no more reason to believe her declarations than those of Russia. The clumsy attempt she has made to prove, after the event, that she had exerted herself to check the Sultan's despotism : namely, the reiterated statement made through her semi-official press that it was at her request that the notorious Fehim Pasha—already mentioned as having been gathered to his fathers by the expeditious process of lynching—was exiled to Broussa, can be only met by a smile. Yes, she demanded and obtained the dismissal and banishment from Constantinople of the former *Ser Hafiyé* (Chief Spy, the official title borne in the good old time by the head of the Sultan's political police), but it was by no means out of regard for the interests of Turkey. It was simply because the egregious villain who was acting the part of sub-tyrant to his Imperial Majesty had ostentatiously violated the capitulations at the expense of the Vaterland in connexion with a German vessel arrived at Constantinople and suspected, wrongly as it happened, of carrying a cargo of dynamite.

But, on the face of it, how could Germany have possibly acquired the preponderating influence she has been enjoying at Constantinople for the last twenty years, except by flattering the instincts of a sovereign who had gathered in his hands all the threads of the national existence, and was, above all, a despot ? And how, having acquired this preponderating influence, which Great Britain lost precisely because she had permitted herself to remonstrate with Abd-ul-Hamid on the subject of his arbitrary and retrograde policy, could Germany have put it to the extremely profitable use which shows so conspicuously in the important concessions of various sorts granted to her by the Turkish Government, except by favouring a system which relegated the interest of the Ottoman State to the distant background ? Under the circumstances it is a delectable joke to hear her affirm that she is right well pleased with the change which has taken place in the Ottoman Empire. No, she is not pleased, since the prompt introduction, as a result of the Revolution, of a scientific conception of government in Turkey has already made her lose the monopoly she

practically enjoyed of industrial and political concessions in that country, among the latter figuring the right to plant agricultural colonies of Germans all over Anatolia and Syria so as to be on a par with the other Powers in the matter of claims at the moment of the 'partition.'

But she cannot fail to realise that the old *régime* under which she exploited Turkey is dead. Not being one of the Empire's neighbours, she cannot interpose herself bodily between the country and regeneration as Russia might and probably would have done if she were not a tottering convalescent. Nothing remains for her to do but to resign herself to the inevitable and make the best of it. Gone are the hopes of luscious Asiatic possessions to be added to her imperial domain! Gone the prospect of further railway concessions on the kilometric guarantee system! But, if she will allow reason to overcome Teutonic pride, she may console herself with the reflection that, in the light of what is going on in the world, expansion at the expense of alien races, unless they be of the thoroughly negro type, is an enterprise to be avoided even by her, the 'Salt of the Earth.' Without being paradoxical, one may say that the Powers without possessions are better off than those which are provided with them. Colonies in the English sense of the word are the only form of territorial development worth practising, and there is no room left in the world for such national 'projections.' Again, Germany may dwell with a certain amount of consolation on the thought that, even after the Revolution, she may aspire to an honest share in the profits of developing the new-found Ottoman Empire. The Turks are not a vindictive people.

Austria-Hungary has undoubtedly taken a favourable view of the situation. True, she has coveted Salonica, the pearl of the Aegean ports, for a long time, and no doubt its possession with that of the intervening territory would benefit her economically in a very considerable measure. But what originally awakened her ambition in this connexion, or rather that of the ruling German and Magyar elements in her midst, was the necessity to act as an obstacle to the expansion of Bulgaria in the same direction. This was so because she cannot tolerate the formation of a big independent Slav State at her southern doors—a gigantic one surrounding her already to the north and east—being herself largely composed of Slav provinces with separatist tendencies. Unwieldy as she already felt herself to be, and top-heavy with Slavism, it was not without misgivings that she shaped her policy, under pressure of the Bulgarian danger, with a view to the further addition of a predominantly Slav territory of Turkey to the congeries of nations of which she is composed. If the Turks are to remain in solid possession of the disputed country—why, the problem is solved entirely to her advantage. It is also true that regenerated Turkey will eventually claim back Bosnia-Herzegovina; but it will appear from what has just been said of the situation of the dual monarchy

that she can easily consent to the restoration of this province, *du reste* only 'occupied' by her, to its rightful owner. It will reduce the proportion of Slavs in her midst, the particular group inhabiting Bosnia-Herzegovina, and of which the majority are strongly in favour of reincorporation with Turkey, having been brought under Austro-Hungarian rule purely and simply with a view on the part of Vienna and Budapest to counteracting the successes gained by Russia in the Balkans as a result of her victorious campaign against the Turks in 1877-78. The necessity for such special measures on the part of Austria-Hungary disappears with the regeneration of Turkey. It should be added that this regeneration will provide the dual monarchy with immense opportunities for increasing her trade and industry, greater by far than those that would accrue to her by the annexation of Macedonia.

Italy may shed a tear over her lost illusions in connexion with Tripoli. But like Germany she could not hope to acquire a permanent footing in Turkey. What would have been the use of going to Tripoli if fifty or sixty or seventy years later she was to be pitched into the sea by the Arabs? Her opportunities of expansion lie to the north. On the other hand, like Austria-Hungary she will benefit enormously from the economic point of view by the entrance of Turkey into the paths of progress. It will not take her long to realise that she is entirely a gainer by the change which has occurred in the condition of that country. The Ottoman Empire may expect to receive her loyal support in its new career.

France may be trusted to applaud unreservedly. The principles of 1789 of which she is rightly proud have triumphed in yet another country, and if only for this reason liberal Turkey is assured of French sympathy and help. But there are many others, the principal of which is that she will derive considerable material profit, as great even as that which will accrue to Austria-Hungary and Italy, from the reorganisation of the Empire on modern principles. With the restoration of the 'Sick Man' to health her ambitions at his expense, born of the necessity not to be distanced by the other Powers, fall to the ground. Being one of the 'filles intellectuelles' of France, Turkey is already arranging to place herself under the further tuition of the illustrious Gaul. The greatest cordiality and mutual goodwill will mark the relations of the two Powers in the future.

I now come to the position created for Great Britain by the new turn of affairs in Turkey. The change has been received with every sign of satisfaction in the United Kingdom and the wish has been expressed on all sides that it may be durable. There is no reason whatever for doubting the sincerity of this attitude. Like France, Great Britain can only be pleased at the extension, to a country whose last chance of salvation is to be found in it, of a form of government of which she herself offers the best and oldest pattern, though the French

Revolution may have produced more stirring effects in the world than the gradual development of her own Constitution. And that she desires the salvation of that country is perfectly clear from the fact that, having attained her full imperial development, her one pre-occupation is to avoid war in order not to be diverted from the settlement of her internal problems. Now the misgovernment of Turkey has been one of the greatest sources of danger to the peace of Europe. It has also meant the gradual ruin and closing up to the industry and commerce of Great Britain—her principal sources of sustenance—of one of the fairest portions of the globe. But, it may be objected, the regeneration of Turkey will bring to the fore the Egyptian question. Quite so. It will bring it to the fore and lead to a solution which will rid Great Britain of an incubus. Having to admit, as all Englishmen must, that the United Kingdom cannot, by reason of what it owes to itself, oppose, in any case, the efforts of Turkey to establish order, security, and justice in her midst, Englishmen will also have to look squarely in the face the consequences of this attitude, namely, the transformation of the Ottoman Empire at no remote period into a Power so formidable as to make it impossible for their country to refuse to evacuate Egypt if that Power insists upon it. So that Egypt will have to go, because inevitably Turkey will demand it. Will this be a loss? Will it be a humiliation? Neither. Great Britain entered Egypt for the purpose she declared: the restoration of order in the country. Having attained this object she loyally opened negotiations with Turkey for her withdrawal. At the last moment the Sultan, indoctrinated by France and Russia, refused to sign the Convention which was to regulate this operation. Great Britain stayed on, and, falling in love with the good work she was doing in the country, decided not to retire until she could be sure that the edifice of reform she had raised was sufficiently advanced and consolidated not to require her further supervision. In the interval she realised the advantage of being in possession of the Suez Canal, and this undoubtedly added to her reluctance to leave. But the guardianship of the Canal is important to her only on account of India. Now, the evacuation of Egypt would form automatically the basis of an alliance between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire, which would place the Canal in safe hands, the hands of her new ally, and contribute a further element to the security of British tenure in semi-Musulman India by creating a strong link between the Khalif, grown enormously in prestige and authority in the world of Islam as the head of a reformed and powerful Turkey, and the King-Emperor. As for the welfare of the Egyptians and the protection due to European interests in the valley of the Nile, both will be sufficiently guaranteed by the substitution of Turkish for British tutelage, in a form which can be easily devised to give satisfaction to both parties, and which might, for instance, and probably

would, include the maintenance of a number of British experts in the Sultan's name. Great Britain, having repeatedly declared that she is only in temporary occupation, could retire without incurring the slightest loss of prestige.

This is a question which Englishmen cannot afford to examine from any but a purely practical point of view. Sentiment must not intervene. If England has no interest in prolonging her stay in the valley of the Nile—if, on the other hand, she can feel sure that it will not constitute a dereliction of duty to Egypt and Europe to retire in favour of Turkey—why linger on, with the certainty that, whatever attitude the suzerain Power may adopt, the Egyptians themselves will be in a position to dislodge her some day, thanks precisely to the progress the country is making under her rule? In the present circumstances, her *rôle* in Egypt is artificial, false, and undignified. It complicates considerably her natural destinies, whose definite settlement is a formidable problem in any case. The Turkish Revolution offers her the opportunity of an honourable exit. If she was ready to sign a Convention with the despotic and retrograde Turkey of 1889 for the evacuation of Egypt, what is there to prevent her from entering into a compact for the same purpose with the constitutional and progressive Turkey of to-day? Both in the interests of Great Britain and Egypt, the writer has been so far a strong upholder of the maintenance of the occupation. But the Turkish revolution has completely changed the situation. Great Britain will gain, Egypt will not lose, by the evacuation. At the same time, a legal situation will be substituted for a forced one, the consequence of which will be to clear considerably the political and diplomatic atmosphere in which Great Britain is enveloped and to strengthen her hands internally and externally. I need not labour the point. All thoughtful Englishmen outside of Egypt herself, where an independent view of the situation cannot be expected to be taken, will recognise that in what I have just written I have provided them with a serious subject for meditation, if nothing more.

Two of the Great Powers of Europe not being in a position to hinder the reformation of Turkey, and the four others having every reason to favour the process, the secret feelings of consternation and rage with which Montenegro, Servia, Greece, and especially Bulgaria, must have certainly received the news of the Turkish Revolution, for reasons which have been already explained, lose much of their importance. Vigilance and caution Turkey must exercise in the accomplishment of her new journey; but, on the whole, the road is free from pitfalls.

Before finishing, I must, as announced, justify the assumption which threads the whole of my argument and which to many people may appear based on excessive optimism—namely, that the Turkish Revolution is not a superficial phenomenon, and that the Turks possess

the requisite qualities for turning it to the real and lasting advantage of the Empire.

For thirty-one years Abd-ul-Hamid has been assiduously occupied in poisoning the Turkish race, the ruling element of the Empire, so as to dispose of it at will. The process seemed to make terrific progress. In the opinion of most people, and the writer owns to having been one of the number, the crowned conspirator of Yildiz had succeeded in gangrening the whole mass of his congeners. It looked so. But it was not the case, and, on reflection, it will be found that it could not be. To transform the character of a body of 15,000,000 men having secular traditions to fall back upon is beyond the power of any human being, however great his genius for good or for evil. What Abd-ul-Hamid did accomplish was to increase enormously among the educated classes of his people the tendency to subordinate public to private interest which has been such a marked characteristic of their history for the last two centuries or more. But, in proportion as through this process he reduced them to the condition of servile instruments of his will, he raised their pride and patriotism in regard to the outer world so as to have a complementary national chord to play upon. Now, public corruption can benefit only a limited number of members of a State community—less and less each year with the reduction of revenues brought about by that very corruption. In course of time, when the spies of Abd-ul-Hamid and the other creatures of his policy numbered not hundreds but thousands, the share of each in the imperial munificence and the spoils of the Empire decreased, and finally the vast majority of this army of evil found itself similarly situated to the honourably disposed among the nation, that is to say, badly and irregularly paid and enjoying as little liberty and peace as the others, the suspicions of the master weighing upon all indiscriminately. What had those gained who had sold their souls to Abd-ul-Hamid? With the exception of an infinitesimal minority, which succeeded in accumulating wealth, nothing. On the other hand, Turkish patriotism and pride, purposely exasperated by Abd-ul-Hamid, opened its eyes and realised that he was the prime cause of the humiliations heaped upon the Empire. A reaction set in which considerably purified and chastened Turkish officialdom in thought and intention, if not in action, which was impossible because one must live. This process has been going on for at least ten years, and has developed a tremendous yearning for reform among all ranks. At the same time the admirable qualities of the Turkish masses which Abd-ul-Hamid could not reach have remained untouched, while a true appreciation of what constituted the source of their misfortunes succeeded their former blindness. These circumstances are sufficient guarantees of the depth of feeling which has produced the Revolution. As to the ability of the Turks to utilise it for the real and permanent good of the Empire, I would point out that they are an extremely

intelligent and well-poised race, whose long imperial career further prepares them for the work of reform. They have given a very substantial promise of this in the extremely practical and sound way in which they have started operations. Abd-ul-Hamid, whose very genius has been his undoing as autocrat, realises this better than anybody else. Hence the certainty that he does not entertain plans for the restoration of his power, and the advantage for the country of maintaining him in his new capacity, from which it may expect great benefits.

These are the reasons for my optimism concerning the Turkish Revolution. Of course, time has to prove that I am right before the consequences I have announced, and especially those concerning Egypt, take place.

Long live Turkey !

ALFRED DE BILINSKI

(late Turkish *Chargé d'Affaires* in Washington).

A NOVEL PHASE OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT FOR EGYPT

I HAVE no special knowledge of the origin of the *coup d'état* by which Abdul Hamid is endeavouring to disarm the mutiny of the Turkish troops in Macedonia ; I can therefore express no trustworthy opinion as to its chances of success or failure. In common with all persons who have any knowledge of the Eastern Question I entertain the gravest doubts as to the good faith of the reigning Sultan. I have little or no confidence in a constitutional government established by a military revolt. I am by no means certain how far the Turkish troops share the political aspirations of the ' Young Turkey ' party. I labour under the impression that if the Sultan can find means to pay the overdue wages of the Turkish garrisons in Macedonia and to promote the leaders of the insurrection to high rank or to lucrative positions, a reconciliation might easily be effected between the Commander of the Faithful and the insurgents, which might prove fatal to the agitation for constitutional government. I can see no reason to assume that the leading Continental Powers are prepared to welcome the conversion of the Ottoman Empire from an absolute autocracy into a constitutional Monarchy subject to the authority of an independent National Parliament. All I can assert with any certainty is that such a conversion would, if successful, dispel the hopes entertained by the States of the Balkan Peninsula ; if not of the great Slav Empire of the North, and would therefore meet with their active, if not their avowed, opposition. Under these circumstances I hold that any attempt to unravel the entangled web of the Eastern Question, as complicated by the recent appearance of the Sultan in the character of a champion of constitutional government, is for the present futile.

My object in this article is to point out how the Sultan's *coup d'état* is calculated to create serious embarrassment for England in Egypt. I suppose very few of my readers are aware that in the last days of July London was visited by a deputation consisting of half a dozen members of the Legislative Assembly of Egypt, who are supposed to share the views of the Nationalist party. How far they had any

direct mandate to represent either the so-called Egyptian Parliament or the party, I have no means of ascertaining. The Legislative Assembly of Egypt, which, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, has no power to legislate, is so anomalous and inchoate a body that it is very difficult to say whether it is in a position to authorise any deputation to speak on its behalf or in its name. The Nationalist party was so disorganised by the death of Kamil Pasha, that it has only recently formed a definite programme of its own. Shortly after their arrival in London in the latter part of last month they were received by Sir Edward Grey, who, it is needless to say, listened most courteously to their demand for an early recognition of the alleged right of Egypt to some form of constitutional government under the British occupation. As usual the demand was met, if I am rightly informed, by the answer that though his Majesty's Ministers might admit, as a matter of principle, the desirability of the Nationalist demand, they could hold out no hope of its immediate or even of its early application in practice.

After this reply—which was identical with the language employed repeatedly by the British Agency in Egypt on similar occasions though more sympathetic in its terms—the delegates of the Reform party in Egypt had discharged their duty, and had no reason to prolong their sojourn in London. They had, however, arranged beforehand to give a dinner to friends and acquaintances interested in Egyptian affairs, and amongst others they sent an invitation to the present writer. I had always accepted invitations of a like kind in Cairo accompanied by a proviso that my presence on these occasions was not to be interpreted as expressing my approval of any resolutions that might be passed at these demonstrations, and I saw no reason why I should make an exception in London. I trust my hosts will not deem me uncourteous if I express an opinion that in London, as in Cairo, the Reform party in Egypt have not mastered the rudiments of political agitation. From what I could learn they had barely advertised their proposed demonstration. They had made little or no arrangements for having reporters present: they had not secured the attendance of many men of note in London, whose names would have attracted general attention both in our own country and in theirs. Mr. Robertson, M.P. for Tyneside, acted as Chairman, and expressed his general agreement with the views of the Nationalist party. These views were expounded at considerable length by one of the Young Egypt delegates, but as his knowledge either of English or French was apparently limited, and as he had great difficulty in making himself audible, the programme of the meeting was not very intelligible to the general body of the audience. No printed prospectuses had been prepared, and the only notices of the demonstration in the London press were confined to a few brief paragraphs inserted in papers not enjoying any large authority or circulation. To speak the

plain truth, the demonstration at the Métropole Hotel in favour of some parliamentary control of their own affairs being granted to the Egyptians under the British occupation would have been a failure but for an unexpected stroke of good fortune.

The Métropole Anglo-Egyptian banquet was fixed for Tuesday evening, the 28th of July. On the previous morning, not only England but all Europe was startled by the news that Abdul Hamid, terrified by the mutiny of the Turkish troops in Macedonia, had re-established parliamentary government throughout the Ottoman Empire just as it had existed in the days of Midhat Pasha. However sceptical other European nations might be as to the genuineness of the Sultan's conversion, England was bound by her past record to welcome the resuscitation of a constitutional Turkey, not only as a gain to the Ottoman Empire, but as a boon to humanity in general and to the followers of the Prophet in particular. The intelligence in question had only become known in London a few hours before the meeting convoked at the Métropole, and this incident resuscitated the hopes of the delegates.

I confess that the exultation of my Egyptian friends on learning the Sultan's *coup d'état* at Constantinople seemed to be not unreasonable. Unfortunately, the British Government, acting as I believe mainly on the advice of our late Consul-General, had persistently upheld the theory that her military occupation had, as its leading motive, the welfare of Egypt, and had contended that her object in continuing this occupation was to promote the prosperity and the development of Egypt and thereby to reconcile her to the temporary loss of her national independence. Up to the present moment this contention, though unsound as I hold, was in itself logically tenable. It might fairly be argued that if we had evacuated Egypt, which though a very rich country is singularly weak for purposes of self-defence, she must inevitably have fallen under the domination of some other European Power acting in all probability in the name of Turkey as her recognised suzerain. I do not dispute for one moment that the suzerainty of Turkey would in such a case have been more detrimental to Egyptian interests, both economically and politically, than the unavowed protectorate of England. It might therefore be fairly argued that if the continuance of our protectorate was the only alternative to the restoration of Turkish supremacy, and if, in our opinion our protectorate was inconsistent with Egypt being granted any kind of national independence, England might have been justified in administering the Nile Land autocratically under the control of British officials who received their instructions simply and solely from the British Agency, or in plainer words, from our own distinguished Pro-Consul.

On the day before the banquet it was learnt that the Sultan of Turkey had suddenly agreed to forfeit the autocratic authority he

had exercised for upwards of thirty years and to accept the position of a constitutional Sovereign subject to the control of an elected Parliament. It was learnt also that the British Ambassador at Constantinople had proceeded to Yildiz Kiosk to congratulate Abdul Hamid on his grant of constitutional government to his subjects, and thereby presumably committed the British Government to the approval of the establishment of Parliamentary institutions throughout Turkey, not only in her European provinces, but in the whole of her Empire.

Technically speaking it may be argued that Egypt is not an integral portion of the Ottoman Empire. Under the agreement concluded in 1840 between Mehemet Ali and the then reigning Sultan, Egypt was granted internal independence under the hereditary Vice-Royalty of Mehemet Ali and his descendants subject to the payment of an annual tribute to Turkey. Since the compact thus arranged between the suzerain and the vassal State its validity has never been disputed by any Continental Power. On the contrary England always has invariably supported the claims of the Sultan of Turkey as the overlord of Egypt. Even when England and France decided on the deposition of Ismail Pasha it was England who insisted upon the decree, calling on Ismail Pasha to abdicate his throne, being issued by the Sultan. England again supported the demand of Turkey for an increase of the enormous tribute paid by Egypt to the Porte and its hypothecation to the payment of the Turkish defence loan raised in London and Paris. I do not think myself England is to blame for the constant support she gave to Turkey up to the date of the Treaty of San Stefano. All I would say is that she is not in a position to deny that the Sultan still exercises and has a right to exercise an ill-defined but yet a supreme authority over the Egyptian Pashalik.

If this is so, our Government would be placed in a position of extreme difficulty, supposing the Sultan were to contend that the Constitution he has granted to the whole of his Empire extends or should extend to his Egyptian provinces.

To all men of ordinary intelligence it must seem obvious that the experiment now being tried in Turkey is apparently conducted under far less favourable conditions than would be the case if it were to be carried out in Egypt. The Turks, as I have insisted from the days of the Bulgarian outrages, are a brave, honest people, kindly natured when left to themselves, but brutally cruel when their religious or racial passions are aroused. Treat the Turk fairly, and he will treat you fairly in return. With all my liking for the Egyptians, I could not honestly say that they possess the same qualities as the Turks. They have never been a warlike race. For countless generations they have been a servile race. Under Persian, Greek, Roman, Arabian, French, and Turkish dynasties they have always obeyed the 'powers that be.' They have never stood up against their oppressors except in the rare cases when their rulers were, or were believed to be, hostile to their

creed as followers of the Prophet. Even their fanaticism, such as it is, is mild in comparison with that of the born Turk. The Arabi insurrection is the only serious instance of any popular uprising of the Egyptian nation, and that insurrection collapsed hopelessly, partly because its leaders lacked the courage to lead an insurrection and still more because the insurgents had no stomach for fighting. England has now ruled Egypt for well nigh a quarter of a century under a *régime* which seemed purposely adapted to render the administration of the country by foreign and alien rulers distasteful to the Egyptian population. Yet throughout this period there has been no single attempt to protest against the British occupation of Egypt, unless we take the riots of Alexandria and the Denshawi massacre as serious demonstrations of popular hostility to the continuance of our British occupation. I do not say the Egyptians have had no cause of complaint. On the contrary, they have serious ground for objecting to the policy under which Egypt has been administered from 1885 up to the present day. But I do say without fear of contradiction that so long as a British garrison continues encamped in the citadel of Cairo any idea of the garrison being dislodged by a popular indigenous rising is absolutely fatuous. If England decided to-morrow to declare a protectorate over Egypt, to issue a brand-new Constitution, or to introduce any reforms which did not overtly interfere with the creed of Islam, her policy would be accepted without any attempt on the part of the Egyptian nation to expel the British garrison from Egypt or even from the citadel. The Egyptians in their own way are a very prudent people, and, as long as the British troops remain in force, we have no need to fear any active opposition on the part of the Egyptian populace.

I deem it well to make this point clear, as I am anxious there should be no doubt as to our military occupation being endangered or even impaired by any concessions I may think it expedient to make to the popular demand in Egypt for some kind of parliamentary government. In order to make my position clear it may be well to explain that the Nationalist party is divided into two distinct and, to some extent, discordant sections. The first and oldest is that of Ali Pasha Youssouf, the founder, proprietor, and editor of *El Moyad*, or in English *The World*. The Pasha is a man of large fortune and deserves the credit of having been the first to recognise how the virtual abolition of the censorship over the native press in Egypt might be worked to the advantage of the Nationalist movement.

Some three years ago, in a conversation with Lord Cromer at Cairo, I ventured to point out that the unrestricted licence accorded to the native press might easily prove a source of danger. I was told in reply that, after careful consideration, his lordship had come to the conclusion that the advantages of leaving the native papers to say what they liked, without fear of interference on the part of the British authorities, largely outweighed its obvious disadvantages. In his

opinion a free press afforded a sort of safety-valve against popular discontent, as any malcontents with our British administration would be satisfied when they had been allowed to blow off their steam. I do not say that these were the exact phrases employed by his lordship, but I am certain the above was their purport. In substance Lord Cromer identified himself with the policy towards the native press adopted by the Government of India. I must admit also in common fairness that *a priori* it seemed improbable a native press could ever exercise a dominant influence in Egypt. In a country where according to official calculations only one in a hundred natives can either read or write, and where the means for circulating newspapers anywhere except between the capital and the large towns are extremely costly and tardy, it was difficult to suppose the press could exercise any serious influence over the great mass of the population. My friend Ali Youssouf understood his countrymen far better than the British Agency. He realised the innate love of his fellow-countrymen for gossip of all kinds, especially when that gossip flatters their personal vanity and their natural hostility to foreign rule as conducted according to British administrative ideas. He was doubtless alive to the fact that in any Egyptian village, however small, there would be found one or more story-tellers able to read Arabic, and that on Fridays and market-days a story-teller would always find it to his personal advantage to read out to the crowd the articles and news columns of the *Moyad*, especially such passages as condemned the action of the British Administration. At the outset, and indeed up to the present day, Ali Youssouf has always maintained in the *Moyad* that for the present the maintenance of our military occupation is essential to the interests not only of England but of Egypt. So long as there was no formidable opposition to the *Moyad*, the criticisms of the paper on British administration were comparatively moderate, and Ali Youssouf may fairly claim the credit of having been the first to show that a native paper could be made a paying concern. Possibly if Lord Cromer had not persistently set his foot down against any kind of concession, which might impair his own absolute autocracy in Egypt, his policy of allowing unrestricted freedom to the Egyptian press might have been justified by its results.

Unfortunately the very success of the *Moyad* proved the cause of its decline. If a paper conducted on moderate lines could be made to pay, it followed logically that a rival paper conducted more in harmony with popular prejudices and passions was likely to drive the *Moyad* out of the field; and the first man who seriously attempted to carry this idea into practice was Kamil Pasha. It is well nigh impossible for an Englishman born and bred, not either to underrate or overrate the merits or the demerits of this politician who, during his short career, played so striking a part on the Egyptian stage, and whose memory to-day is worshipped by his fellow-countrymen. As to some of his

characteristics, there can be no kind of question. He was singularly handsome; he had a marvellous charm of manner; he possessed the dangerous gift of native eloquence. These gifts furnished a special attraction for his fellow-countrymen which they would not have possessed to anything like the same extent with men of Anglo-Saxon race. He had been educated in France, was imbued with French ideas, spoke French with perfect accuracy, and could address an audience in French with the same eloquence as if he had been born in Paris. He had also an extraordinary faculty of making friends wherever he went, and hardly ever failed when he put their friendship to the test of asking for their pecuniary assistance in order to carry out his public or private enterprises. As a rule, I think that Mahometans, who spend their lives at home amidst their own people, are finer and worthier specimens of Islam than those who have been educated in Europe and have acquired a varnish of European culture. Be this as it may, it is certain that Kamil Pasha could never have attained his exceptional position in Egypt if France for good or bad had not become to him almost a second country.

Whether, like most young Arabs educated abroad, Kamil Pasha had lost the fervour of his faith in Islam I have no means of saying. All I can assert is that when he knew death to be imminent—a contingency which he faced with Oriental indifference—he did everything in his power to show that he died as a faithful follower of the Prophet. Whether also he deserved the name of a serious statesman it is impossible to assert one way or another. All I can say is that he belonged to those whom the Gods are said to love and that he died too young to prove his worth as a leader of men.

I fancy that, when the time arrived for his 'years of wandering' to come to an end, he was, in common with so many of his young fellow-Egyptians, brought face to face with the hard fact that there was no possible career for him in the public service of his own country so long as it remained under the then British administration. Thereupon he proceeded to Constantinople and ingratiated himself with the Sultan. Whether he was made acquainted with Abdul Hamid's Pan-Islamic schemes must be matter for surmise. The only thing known is that, under the established relations between the suzerain and the vassal State, no titles are bestowed as a rule on Egyptian subjects, except at the formal request of the Khedive, and that in Kamil's case this rule was disregarded and he was raised to the rank of Pasha by the Commander of the Faithful.

As soon as Kamil took up his abode permanently in Egypt he resolved to start a native paper to run against the *Moyad*, and to make its dominant policy the necessity of bringing our military occupation to a close. The *Lewa*, or *Flag*, as his anti-British paper was yclept, was not long before it obtained a very large circulation; but the expenses of starting an important paper in Egypt are very

heavy and the immediate returns are extremely limited. Thereupon Kamil Pasha, with his usual disregard of financial considerations, engaged to make himself responsible for the expenses of the *Lewa*, on the strength of a personal conviction that he should always find some friend or other to provide him with the needful subsidies. The admirers and the detractors of Kamil Pasha are alike agreed as to his extraordinary success in raising any funds necessary for the accomplishment of his life's purpose, that of creating an organ which should voice the sentiments of Egypt. From what quarters the funds required for subsidising the *Lewa* were found, or upon what conditions they were raised, is a matter which has never yet been clearly ascertained, and is never likely to be disclosed for many years to come.

The only light I can throw upon this question is derived from a conversation which has been reported to me by a friend in whose accuracy and knowledge I am justified in placing the utmost reliance. Only a few months before Kamil's death, my friend had an interview with him, in which he urged the young tribune, instead of asking for the impossible—that is, for the immediate withdrawal of the British army of occupation—to employ his influence as the proprietor of the *Lewa* to advocate various reforms in the internal administration of Egypt. Kamil Pasha replied in the following words :

To achieve success in the mission I have undertaken I have got to make the *Lewa* the recognised organ of the Egyptian nation. To do this I have to appeal to my fellow-countrymen to provide the necessary funds. For this purpose I have to put forward a programme they can understand. Now, the Egyptians of to-day hardly yet understand what is meant by parliamentary government ; and if they did understand, I am by no means sure they would appreciate its benefits. But there is not a born Egyptian who does not desire the termination of the British occupation ; and if I tell them that the *Lewa* will bring about the withdrawal of the British troops and the restoration of Egyptian independence, their purse-strings will be open at once.

The plea thus put forward may, from an English point of view, seem dictated by a cynical desire to put money into the author's own pocket under cover of pursuing a national object. But such an interpretation would be discarded in Egypt, even by Kamil's bitterest opponents. Whatever else Kamil may have been, however lavish his own expenditure, however reckless his improvidence, he was not a mere adventurer. Up to the time of his death he employed all the funds he could secure by hook or by crook in extending the circulation of the *Lewa*, and when he died he left little or nothing behind him except the love of the Egyptian people. Popular opinion is seldom wrong in its posthumous judgments ; and the memory of Kamil, dead, is still, and will remain for many a year to come, a potent factor in Egyptian politics. Young as he died, Kamil may fairly be said to have been '*felix opportunitate mortis.*' Whether

if he had lived to middle age he would have preserved his influence in his own country is a question which now can never be decided. If I were asked, I should be inclined to answer it in the negative. This much, however, is certain, that with Kamil gone there was no one to carry on his self-imposed mission as the liberator of Egypt from British rule. The plain truth is that Kamil was the *Lewa* and the *Lewa* was Kamil. The Kamil legend, if I may employ the phrase in no offensive sense, will probably survive in Egypt much as the Gambetta legend still survives in France; but with the removal of its editor, proprietor, and capitalist, the *Lewa* dwindled away like a plant without water. The circulation fell off, the subscribers failed to renew their subscriptions, and the friends of the Nationalist movement who had subsidised the *Lewa* seemed to lose their interest in an unremunerative speculation. One after the other the *British Standard* and the *Etendard Français*, which were daily editions of the *Lewa*, started by Kamil with the hope of influencing English and French opinion, had to cease their publication owing to financial considerations, and the parent *Lewa* itself is not expected to outlive long the demise of its affiliated branches.

For the time, at any rate, the policy of Kamil has been relegated to the background. His former colleagues and collaborators are many of them men of considerable ability, but there is not one of them who possesses his phenomenal ability as an orator, a writer, or a canvasser, or who can hope to supply his place in the hearts of his people. I believe myself, if they could afford to throw cold water on the Nationalist party, they would admit that Kamil's idea of compelling England to withdraw her troops by the moral force of public opinion in Egypt, as displayed by a series of popular demonstrations, lies buried in a grave from which there is no possible resurrection. This being so, they are inclined to pursue much the same policy as that propounded by the *Moyad* and rejected by the *Lewa*, namely, that of seeking the political regeneration of their country by advocating some kind of parliamentary institutions as the true panacea for the grievances, whether real or alleged, under which Egypt is supposed to suffer.

These grievances may be fairly stated as follows. Under British rule the Egyptians have no legal or practical means of making their wishes or their sentiments known, except through the instrumentality of the native press, which is seldom, if ever, read by the British authorities, and whose opinions are only allowed free utterance because they are regarded by the *de facto* rulers of Egypt with a contemptuous indifference. Again, the practical elimination of the native element from the administration of Egypt and its virtual replacement by nominees of the British Agency, ignorant for the most part of the language of the country they administer and of its customs, usages, and traditions, is a further cause of complaint. The

greatest grievance, however, of all is a lurking impression on the part of the Mussulman community, who form upwards of nine-tenths of the whole population, that 'the powers that be' are hostile to the religion of the Koran and to the system of polygamy, upon which the whole social fabric of Islam is based. I believe this apprehension to be utterly baseless.

It is not necessary for my present purpose to argue the point whether Egypt ought, or ought not, to regard the benefits undoubtedly bestowed on her under British rule as an adequate compensation for the absence of representative government. I am confident that the educated and well-to-do classes in Egypt fully admit the value of our work of irrigation. It may be well to quote the words of the chairman of the Métropole meeting, Ismail Abaza Pasha :

We seize this opportunity to acknowledge the great reforms that have taken place in the Department of Irrigation under the administration of such men as Moncrieff and Garstin, to whom we, as a nation, feel deeply indebted. Such men have greatly conduced to a better understanding between our two nations, and will always have the gratitude of all Egyptians. Great feats like the Assouan and Assiout dams have vastly increased the wealth of Egypt, and stand to the lasting honour of all those engineers who took part in their construction.

I suspect myself that the statement made at the Métropole meeting by the chairman and his colleagues, and which is to be submitted to the Nationalist party on the arrival of their delegates in Egypt, would have been materially modified if the news of the unforeseen proclamation of constitutional government in Turkey had been received after, instead of before, the meeting. Still more would this have been the case if our own Government had not gone out of its way to congratulate in hot haste the leaders of the Young Turkey party upon the acquisition of political liberty. It seemed impossible to the Nationalist party that the same nation which congratulated Turkey upon having obtained self-government should, notwithstanding, adhere to the *non possumus* attitude adopted by Sir Edward Grey when, only a few days before, he repeated the stereotyped reply to any number of similar applications, that though in theory the British Government sympathised with the Egyptian desire for some form of self-government, they were unable to hold out any prospect of their theoretical sympathy being carried into practical application. I have no reason to suppose that our Foreign Office had any anticipation of Turkey then being on the eve of a military insurrection which would compel Abdul Hamid to choose between his own violent deposition and the absolute surrender of his autocratic authority. Otherwise common sense and common prudence would have dictated a very different reply from that which was given to the delegates of the Nationalist party in their recent interview.

The following paragraphs in the report read at the meeting tell their own tale :

England had always the honour of helping the different nations who were struggling for some form of self-government or other, and her sympathy for the Russians, Persians, and Turks struggling for a constitutional form of government is too recent to be forgotten. We therefore appeal with confidence to the support of the British public in our desire to obtain a sort of representative assembly *with limited powers*, dealing with administrative, judicial, financial, and educational matters, and leaving aside international treaties, foreign capitulations, public debts, and matters concerning the law of liquidation—in a word, all matters in which foreign or international interests are at stake. . . .

We had the honour to be received the other day by Sir Edward Grey, to whom was offered a copy of our demands. We have every reason to believe that these demands will meet with the approval of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and that reforms will be shortly introduced. But, as you know, however good may be the will of any Minister in your country, he would shrink from rapidly introducing any reform if he were not backed up by public opinion.

We therefore appeal to you once more to give us your sympathy in our demands, which, as you can see, are quite consistent with both Egyptian and European interests, and are Egypt's natural and sacred rights. We hope the time is close at hand when you will hear of our having obtained *complete self-government and a real Constitution, which we shall continually keep asking for.*

It should be borne in mind that this document is manifestly drawn for home and foreign consumption, for Egyptian as well as English perusal. Its authors were obviously desirous on the one hand to avoid any language which might give umbrage to the Egyptian public, especially to the Nationalists, or to the British Imperialist party on the other. This object they have accomplished, in as far as it was capable of accomplishment.

Put into plain English, their proposal comes to this. They wish the British public to understand that with the death of Kamil they have abandoned his idea of forcing England to quit Egypt by a popular demonstration of the general dislike with which our rule is regarded by the vast majority of the Egyptian Moslem population. They are willing also to acquiesce in the continuance of our military occupation for the present and to engage themselves not to take part in any agitation whose object would be to promote the evacuation of Egypt by his Majesty's troops. In return for this all the authors of the memorandum demand is that the British Agency should advise the Khedivial Government to give limited self-governing powers to a certain number of municipalities now established, or to be hereafter established, in the Egyptian provinces. The advantages of such a compromise are obvious. Its adoption by England would tend greatly to satisfy public opinion in Egypt, to remove the general unrest which undoubtedly has spread over Egypt, as over all parts of the East, since the ignominious defeat of Russia by Japan ; and to secure an interval of tranquillity during which our British authorities

would be enabled to remove the discontent inevitably created by absolutely autocratic rule. It would enable the *entente cordiale* between our present Consul-General and his Highness the Viceroy to become confirmed and consolidated to the great advantage of England.

The only serious objection I have ever heard from the opponents of a compromise is the thin end of the wedge argument. I have constantly been told by the enthusiastic admirers of our great Pro-Consul that if you once give the Egyptians any share, however limited, in the administration of their own affairs they will never be at rest till they have got the whole administration of their country into their own hands. If I believed in this assertion it might give me pause as a life-long advocate of the British occupation of Egypt.

The issue between Egypt and England is simple enough in itself. I cannot conceal my conviction that Kamil Pasha created a state of feeling in Egypt more akin to patriotism than had been known there before ; and that this feeling can be best described as one of general unrest. I cannot doubt that, whether reasonably or unreasonably, English rule is viewed with disfavour by the great majority of the Egyptian public, and that if we are to reconcile Egypt to our dominion we must adopt other measures than those which commended themselves to the British Agency under the late Administration. It is obvious that the Nationalists feel it their duty, or at any rate their interest, to stand up for the establishment of complete parliamentary government in Egypt similar to that which has been recently accorded by the Sultan to the whole of the Ottoman Empire. At the same time I think the Nationalist party in Egypt are fully alive to the truth of the saying that 'there is many a slip between the cup and the lip,' and are aware that, however high their hopes may run, the conversion of Turkey into a State ruled by a freely elected Parliament is still far from being an accomplished fact. This being so, the Egyptian delegates, in as far as I can ascertain, are not unwilling to accept a compromise under which their delegates would consent not to agitate for the early withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt, on condition of some form of parliamentary self-government being immediately introduced into Egypt as being an integral province of the Ottoman Empire. The question, therefore, we have to consider is whether the suggested compromise should be accepted by England, supposing it to be proffered.

It would be premature to discuss the specific form under which powers might be given to provincial municipalities to raise their own rates, discuss their own affairs and frame their own budgets, by local parliaments freely elected by the people. I am not over-sanguine as to the ultimate result of putting new wine into old bottles, but I hold, after the collapse of our policy which aimed at attempting to Anglicise Egypt, some attempt should be made by a wise Government and a wise people to proceed on new lines under which the Egyptians might

be allowed to have some reasonable share in the administration of their own country.

The mere fact of such a proposal being suggested by the delegates of Young Egypt shows that, as I have contended for years, Lord Dufferin was right in saying in his epoch-marking report that the Indian system of a native State administered by native officials and supervised by a British Resident, was the one he would have recommended if he had not been precluded from so doing by the terms of his mandate. It is mainly because I hope the concession of municipal self-government may lead to the ultimate adoption of Lord Dufferin's policy that I should rejoice to see the compromise in question meet with the approval of his Majesty's Ministers.

EDWARD DICEY.

OUR PROTECTORATES
AND ASIATIC IMMIGRATION

DURING the last few years we have had a flood of correspondence, Blue Books, Commission Reports, and various other literary productions launched at us from all sides upon the subject of the expansion of Asia and the immigration of Asiatics to other spheres. Crises in respect of it have recently arisen in America, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. In a degree it formed one of the determining causes of friction which, with others relating to aliens, helped to fill up the schedule of grievances that led to firm remonstrances and eventually to the great war in South Africa.

Quite lately the question has received technical treatment at the hands of British and Colonial statesmen and others who have given it special study, and have been induced to record their views based upon experience.

We find, for instance, a series of illuminating papers contributed to the new weekly, *The Standard of Empire*, by distinguished persons like Lord Milner, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, M.P., and Sir Lewis Tupper, all of whom have held high office under the Crown either in England or its dependencies; by Mr. Harney, K.C., a Senator to the Commonwealth Parliament; by Mr. Maydon, at one time Colonial Secretary of Natal; and by Sir William Arbuckle, formerly President of the Natal Legislative Council and now Agent-General for that Colony in London.

A vigorous and able address was delivered before the Royal Society of Arts by Mr. Richard Jebb, entitled 'The Imperial Problem of Asiatic Immigration,' in which the proposition is carefully and critically enunciated from the points of view of the Empire, the Colonies, and the Asiatics. In papers read before the Royal Colonial Institute by Mr. A. R. Colquhoun on 'Our East African Empire,' and by Mr. E. R. Davson on 'British Guiana,' the matter is freely discussed from their points of view after travel and investigation on the spot, and Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., narrating his 'African Journey' in the *Strand Magazine*, has much to say about it.

These statesmen and writers, as a rule, strike the same note in

moderate terms and, with certain exceptions to be alluded to, arrive by different roads more or less at a common conclusion, viz. :

1. That the Imperial view of the problem is powerfully influenced by considerations relating to our trade and commerce ; our duty and obligations to the people of India ; our alliances and friendly relations with Japan, China, and other countries.

2. That there is profound repugnance on the part of British colonists to Asiatic immigration, whether from British India or otherwise, based upon the convictions that fusion is impossible, that social and political equality are impracticable, and that territories won by British energy and enterprise should be debarred from invasion by Orientals whose characteristics and ideas make their presence injurious to indigenous nationalism. (I adopt the term 'indigenous nationalism,' used and defined by Mr. Jebb to mean the intention or endeavour to build up an indigenous nation of the British and democratic type.)

The position is one which presents extraordinarily difficult features. Mr. Chamberlain, who as Secretary of State for the Colonies was called upon to address the Premiers at the Colonial Conference in 1897, expressed the Imperial idea in the following terms :

We quite sympathise with the determination of the white inhabitants of the Colonies, which are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics, that there should not be an influx of people alien in civilisation, alien in religion, alien in customs, whose influx moreover would most seriously interfere with the legitimate rights of the existing labour population. An immigration of that kind must, I quite understand, in the interests of the Colonies, be prevented at all hazards, and we shall not offer any opposition to the proposals intended with that object ; but we also ask you to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire which makes no distinction in favour of, or against, race or colour ; and to exclude, by reason of their colour or by reason of their race, all her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to those peoples that it would be most painful I am certain to her Majesty to have to sanction it.

And again, in a despatch two years afterwards to the Governor-General of Canada upon the subject of the exclusion of Japanese citizens from British Columbia, he stated that any attempt to restrict immigration or to impose disqualifications on distinctions of race and colour, besides being offensive to friendly Powers, is contrary to the general principles of equality which have been the guiding principle of British rule.

The case for the Colonies is set forth at length in the Report of the Canadian Royal Commission, published in 1902, wherein much light is shed in a summarised form on Colonial opinion which is reflected in the concluding note to certain resolutions passed in 1888 at a conference of all the Australian Governments. This note is to the effect that in so serious a crisis the Colonial Governments had felt called upon to take strong and decisive action to protect their people .

but in so doing they had been studious of Imperial interests, of international obligations, and of their reputations as law-abiding communities. They relied confidently, however, upon the support and assistance of her Majesty's Government in their endeavour to prevent their country from being overrun by an alien race, who are incapable of assimilation in the body politic, strangers to their civilisation, out of sympathy with their aspirations, and unfitted for their free institutions, and whose presence in any number would be a source of constant danger.

There is no uncertainty as to the meaning the Conference intended to convey in its Report, and when Sir Henry Parkes, after prolonged negotiations with the Imperial Government, was challenged to defend in the Legislature the refusal of his Government to let Chinese land on Australian shores, he vindicated the policy of his Ministry in the following terms, which, though high-sounding, are not without significance :

If in doing that we have infringed any law, I say that this House is bound in honour to indemnify us because in infringing the law we have obeyed the higher law of conserving society. . . . Neither for her Majesty's ships of war, nor for her Majesty's representative on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose.

Though it is not the purpose of this article to deal with the wider aspect of the subject as it affects colonies with responsible government, but to treat particularly of its relation to British Protectorates where there are aboriginal populations, the above points should engage attention because they bear materially upon a vexed question into which a good deal of sentiment has penetrated.

Lessons are and ought to be learnt from past experience. It is therefore surprising to find a Cabinet Minister holding the important position of Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies committing himself to ill-considered expressions of opinion which, if not in some measure binding upon the Government of the day, are disturbing and compromising as regards both India and our Protectorates.

I refer to utterances of the Right Hon. Winston Churchill after his fleeting visit to East Africa, and to his articles in the *Strand Magazine* entitled 'My African Journey.' Mr. Churchill's writings always command a large audience; they are so attractive and full of *verve*. But that is all the more reason why, when directing the affairs of a great department like the Colonial Office, he should have been careful of inexactitudes, and refrained from sporting with a problem with which the Western world is sorely troubled, more especially at a moment when South Africa was still wrestling with complications arising out of the presence of Asiatics and British Indians. At that time delicate negotiations were being conducted (they are still going on) with the object of trying to find a working solution of the Transvaal *imbroglio*, and simultaneously there was on the stocks a draft Bill

to come before the Natal Parliament to prevent the further introduction of Indians into that Colony, whilst throughout South Africa the general tendency was towards repatriation of imported aliens.

Mr. Churchill, in his journal, forcibly remarks :

The problems of East Africa are the problems of the world. We see the social, racial, and economic stresses which rack modern society already at work here, but in miniature ; and if we choose to study the model when the whole engine is at hand, it is because on the smaller scale we can see more clearly, and because in East Africa and Uganda the future is still uncompromised.

He then, though seemingly hinting the necessity for caution, makes an attempt to compromise the future, but not without misgivings, for he says, ' I wonder why my pen slips off into these labyrinths.'

The inexactitudes to which I allude, and which for convenience of reference I will number 1 and 2, are contained in the following quotations selected for comparison :

1. I have written of Europeans and Asiatics. What of the African ? Nearly five millions of these dark folk are comprised within the districts of the East African Protectorate which are actually or partially administered. *Many more lie beyond those wide and advancing boundaries.* What is to be their part in shaping the future of their country ? It is, after all, *their Africa.* . . . I am clearly of opinion that no man has a right to be idle. He is bound to go forward and take an honest share in the work of the world. And I do not except the African native. To a very much larger extent than is often recognised by some who discuss these questions, the natives are industrious, willing to learn, and capable of being led forward. . . . Live for a few weeks as I have done in close association with the disciplined soldiers of the King's African Rifles. . . . How strong, how good-natured, how clever they are ! . . . Just and honourable discipline, careful education, sympathetic comprehension, *are all that is required* to bring a very large proportion of the native tribes of East Africa to a far higher social level than that at which they now stand. . . . The British Government has it in its hands to *shape the development and destiny* of these new countries and their varied peoples. [All italics are mine.]

Here we have a strikingly correct picture and a policy. An aboriginal population to be counted by millions, with many more beyond, occupying a country admittedly *theirs* : the desire to advance, the capacity to rise to higher levels, and the willingness of the ruling power to shape and develop it. These are surely some of the constituents which go to form what Mr. Jebb calls indigenous nationalism.

And how does Mr. Churchill propose to shape their development and destiny ? What sort of measure does he mete out for the dwellers in millions of East Africa whose multiplication and advance he anticipates ? He first of all flouts what there is of a white population—now numbering, it is true, but a few thousand—for their 'strident tones' and 'vigorous shrieking' (which may yet have to be listened to), and then adumbrates his second policy :

2. The mighty continent of tropical Africa lies open to the colonising and organising capacity of the East. . . . It may be contended that the very fact that the native of British India will undoubtedly . . . be refused access . . .

to several South African and all Australian colonies . . . makes it all the more desirable that the Imperial Government should afford in the tropical protectorates outlet and scope to the enterprise and colonising capacity of Hindustan. . . . There is no reason why . . . the Asiatic, if only he does not teach the African evil ways—a contingency which must not be forgotten—should not be encouraged to trade and *settle as he will* in the enormous regions of tropical fertility to which he is adapted.

Now, I maintain that the policies forecast in these two sets of quotations overlap and conflict. The tropical protectorates cannot be held available to both the expanding millions of Africa and of India. It is not correct to say there is ample room for both. If you eliminate the spheres of prospective occupation by whites and blacks, there remain no enormous regions of fertility to barter with except in arid, swampy and unhealthy places where immigrants would find a worthless gift. I shall endeavour to show by and by that the mixture of coloured races is undesirable from administrative and other points of view, and that the attempt to procure it will prove unsatisfactory.

The case which I am aiming to establish will be made clearer if we glance for a moment at South Africa, whose modern history is familiar to us, and which affords in some measure, from climatic and other aspects, an illustration of what East Africa may become; for, though the latter is more equatorial, heat and cold, fever and scourges are common to both latitudes.

A century ago the white settler population of the Cape, after one hundred years of effective occupation, numbered but few thousands. So late as 1856, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, remonstrating with those who wished to extend the British dominions to the Orange River, stated that 'Cape Town and Table Bay were all England really required in South Africa,' and later, that 'the responsibility and cost of Great Britain becoming the paramount Power in South Africa would far outweigh any possible advantages.'

The same lack of appreciation of the position and of imagination then displayed, and which had prompted at an earlier date the dumping of low-type convicts in Australia, Virginia, and other possessions, may be answerable for errors of judgment to-day.

But what has happened since? South Africa is now settled by a white population of a million and a half, extending from Cape Town to the Zambesi, and we have fought strenuously for the paramountcy. The coating of settlement may as yet be thin. But the point is that the discovery of mineral wealth, resulting to the world's benefit of an aggregate output of over two hundred millions in gold, and other attractions caused a rapid and sustained increase of Europeans. These white people are formed into colonies with constitutions worked on progressive lines, and are there to stay; they have in fact created an indigenous nationalism now preparing to federate and control the whole sub-continent with one central idea. At the same time the native population has multiplied and spread out with greater

rapidity, and, by means of education and other forms of enlightenment, is leaving barbarism behind and rising fast to a higher level.

But, as if a native problem with its proportion of five blacks to one white were not sufficient, Natal on gaining its charter as a colony committed the fatal error of introducing Indians to work in its semi-tropical districts, from the unhappy consequences of which she is now repenting and struggling to be freed. In the words of Sir William Arbuckle, the Agent-General in England :

Forty-eight years ago the supply of native labour in Natal for the sugar plantations proved to be unreliable . . . and indentured labourers from India were imported. . . . In the contracts . . . no mention was made of their return to India—an unfortunate omission. They were therefore free to remain in Natal. . . . I fear we did not then adequately recognise the danger. . . . The Indians, like the Kaffirs, are a prolific race, and to-day we have in our midst a large number born and bred in the Colony . . . they will soon outnumber us. . . . The position is therefore a most perplexing one. . . . It is never too late to mend. . . . This very session three Bills of far-reaching importance are being submitted to the Natal Parliament . . . their object is :

1. To put an end to the introduction of indentured Indian immigrants ;
2. To prevent the issue of new trading licences to Indians ;
3. To extinguish all trading licences held by Indians after December 1918.

Mr. Maydon, the ex-Colonial Secretary, unburdening himself in the same strain, says : ‘ We are beginning to pay now in troubles arising in this country, still more in the ferment which is growing in India. But at present we have only begun to pay.’

What sterner lesson could we have?—for Natal, like East Africa, has hot and low-lying belts where white people do not thrive, as well as delightful highlands, and she is forced after a brief and vexatious experiment to abandon it and pay.

It may be imagined, therefore, that the very same conditions which have influenced the affairs of South Africa in general and Natal in particular may come to prevail in East Africa, where everything is yet in the making. For, there are to be found high and healthy tablelands in which white people thrive and flourish : where cattle-ranching succeeds, and the cereals in common use by Europeans grow ; where coffee, sugar, and rubber, having a high commercial value in European markets, are cultivated ; and where the export of cotton, which the natives, according to the last official reports, are being encouraged to plant, is sensibly increasing.

And then, too, for all we know there is mineral wealth stored away to be revealed as a surprise, as it was in South Africa, in which case the civilised world would throng there by tens of thousands. Sir Charles Eliot, in his recent book on the East African Protectorate, points out that the investigations in mineralogy have been surprisingly few, and that so far there is little ground for anticipating the discovery of rich deposits. (But how many discoveries have been anticipated ? At one time the farms on which the Transvaal gold mines and Kimberley

diamond mines now stand would have changed hands readily for a few hundreds, whereas they are now worth millions.) He refers incidentally, however, to the presence of gold on the shores of Lake Victoria, and to a reef crossing the boundary of German territory, as well as to the presence of silver, opals, agates, mica, and iron in great abundance.

So that—and this I want to emphasise—in time to come when breathing-space has been allowed, the elevated plateaux of East Africa may become the centre of a colony having great possibilities, with a strong and progressive Government who, in the uphill fight common to all new colonies, may well be spared multicolour problems recklessly built up for them to-day.

And now let us turn to matters relating to the native Africans, to the Indians whose characteristics are so different, and consider what their mixture entails upon the Administration, and upon the country in which they are proposed to be mingled as part of an organised scheme.

First, as regards British Indians ; it is unwarranted to suppose that we can be inimical to them, or insensible to their interests, or unmindful of our obligations to them as being subjects of the Empire. They number over 300 millions, whose development and welfare we are bound to consider. It is imperative that we should keep faith with them, that we should be proud of them, and not ignore the loyalty which as a whole they have shown, nor the services many have rendered to the Crown. Moreover, it must not be overlooked that the Indian Empire is a valuable and almost exclusive centre of British trade, for which purpose it was acquired by the East India Company, who were the missionaries of trade and commerce. But our respect for and present duties to the people of India and their need for expansion offer no reason why we should, in discharging our obligations to them, imperil the existence and expansion of other races dwelling in Africa, whose claims there have first call upon us and who are silently appealing to us.

The whole history of India and its people, whose character for intelligence, energy, and demeanour is of a high order, contrasts with the idea that their exploitation of the African continent is suitable. Their traditions, caste, customs, and pursuits do not lend themselves to assimilation in any form with that of the African natives, from whom they so widely differ, and who will, according to all precedents, multiply and extend.

It seems therefore so undesirable, so unnecessary, to obtrude gratuitously a foreign element which requires to be governed by imported experts and its own peculiar penal codes, and thus kindle race problems in addition to those already existing.

It may be argued that it would be easy to put them in a ring-fence under trained officials and limit the risk of clashing by complete segregation. But, then, their natural increase could not be arrested,

and, when that made itself felt, a new problem of expansion would be bound to arise at the moment when the expansion of the natives was also impending, so that the overflow of Indians from Africa would become a question of major importance.

It is no good to confine our surveillance of the prospect to what may appear convenient to-day. We should have the prescience to look ahead fifty years and calculate consequences, for that is as much a function of statesmen as to find solutions for the pressing contingencies of the hour.

Now, I referred above to expert government and special codes, believing that, with the introduction of a foreign and alien element, you are bound to make special provision for its control. In confirmation of this view, I will quote Sir Lewis Tupper, whose opinion, based upon long and distinguished experience, carries great weight. Writing upon the 'Problems of Empire,' he says :

Indian races are widely separated from African races, and I suggest no comparison between them. But I do not think it would be to the advantage of Indians to settle in countries where they could not be aided by those who understand them to a certain extent, as we who have long served in India may be allowed to hope we do.

And Lord Morley, when lately defending his policy in India, repudiated the idea that it is possible in practical politics to frame and shape one system of government for communities with absolutely different sets of social, religious, and economic conditions.

To indicate what I mean as to the necessities and drawbacks of a dual system of control, let me recall the embarrassments into which Natal was plunged in providing for its Indian population. A reference to the Statutes of that Colony will show that between the date of the introduction of Indians in 1856 and the year 1900 no fewer than thirty-eight Acts of Parliament had to be passed, apart from the promulgation of numerous Regulations, relating exclusively to Indian immigrants ; the average of legislative enactments since the latter date has been maintained.

In 1903 an Act was passed to place closer restrictions on immigration. The Act, though purporting to be of general effect in prohibiting any class of immigrants whose presence was not desired, was aimed no doubt at Indians, and it has since been almost universally adopted as a standard law in other colonies. But the climax in Natal has now been reached in the proposed Act 'to put an end to the introduction of Indian immigrants.'

The demands for special legislation will be better understood if the titles and objects of one or two of the Acts are given, *i.e.* :

1. To create an Indian Immigration Trust Board.
2. To protect uncovenanted Indians from arrest in mistake for absconding indentured Indian servants.
3. To amend and consolidate the laws relating to the introduction

of Indian immigrants and to the regulation and government of such immigrants. (This law, as amended at frequent intervals, extends to 119 sections, and makes provision to deal with matters affecting protectors and other executive staff; interpreters; contracts; wages; registration; absence without leave; transfers; inspections; medical care and hospitals; estates; marriages, births, and deaths; divorces, adultery, seduction and abduction, besides a variety of other things incidental to aliens with strange customs.)

The cost of various Departments, special courts and officers has thus been entailed upon the Government in order to maintain the cumbrous machinery of supervision and control of Indians, supplementary to the ordinary work of the State in administering the affairs of its domiciled white population, in addition to that of its natives, for whom there is at the same time a Code of native law with 298 sections.

Similarly, the Transvaal, with its native and other race problems, is burdened with an Indian Department and burning questions affecting Indians, particulars of which are to be found in volumes of Blue Books that have been loading our shelves for years; whilst in British Guiana the imported East Indians, who number 42 per cent. of the population, appear to be a law unto themselves, for, according to Mr. Davson, they have not only acquired political power under the franchise, but have banded together with other coloured sections and become 'a hindrance, if not a danger, to the State.'

The same sort of procedure found requisite for Natal would be required in any country placed in similar circumstances; yet we are invited to establish such an order of things in East Africa and saddle that new territory with a form of dual administration which has already been found full of perplexities elsewhere.

And what of the African native population? On every side, except where an epidemic like sleeping sickness is raging, they are increasing by leaps and bounds. In southern latitudes, where we must look for the prototype, the greater part of their arable land has been absorbed in cultivation, so that future generations may have to seek occupations other than as agriculturists. In Cape Colony, Natal, Basutoland, Orange River Colony, and Transvaal, there are no longer vacant tracts to be allotted. In Bechuanaland Protectorate and Rhodesia there are certain areas not under beneficial occupation, but, where not waterless or infertile, they are earmarked for it.

This promises to be the situation in which the natives of East Africa will be placed in due course after a reign of peace and protection.

Mr. Churchill told the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute he was less interested in East Africa than in Uganda, and he went on to say:

You travel through East Africa and everywhere see swarms of savages in the primal squalor of mankind. But when you come to Uganda you find

a clothed, highly intelligent, orderly peaceful race, 200,000 of whom can read or write . . . a race with an elaborate feudal system under which they are governed . . . with their own laws . . . all the machinery in fact of a highly developed polity . . . entitling . . . them to be called the Japanese of Africa.

Do not these words contain a warning? All analogy justifies a reasonable expectation that the swarms of savages alluded to will, when they come under beneficent influences, progress as rapidly as those of Uganda, who but a few years ago were like unto them, and that these Bantu people, hitherto broken and separated by slave-raiding and tribal feuds, will before long be welded into one homogeneous body partaking of the education and opportunities for intellectual development to be derived under British rule. When that day comes, as it surely must, they may demand, on the principle of self-preservation, that an alien race alongside them shall be rigidly confined within limits—may even demand its repatriation—and then will arise the serious question, How to be rid of this Indian experiment? Nothing, indeed, is more likely.

It is sometimes alleged, as Mr. Colquhoun does in his paper on 'Our East African Empire,' that these natives are by no means indigenous, some being marauding tribes and some nomads. We must, however, remember that they were in possession when the earliest explorers discovered them, and that they were driven from pillar to post by the Portuguese at times and by the Arabs in their slave-raiding expeditions. In Theal's *History and Ethnography* we find quotations from the great work of Maçoudi, A.D. 943, entitled *Les Prairies d'Or*, issued with the original Arabic text in 1877. That writer describes the Bantu as 'inhabiting the country as far south as Sofala.' The narrative of Tippoo Tib, the great slave-trader, related in his own words, is a revelation of the unscrupulous cruelty with which he scattered Bantu tribes that stood in his way in his quest for slaves.

But, however that may be, slave-trading is now at an end, wanton destruction has ceased, and the natives as a whole are under benevolent rule which admits of their enlightenment. Without venturing to estimate the intellectual standard to which they have the capacity to attain, it is certain that they are able to rise to a much higher level than that at which the great majority now stand.

Mr. Jebb, in his reasoned paper on the 'Imperial Problem of Asiatic Immigration,' advocates warmly the rights and privileges of 'indigenous nationalism.' But his liberality of view is not extended to the natives. He observes:

It has been suggested that, by way of compensation for their exclusion from South Africa, the *Indians should have East Africa set apart for them*. There is no objection to this proposal in Imperial theory unless the local natives have a case. . . . If the reservation of East Africa for Indian settlement would assist, either morally or materially, the solution of this problem, by all means let us agree to it.

It is this light-hearted way of donating with a wave of the hand what belongs by inheritance to others against which I protest. Mr. Jebb, if he is not authorised to suggest this handsome gift, is only following the lead of those in authority who advocate a magnanimous policy at the expense of others without considering the ultimate consequences. According to a Blue Book just issued, the Governor of East Africa is partial to the same idea, for he refers to the growing tendency amongst the white settlers to keep the Indian not only out of the uplands, but out of the country altogether, the spirit of which, he says, is akin to that prevailing in Natal and elsewhere; and he sees no reason why we should not give small allotments of land to agricultural Indians. The spirit to which the Governor alludes is that of people whose voices are as yet faint; but the sound may grow distinct in East Africa as it has grown elsewhere. We have evidence of dissension in the strained relations which have lately occurred between the Governor and certain members of his Legislative Council, resulting in their suspension. I allude to this unfortunate misunderstanding for the reason only that it has arisen partly out of some of the questions discussed in this paper.

I believe that if the history of the troubles about Indian immigration that have ensued in Natal and other parts were epitomised and circulated in Protectorates where there is still unallotted land, some useful lessons might be learnt and some faulty experiments avoided.

It is only quite recently that a petition, to which attention was called in the House of Commons, was sent to the Colonial Office protesting against the continued introduction of East Indian coolies into Jamaica. It pointed out that the labouring and small settler classes were unable to obtain regular employment on the sugar estates and fruit plantations, and were therefore under the necessity of emigrating to seek work; that therefore a great injustice was done to these classes and the island generally by taxing them for expenditure in connexion with imported labourers to compete with the superabundant labour market of the country.

Although the Secretary of State was not prepared to admit the entire accuracy of all the statements in the memorial, the case in itself presents another instance of confusion in which imported Asiatics have come into conflict with the negroes of Jamaica, who have now become the indigenous population and who, if the petition speaks correctly, are subject to undue competition for their daily bread, just as would happen if the enterprising swarm from Hindustan were allowed to settle as it will and swamp East Africa. For, be it remembered that the native African is bound to his country, there being no field of emigration available to him except perhaps the North Pole, which the rest of humanity shuns.

It must be admitted, of course, that, as a temporary expedient to meet pressing industrial demands, it is justifiable to import workers.

To that no strong exception can be taken so long as due provision is made for repatriation when the pressure ceases, as was the intention in respect of Chinese and the South African mines. The point I wish to urge is the insurance of safeguards against schemes for *permanent settlement*, particularly in East Africa, which has lately been focussed for experiments which have proved costly and abortive elsewhere.

If no other danger existed, there is the powerful objection to the crossing of the black and brown races, which, no matter what obstacles are put in the way, is bound to follow their association. The results, as seen in some places, are painfully apparent. The idea of their blending may be summarily dismissed, unless we want to promote deterioration of both races. If that prospect is not a sufficient deterrent, let us remember that East Africa has already, or will soon have, its own race-problems which will tax the wits and resources of settlers and Government. A considerable portion of it is notoriously suitable for European occupation. It has a swelling native population which will develop, and on its borders a rapidly improving race in Uganda whose influence and movement are destined to be active. All these natives are rooted to the country in which they live, and we have no moral right to hazard their future by indulging in speculative schemes predetermined to crowd them out, whether it be of land or labour, for the sake of sharing it with Orientals who have their own heritage.

It is not the purpose of this article to suggest a remedy for India's troubles about expansion; but it seems that what she is most suffering from is a surplus of young men educated to a standard which offers them little chance of profitable employment. It is apparently for this class that pursuits and occupations have to be sought, and they are not to be found in Africa. The Indian agriculturist, notwithstanding the entreaties of his most ardent advocates, appears to have room in his own sphere which is not utilised, if we may judge from the opinions of the men on the spot.

For instance, Mr. Nisbet, a Conservator of Forests, thus writes in this Review for July, in a paper upon 'Indian Famines and Indian Forests':

So strongly is the Indian peasant bound to his ancestral holding by caste and by all that he believes in, that he absolutely declines to remove from his habitual surroundings to other parts of his province, or other parts of the empire, where vacant land is still easily obtainable in fertile regions well provided with water either naturally or artificially supplied. . . . This increase (population) is not being balanced by a proportionate industrial development throughout the Indian Empire, or by emigration from congested districts with precarious rainfall to non-congested provinces, like Assam and Burma, with abundance of vacant virgin soil and unfailing rainfall.

Mr. Nisbet writes with experience from a position of authority, and his statements are important and relevant. Surely, then, we are entitled to ask statesmen and enthusiasts to let the East find salvation

in its own sphere, and to pause before involving us in sketchy projects by which the Imperial Government should afford in the tropical protectorates outlet and scope to the enterprise and colonising capacity of Hindustan.

Conversing lately with two prominent persons intimately connected with East Africa, the one informed me that the Indians have already secured a strong footing, and will, if care is not taken, overrun the whole country; that they are to be found in settlements at intervals all along the railway and at every Government station; that they furnish the shopkeepers, market gardeners, purveyors, carpenters, builders, masons, engine-drivers, telegraphists, and butchers. While admiring their industry and thrusting power, he had grave apprehensions about the future prospect when native intelligence and activities had been stirred.

The other said that, being in business, he was bound to regard politics from the purely commercial point of view of to-day; but he could not defend in principle the policy of Indian settlement, which would recoil upon them. He attributed the apparent acquiescence in that policy to the fact that they had been consenting parties to expedients because the natives of East Africa showed no disposition to improve as they had done in other parts—otherwise he would think differently. In this there is an exhibition of impatience and want of perception; for, except in Uganda, apparently little effort has as yet been made to give the local natives opportunity for improvement or scope for taking up their burden. When that effort becomes operative and the natives advance, racial cleavage and all the entanglements which accompany it will follow as a matter of course.

It seems, however, to be the plot to let things drift in a muddling way into precisely the same position as Natal is trying to wriggle out of, for the Secretary of State, in a despatch of March 1908, concurs in the policy outlined by the Governor, who regards the settlement of Indians with favour, more especially if with their families, and considers they will set an example of thrift and industry which the natives will soon learn to follow when they realise the advantages to be gained. And then?

To recapitulate; my plea for the dwellers in Africa, in respect of proposals made under authority for the organised immigration of British Indians on lines of permanent settlement, rests upon the following amongst other reasons:

1. All experience shows that the introduction of aliens into a colony with an indigenous population to meet temporary demands for labour, or for other purpose, without rigid provision for repatriation, has produced disastrous results wherever it has been attempted.
2. Protectorates where the white race has established itself and can thrive, though in certain parts unsuitable for hard work or

continuous residence, may become centres of population and develop mining and other industries to an astonishing degree if discoveries are made and enterprise is set going.

3. East Africa—a case in point—is young and fulfils many of the conditions which attract the European race as regards altitude, climate, pursuits, and possibilities.

4. The aboriginal races in occupation, whose cause stands in need of representation, are multiplying fast, and are forming an indigenous nationalism of their own under our guidance. We are stimulating them to improve and to be industrious; we have no right to cramp their material development and stifle their hopes by bequeathing their natural field of expansion to competitors alien in characteristics and language, with whom they cannot fuse.

5. Preservation of the purity of races should be an aim. It is manifestly impolitic to graft the religious caste of Hindustan upon the wild African fetish.

I wish in conclusion to affirm that nothing in this paper is meant in any way to foster a sentiment of antipathy to Asiatics. We are entitled, however, to feel that our obligations to British Indians, with whose problems we warmly sympathise, should not be satisfied at the expense of the natives of Africa, and to claim that the wholesome development of our Protectorates should not be fettered by reactionary policy.

It is criminal folly to deliberately create problems in a new country in order to assuage them in another.

GODFREY LAGDEN.

*SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF
GENERAL WOLFE*

IN a rambling Tudor house on the hem of a quiet Kentish village, finding delight in horses, dogs, and muskets, as well as in Cæsar and Livy, James Wolfe dreamt of military renown from his tenderest years. Two months he lacked of his fifteenth birthday when, a lank, red-haired stripling, a first commission was placed in his hands. The parchment with the faded signature of 'George R.' and 'Harrington' is before me as I write, setting forth that Colonel Edward Wolfe's eldest son is thereby appointed second-lieutenant in the aforesaid Colonel's 'Marine Regiment of Foot.' Its date is the 3rd of November 1741. Nineteen years passed away; on the selfsame spot in the grounds of Squerryes Court, where the boy's trembling fingers grasped the scroll, his dearest friends posed a cenotaph, to record for all time to come the beginning of that career of arms whose celebrity had by 1760 extended over the civilised world.

Here first was Wolfe with martial ardour fired,
Here first with Glory's brightest flame inspired;
This spot so sacred will forever claim
A proud alliance with its hero's name.

In May 1742, the young soldier (having meanwhile, owing to his father's absence in the West Indies, got himself transferred as ensign in Colonel Duroure's regiment of foot) landed in Flanders. Thereafter, with his campaigns, began also that series of letters to his parents and friends at home, which lasted until the very eve of his death on the Heights of Quebec, and now find a fitting lodgment at Squerryes Court, Westerham.

The ancient estate of Squerryes had been acquired by John Warde from the Earl of Jersey in 1721. The younger Warde children were contemporaries of the two Wolfe lads at Spiers (now Quebec House). With George Warde vows of eternal friendship were exchanged by James; both attended the same school; both entered the Army, both duly rose to high rank. The hero's mother made this George Warde executor of her will and bequeathed to him, amongst other things, including various military commissions, all her son's letters—

some 250 in number, which during long years she had carefully treasured.

So much for the manner in which these letters came to Squerries, now the seat of Lieut.-Colonel C. A. Madan Warde, J.P., Lord of the Manor. They have in the past century and a half had their vicissitudes. The poet Southey meditating a *Life* of Wolfe (which never got itself written) borrowed them. The intermediary in the negotiations, having received the papers back from the Laureate, died; his effects were dispersed, and not until thirty years afterwards did the late Admiral Warde, K.H., hear that they were actually being offered for public sale at Yarmouth amongst other effects of the antiquary Dawson Turner. Upon the Admiral's remonstrance, the priceless letters were restored by the executors to the lord of Squerries. Robert Wright incorporated many of them in his biography published half a century ago; but nearly every one amply repays perusal, and the least of them sheds some light on the impulsive and yet wholly amiable character of one of the greatest soldiers England ever produced.

Of the extracts (hitherto unpublished) which follow from Wolfe's correspondence with his parents, the first dates from February 1747, when he was in camp near Maestricht. He was a hardened veteran of twenty, having seen five years' service, and as many severe campaigns. His rank is that of Brigade Major, his activity and thoroughness in that capacity being so notable as to attract the attention of the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cumberland. It is a curious epistle, or rather a verbose apology for not writing one. He scorns to shine as a letter-writer; our youthful Brigade Major leaves such distinction as that to mere amateurs in the absorbing art of war:

DEAR SIR,—We military men don't accustom ourselves to moral topics, or seldom entertain one another with subjects which are out of the common rôle, from the frequent occasion we have to mention our own affairs, which, in time of war, are of no small extent and concern. Possibly our manner of writing may proceed in some measure from diffidence and modesty, as not caring to attempt things that we are sensible have been better touched upon; and rather choose to be confined to that particular branch of knowledge with which we are supposed to be well acquainted. Nine-tenths of the letters from hence, I am persuaded, are filled with observations of what occurs in the army in general, or in the particular battalion to which the writer belongs. I know, or at least guess by myself, how much every man's attention is taken up with the things about him, and the use of thinking constantly on the same matter weighs greatly with the mind, and in time becomes its first principle. So that setting aside a man's modesty and his diffidence, he has little else to talk of.

I am led into this observation by a discourse at Gen. Howard's an hour ago, of the difficulty some people there said they were under for want of sufficient variety of occurrences to fill up their paper; and so put off testifying their love to their friends till next post. Now, I was secure, nay certain, that you could expect nothing very extraordinary or amusing in the way we are in, and that your good nature and friendship would have been satisfied to have known your son

in health, and to have had a mark of his respect and affection for his parents expressed in ever so few lines. I heartily wish you health, and am, dear Sir, your most obedient and affectionate son,

P.S.—My love to my mother.

J. WOLFE.

It is worth remarking that James Wolfe, as the son of a successful soldier, was under no delusions as to the value of mere merit in the military régime of that day.

‘If I rise at all,’ he observes in one letter, ‘it will probably be by means of my father’s pocket.’ Consequently, we need not be surprised to find the parents of the precocious hero for ever wire-pulling at headquarters, besides planning matrimonial alliances which would enable him to command the means of promotion. If in his letters we note him repeatedly deploring the system (to which he was to owe as little as any man), he declares himself convinced that ‘none but earthly gods and goddesses are moved far without the precious bane.’

He has a restless temperament; his moods change; he is soon over the ‘we military men’ phase. He gossips gaily with his mother about his camp duties, his professional prospects, his health (this, by the by, was always precarious), and the affairs, especially the love affairs, of his friends. Mrs. Wolfe had written to say that one of his old Greenwich comrades had fallen in love with a damsel whose beauty he insisted upon. James professes in his reply to be astonished. He unbends so far as to be exceedingly facetious.

Sure, Palliser can’t in honesty be partial to that red head of hers, and think there is beauty in the motley of white and yellow! He has certainly meant his speech in compliment to some female, of the fairer kind. He can never be so blind as to imagine any perfection but in the just medium between dismal black and pallid white. He has sacrificed his own opinion of Miss Higsham’s affections in pure civility to the neighbourhood of that same lady who was, as I have said before, undoubtedly the object of and first in his thoughts.

As for himself, he professes to have made many conquests before he met Miss Elizabeth Lawson, daughter of the Sir Wilfrid Lawson of that day, and a maid-of-honour at Court. His own description of the lady is, ‘I don’t think her a beauty. She has much sweetness of temper, sense enough, and is very civil and engaging in her behaviour. In point of fortune she has no more than I have a right to expect, viz. 12,000*l.* . . . The maid is tall and thin, about my own age, and that’s the only objection.’ On his return from the Continent early in 1749, he quickly discovered that his parents were hotly opposed to the Lawson match. ‘They have their eye,’ he wrote his friend Rickson, ‘upon one of 30,000*l.*’

As the year wore on the young Major became stationed at Glasgow with his regiment, then commanded by Lord George Sackville, afterwards the Lord George Germain of the American War of Independence, and of whom Wolfe, by the by, conceived a high opinion. His

letters show him to be very miserable. He was head over ears in love with Miss Lawson, notwithstanding that Mrs. Wolfe even alleged rumours against that young lady's fair fame in her desire to break off the connexion. James repels these insinuations with scorn, even when they are backed up by two of his father's friends and a young kinswoman, who acted as his mother's companion, and whom he designates as 'Jezebel.'

Neither my inclination nor interest leads me [he writes from Glasgow, the 25th of March 1749] to do anything that may disoblige either my father or you, much less against both can I be persuaded to oppose your wills ; it would humble me indeed if you were once to suppose that I could be biassed in my opinion by either of the gentlemen you mention, though they should receive advice and assistance from the artificial and fraudulent female ; or that she (prepared as I am against all her attempts) should be able to work upon me with lies and falsehood, her constant weapons. I had not five minutes discourse with her, but in company with the others, where her intimacy is not yet strong enough to allow the freedom of utterance upon all subjects ; so that, what she might be wanting in truth must have been chiefly upon indifferent topics, more proper to move one's contempt than displeasure. One melancholy proof of her pernicious example, I foresee, will appear in that child Miss Sotheron [his cousin] ; if Jezebel be suffered to meddle in her education, the girl is undone. I pressed the father to send her to New York. His fondness, and Fanny's wickedness, will be her distraction, if she is not quickly removed. It is a pity the poor thing should be neglected, for she appears ready enough on her part to do what is right.

Lodged in the suburb of Camlachie, there being no Glasgow barracks in those days, Wolfe began to feel the effects of seven campaigns on a naturally delicate frame. He became almost prostrated.

DEAR MADAM [he writes the 21st of May 1749].—This is the most lazy and indolent disorder I have ever been oppressed with ; 'tis pain to undertake the slightest business ; and what used to give me pleasure in the work is now tedious and disagreeable. I should hardly imagine it, if I did not really feel it myself, yet the very writing a few words, though to the person I always loved to write to, is now a trouble to me. I must drive off this heaviness by some means or other, and not be thus uneasy to myself, when everything about me looks gay and pleasant.

The sergeant brought me the little bundles, just as you had given them into his hands ; they came very seasonably and I thank you much for the relief.

Mr. Godde, too, has furnished me with what his shop affords ; I can't say they come at so easy a rate as some other things, but whoever deals with him I find must pay well to be well served.

We expected a great tumult, and some mischief in a day or two, at the punishment of two men concerned in the mob ; but they have prevented all that by escaping out of prison. It has saved me a great deal of trouble, though it would have been for the future peace of the place if these offenders had received what the law intended them. I'm afraid the magistrates will suffer in the opinion of their superiors ; though I can't say it appears that they connived at the prisoners' flight ; yet their fears of their being rescued and their timorous behaviour throughout the whole of this affair will not fail to create suspicions to their prejudice. Present my duty to my father. I am, dear Madam, your most obedient and affectionate son,

J. WOLFE.

The latter part of the above letter refers to a riot in Glasgow occasioned by a corpse having been resurrected by a party of young collegians. Thinking the body had been taken to the college, a mob collected, smashing windows and perpetrating other violence. A number of the rioters were arrested. Two were found guilty and sentenced to be whipped through the town and banished for life.

From Glasgow Wolfe undertook a journey to Perth in the course of that summer. The weather had been miserable, cold and wet, and our Major's health was not improved thereby. 'If I say I'm thinner, you'll imagine me a shadow or a skeleton in motion.'

From Perth I find him writing Mrs. Wolfe :

You know what a whimsical sort of person I am, and how variable and unsteady. Nothing pleases me now but the rougher kind of entertainments, such as hunting, shooting and fishing. There's none of that kind near London, and so I have distant notions of taking a little, very little house, remote upon the edge of the forest or waste, merely for sport, and keep it till we go to Minorca.

The idea of a sporting lodge in the Highlands, so strikingly novel in 1749, has since become a familiar one to the natives of these islands.

The elder Wolfe, now a Major-General, frequently supplemented his son's slender pay by a handsome remittance. It is a pity we know so little of his character and personal traits other than those we can infer from his son's correspondence. Captain George Wolfe, a Jacobite, fled from Limerick in 1651. His grandson first saw the light in 1685, and sixteen years later entered Queen Anne's service as second-lieutenant of marines. His first commission, dated the 10th of March 1702, is now with the others at Squerryes Court. The fact of his rapid rise—without fortune or family influence (he became lieutenant-colonel in 1717)—evinces rare merit, and he was regarded with favour by Marlborough. Major-General Wolfe was now in his sixty-fifth year, and while devoted to his one surviving son, was not blind to what he considered his faults. The letters of both parents must have been filled perpetually with advice or remonstrance, and fortunately the son's filial piety was such that he always deferred to them both—sometimes with an excellent grace—at a later period under passionate protest.

I have [he writes from Glasgow the 10th of July 1749] but one way of making you any acknowledgements and that is by endeavouring to deserve your esteem. A number of words and sentences ever so well put together cannot equal a good action. Those are only to be paid in their kind ; and though I should take the greatest pains to tell you how much I think myself obliged to you, you would be better pleased to hear that I did my share of duty as it should be done ; and that every kindness I received from you was felt by the honest and the good ; that every addition of circumstance was employed as you yourself would wish, and that the same principles and integrity that have hitherto guided your actions are, through you, the rule of mine. All this would be pleasing to hear, and you have taken one more step to bring it about ; 'tis now in my power to be both generous

and just, and I have an opportunity of owning with great pleasure that both the inclination and ability are from you. Lord George Sackville and Cornwallis are two people that no sordid or vicious man can succeed without appearing in dismal colours, and a regiment accustomed to genteel commanders are so many censors to disapprove and condemn a different behaviour. Not but certain allowances are to be made between men of high rank and fortune and those of inferior degree.

Mrs. Wolfe having written to him of a visitation of their house at Greenwich on the hill by burglars, and the fright of a maiden lady, his mother's companion :

I laugh to think of Mrs. Fanny's globes and spheres rolling upon the ground, her drawing pens and brushes dispersed, her shells in disorder, and a goblet broken in the fray. I hope it was her effects and not her person that these rash robbers aimed at ! Sure, they have not run away with her ? Sweet soul ! What a panic she is always in at the sight of a rude man !

The Major was transferred to Perth towards the close of the year, and he writes to his mother that since Lord George Sackville left he has ' changed his way of life.' ' When we were at Glasgow together, I had taken that opportunity to acquire a few things that I was before ignorant of, and in which I might expect assistance from some of the people of the College.' Meanwhile, Mrs. Wolfe had finally fixed upon an heiress for her son, a Miss Hoskins of Croydon, with a fortune of 30,000*l*. Of this lady she was never weary of singing the praises, discouraging as much as possible all continuance of the Lawson connexion. At last both parents went so far as to forbid him peremptorily to pay any more attention epistolary or otherwise to Miss Lawson.

Perth: 15 Dec. 1749.

DEAR MADAM,—You give the best reason in the world for continuing in the country so late as you did. Wherever my father and you have your health best there I would wish you most, and as Greenwich seems to agree with both, the best thing you can do is to make it more agreeable by changing from a bad house to a good one, from a low situation to a high one, and as near the park as possible. Do not be in any pain about me. When I am well all places will produce something to entertain, and when otherwise, it matters little where one is ; the less trouble to our friends the better. You need not hurry yourselves about military promotions, for I take them to be at an entire stand for some time. When these things were to be had, I got my share, and (my necessary confinements excepted) have reason to be well enough satisfied with what has happened.

I am mighty glad Miss Hoskins' disorder does not turn out so dangerous as was apprehended. Her sweetness of temper and social disposition makes her too valuable not to fear her loss. [This is far too polite.] The Duke of Montague's death will be of advantage to the young lady, since his conversation (in your opinion) was not fitted for her tender ear. There is one kind of converse and discourse with the men that is of great service to the other sex, and another as injurious, but it would take too much time to distinguish the two. However it obliges me to observe to you that the women in this country partake very much of society with men, and by that means gain a certain freedom of behaviour, uncommon in England, but which is nevertheless of great use to preserve

them from the bad consequences of sudden surprise or novelty ; and is a real protection to their virtue, though at times one would imagine that their easiness in some particulars lead directly to the contrary. 'Tis a usual thing for the matrons to sit at table with the men till very late and concur in everything but the actual debauchery, and as the men warm at wine, they speak openly enough to give offence with us.

This fresh disappointment in love has changed my natural disposition to such a degree that I believe it is now possible I might prevail upon myself not to refuse twenty or thirty thousand pounds, if properly offered. Rage and despair do not commonly produce such reasonable effects ; nor are they the instruments to make a man's fortune by but in particular cases.

Miss Hoskins afterwards married John Warde, of Squerryes Court.

Lord George Sackville's successor as Colonel of the regiment was Lord Bury, the Earl of Albemarle's eldest son, and the Captain who brought news of Culloden to George the Second, for which he received 1000*l.* and was made aide-de-camp. Bury had no intention of joining the regiment immediately, and the actual command continued in the hands of Major Wolfe.

My Colonel and I [he writes in January 1750] have a very exact correspondence. He is extremely bent upon procuring all the knowledge of regimental affairs that the distance between us will allow of ; in order, I suppose, to make such alterations and amendments as seem requisite, and to be the better prepared against he comes amongst us. I answer his letters very punctually, and endeavour all in my power to satisfy him in such particulars as are properly within my sphere ; confining, however, my judgment of men and things to what is purely military, and belonging to my office. He can give you weekly intelligence as far as the assurance of a letter can go, whenever you are so good as to make inquiry after me.

Reaction naturally set in after Wolfe's yielding to his parents' wishes in the matter of Miss Lawson. After all, he was no saint, notwithstanding the character he receives in Johnstone's *Chrysal*, but a youth of spirit, and it is to be feared reports of his hot language and wildness of behaviour reaching his father brought down more than the customary rebuke.

DEAR SIR [he writes the 19th of February 1750].—Though I have frequently given you occasion to blame either my neglects or levity, I am not however conscious of ever having intended to give you any uneasiness by obstinacy, or perseverance in an error ; the high opinion I have all along entertained of your just sense of things has always forced me to a proper submission to your will, and obliges me to acknowledge those actions to be actually wrong when you think them so. Besides I am so convinced of your sincerity and secure of your friendship that your advice cannot fail of its due weight, not could I without the highest presumption differ from your sentiments in any of the concerns of life. As what I have said is the exact truth, I mention it by way of making a distinction between that part of my behaviour that is guided by reflection, and such steps as are the consequence of youth and inexperience, or that have no rule to go by and are the pure effects of chance ; but the main reason is to induce you not to look upon any slight omission or inadvertency as done with design to offend or displease ; so far am I from any such intention, that my greatest satisfaction is the means of contributing in some measure to your happiness.

His mother was resolved to punish him by not answering his letters. After a time (the 9th of March 1750) this conduct elicits the following :

DEAR MADAM,—I hope your long silence does not proceed from the continuance of your indisposition, I had rather it should have any other cause, though ever so unpleasant to myself ; I desire you to think that I have undergone sufficient punishment, and judge, by the pleasure it gives me to hear from you, I'm sure you would not wish that the penalty should exceed the crime.

As a distraction, his prospective lieutenant-colonelcy forms the theme of several anxious letters.

Perth : 23 March, 1750.

DEAR SIR,—The words of Lord Bury's last two letters seem calculated to make me imagine his lordship wishes me success, at the same time that they express his diffidence of it. I am not able to extract enough of his real opinion, to determine whether I am, or am not, to be his lieutenant-col. He says, indeed, that the Duke is our friend, but does not affirm that he won't be prevailed upon to give up his point. Lord George Sackville sent me the first information of the vacancy with the strongest assurance of his aid and service. As I know he is very sincere, I rely chiefly upon him. Whichever way the business turns, I shall be glad to know from you who the persons are that seem the most to concern themselves in it ; that I may thank them for their endeavours whether they succeed or not.

At last the hopes of at least three people in the world are crowned with success.

After his appointment, the Lieutenant-Colonel's health continues indifferent, although he can report no actual disease.

Though I can say little more to you than that I have no complaint, yet as you are so good to say it is agreeable to you to hear even that I have no right to dispense with that prerogative, nor inclination to omit that you desire should be done. I am going into the country for a fortnight or three weeks ; there I shall drink goat whey, rather to purify the blood from unclean food and irregular living, than as a remedy to any certain known distemper.

A month's easterly wind that has blasted almost every plant and tree, has not been able to make me shake, so I have reason to think there is no remains of an ague in me.

Later (the 22nd of June 1750) Wolfe writes his father :

DEAR SIR,—I drank the whey and went into a cold bath fourteen days, in that time I found such an alteration for the better that if I had been at liberty to continue that way of life a month longer, I make no doubt but it would have been of considerable advantage. The march of two companies into Angus has perhaps made Mr. Hindes imagine that the whole battalion was to change their quarters, especially as Pultenay's moved early in the summer to Aberdeenshire, but it is not probable that we shall leave Perth before the middle of October. It will take the remainder of that month to clothe the men, and settle them in their new quarters, and that is what Lord Bury expects I should see done.

Mrs. Wolfe continuing obdurate, her son writes anxiously :

July 25, 1750.

DEAR MADAM,—I persuaded myself that this post would have brought me some news of your health, and such as I should have reason to be pleased with ;

I want to see it under your own hand, 'tis to me the most agreeable proof of your recovery, though one that I could wish never to stand in the need of. I don't think since my first leaving you there ever has been so long an interval of silence on your part, which I am afraid does but too manifestly imply your want of health; you are otherwise too good to refuse me a satisfaction that I have always justly reckoned amongst the greatest of my life.

At last the long-promised furlough was obtained, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe was able to leave Scotland for London. It is to be feared that his long seclusion, his disappointment in love, and the refusal of the Commander-in-Chief to allow him to study military science abroad (after Miss Lawson's hand his heart's dearest desire) made him plunge into the dissipation of town life with fatal abandon.

Passing a few days with his cousins the Thompsons and the Sotherons in Yorkshire, he reached the capital on the 14th of November, where he paid his duty to his parents, now at their town house in Old Burlington Street. Contrary, however, to their wishes, James now renewed his suit to Miss Lawson, against whom Mrs. Wolfe had conceived a violent dislike. She called it a 'senseless passion,' more than hinting that the young lady was not all she should be. This aroused James's ire, and being, above all things, of a passionate disposition, the inevitable scene occurred. The elder Wolfe appealed to his son's 'natural affections' in order to enforce obedience. James replied hotly and hastily, and in language he repented, that he knew nothing of natural affections. He left his parents' roof, and together with one or two companions, one of them the Hon. Arthur Loftus, a genial rake, proceeded to drinking, late hours, and the other fashionable vices of the period.

I went to London in November [he wrote Rickson later] and came back the middle of April. In that short time I committed more imprudent acts than in all my life before. I lived in the idlest, most dissolute, abandoned manner that could be conceived, and that not out of vice, which is the most extraordinary part of it. I have escaped at length and am once again master of my reason, and hereafter it shall rule my conduct.

One must not take this confession too seriously. Wolfe was not the man, either morally or physically, to emulate the excesses of a Charles Fox or a Lord Byron. As it was, the result might have been foreseen. He became seriously ill, and was scarcely recovered when he returned to his regiment at Banff. Here further long parental remonstrances reached the young Lieutenant-Colonel, to which he replied, on the 12th of June 1751, thus to his father:

I am very glad from the knowledge of your sentiments (which in a case that concerns myself ought justly to be preferred to my own, and indeed in almost all other cases) to be able to make you some sort of apology for every particular instance of vice or folly that has very luckily fallen under your notice while I had the honour to be near you. I say very luckily, for if you or some other perfect

friend had not discovered them, so as to make them known to me, I might have continued in the conceit of there being no such thing in my composition, and consequently they must in time have taken deep root, and increased beyond the power of any remedy. Yours is a very lively picture of the impertinence and idleness that is often in people of my years, so that it is not quite new and unexpected; and if I do not mistake this is not the first time that you have observed the seeds of such imperfections in me, that perhaps only wanted nourishment and proper occasion to break forth. I am quite persuaded (though you express some indifference in the latter part of your letter) that you mean to recover me from the ill habit of mind you have seen me in, and with that view and that only it is that the just remarks you have made upon my conduct are put in their proper light. I am sure at the same time that your course of goodness and indulgence to me is not entirely altered and that you are ready to make such allowances as may be expected from one who has so extensive a knowledge of mankind as you have.

The respect I have for you and strong desire to be better in your opinion than I have been of late, will put me upon pursuing the best means that you can devise, or that I can imagine for such an alteration of behaviour as may conduce to that end. I believe the first step to amendment is to acknowledge our faults, a proof that we think them faults. This I do very heartily and truly, though I must assert that most of them have arisen from inadvertency and not from any ill intention. I am very sensible that many things have appeared with an exceeding bad grace, but am nevertheless quite clear and conscious that no offence ever was, or could be, meant. My mother told me you intended to write. I was desirous to know your thoughts (which I am sorry to say I have been but too often unacquainted with) and that is one reason why I left such an interval between asking your pardon in the short though sincere manner in which I did, when I came away, and making all the submission that can be made to one that I am very unwilling to disoblige. I hope the former part of my life will in some measure make this appear; and I believe I may venture to say that my future conduct will help to convince you. . . .

The warm expression that fell from me upon the Duke's refusing to let me go abroad savoured much of ingratitude; the words, it must be confessed, were arrogant and vain. I thought them so at the time of speaking. Passion and disappointment produced them. Certainly his Royal Highness could not have so truly convinced me of his kindness as by consenting to a reasonable and salutary request. For, if eternal imprisonment and exile is to follow perferment, few will be thankful for the favour.

I am sorry you can think it troublesome to me to read any letter from you, though it should be the mirror of my follies. You say it shall be the last upon this subject; and I am sure you will do me the justice to recollect that it is likewise the first. It shall be my care not to give such large room for reproof hereafter; and from no motive so powerful as a thorough regard for your person, and a sense of what is due to you as a parent. My mother might safely have ventured to send me her blessing, though she should build it upon only the strength of a return from me. I do sometimes leave out in my letters what I least intend, and when I omit expressing my affections for either of you, there remains little else that is valuable. I beg my duty to her and am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate son,

J. WOLFE.

Then follows this postscript:

I think I never could advance that there were no natural affections. I believe I said, and still am of opinion, that affections of all kinds spring from mutual good offices done to one another; and that is nature. I likewise said that opposite interests frequently extinguish those affections, which I imagine will be allowed.

His mother relented but slowly. On the 19th of July I find James writing in answer to her letter :

DEAR MADAM,—I began to give up all hopes of hearing from you, and to think myself exiled to all intents and purposes without the consolation of being so much as thought of in this state of bondage and confinement.

I am not addicted by constitution either to the vapours or to despair, and have determined always to leave the cure of present evils to a distant day ; imagining that they must be great indeed that have no remedy in the bosom of time ; and such I hope never to know. When I say I put off the cure, I suppose no present application sufficient, and therefore prefer a remote one, rather than give it up, or submit to disasters and design, though they should be ever so powerful. Your letter, short as it is, unusually so, has nevertheless been of great aid and relief, because it convinces me that, though deservedly neglected, I am not entirely forgot, alienated, or divided from you, as of no further concern. It is fit that some share of evil should fall upon us in this life, to teach us to enjoy the best that we are formed to taste.

About the same time he writes his father from Peterhead :

July 29th, 1751.

Honest Charles writes me word (with a good deal of concern) that he thinks you are not quite so cheerful as he could wish ; this affects me very particularly : first, because I hate to hear that any of your hours pass unpleasantly, or that anything breaks in upon the usual quiet of your mind, and then starts the disagreeable reflection that possibly I may contribute to it. I don't think my friend meant to reproach me, but I could not read his letter without feeling remorse and repentance for any ill acts, or without being shocked at the consequence as far as it regards your person. If it be true that I still create uneasiness, I would endeavour to persuade you, as well as words from me can do it, so far to forget and overlook me and my irregularities as not to entertain a thought of pain for what has already appeared, or form from thence a judgment of what may be expected hereafter ; I had much rather be quite out of your thoughts than take a place in them to torment you.

Six months elapse, and Wolfe pens the following from Inverness :

If a man is not allowed to utter his complaints (and I deny myself this indulgence), what else can he say, or how can he find subject of discourse, when his thoughts are necessarily taken up with a multitude of sensations ? Notwithstanding all this, whether from pride, obstinacy, a vanity to appear firm on one side, or moderation and indifference on the other, I am determined to guard against the inclination that most people feel to communicate their distresses ; and that resolution arises from one or other of the above motives, or a mixture of them all.

Wolfe spares no pains to propitiate his outraged parent :

I don't always understand myself, and can't therefore wonder that I am sometimes unintelligible to others ; however, I don't mean to be obscure in my discourse to you, and so my words generally bear the sense that they are most usually taken in, their common acceptation ; when this is not the case, and the meaning not plain, pray be so good to burn the letter. I think your hardest task will be to make out the words. If I did not know the best part of what I had writ it would be sometimes difficult to read my own writing. I am

quite sensible that you are nohow concerned in military affairs, and have given me no positive orders to reside here or there ; nor are you the cause of any evil that falls upon me ; so I repent me much if words have dropped from me that are unpleasant and unsuitable, or seem to proceed from a restless and fretful temper inconsistent with the regard due to your peace, which I should be sorry to disturb for myself. I do not know what demon possessed me at that unlucky hour, but I have never known my thoughts less confused than of late, and easy stupidity and insensibility seems to have crept into me and does the part of reason in keeping the vessel steady, with prodigious success. It is so pleasing a state that I prefer it to any conceit that the fancy can produce, any whirlwind of the brain or violent chase after nothing—the one goes slowly, sedately, and heavily, the other distractedly to the same end. That I am still here is a proof that you have no power to remove me ; but you may be assured by way of comfort that I can sleep through any mischance and dose away all my complaints.

Mrs. Wilmot is the oldest of all my old friends and acquaintance, and I never see her but with great pleasure, and love to hear her name mentioned. Is she as merry as heretofore ? Does she laugh away all her life ? I hope her good humour will never forsake her. I have recovered my hearing within these three weeks—a month ago I could not hear my watch strike with the right ear, and it has been so ever since I left London ; exercise and temperance have brought this about, and will do the rest in time.

The next letter, dated Inverness, 14th of February 1752, shows that all is amity again in the relations between mother and son :

DEAR MADAM,—It is very pleasing to me to know that our sentiments agree, let the subject be what it will ; but I should be much better satisfied if all the actions of my life were such as you would approve of, for it is evident that our words are no proof of good conduct : they don't always express our thoughts ; but what a man does may be depended upon, and is the true measure of his worth. The lady you mentioned [' Jezebel '] is very fair of speech, and yet you see how little to be trusted to in other respects, and how subtle. I have formerly observed her disposition (but not so accurately as I might have done), and did not always like the appearances as they struck me ; but I saw how deeply Charles [Brett] was involved, and therefore forebore to speak too freely, that I might not torment him. The way she treated him would have opened the eyes of a less amorous gallant, and turned his love and admiration into perfect contempt. . . . We are not enough acquainted with ourselves to determine our future conduct, nor can any man foresee what shall happen ; but, as far as one may hazard a conjecture, there is a great probability that I shall never marry. I shall hardly engage in an affair of that nature purely for money ; nor do I believe that my infatuation will ever be strong enough to persuade me that people can live without it ; besides, unless there be violence done to my inclinations by the power of some gentle nymph, I had much rather listen to the drum and trumpet than any softer sound whatever. . . .

Loftus has always been an old fashioned coxcomb—a tawdry kind of beau. I suppose he would dress the regiment in his own taste ; he's one of those people who think there can't be too much finery, no matter where 'tis stuck. . . .

I hope you will succeed in the management of all your London affairs, that you may have an end to such unpleasant business. My washerwoman says she thinks I shall hold out till next autumn with her assistance ; she has promised to keep everything very tight, and if she's as good as her word it will save you the trouble of sending any new linen. My compliments to Mrs. Inwood and to Miss Brett. I beg my duty to father.

The winter of 1753-4 found Wolfe stationed at Dover Castle, then in a disgraceful state of disrepair and full of discomforts. The weather as it happened was particularly severe. Nevertheless, there were compensations. He had his men more directly under his eye, and took a pride in bringing them to a high state of perfection in drill and discipline. 'It would be a prison to a man of pleasure,' he tells his mother, 'but an officer may put up with it.' In another letter he says, 'I always encourage our young people to frequent balls and assemblies. It softens their manners and makes them civil, and commonly I go along with them to see how they conduct themselves. I am only afraid they shall fall in love and marry. Whenever I perceive the symptoms or anybody else makes a discovery we fall upon the delinquent without mercy till he grows out of conceit with his new passion. By this method we have broke through many an amorous alliance, and dissolved many ties of *eternal* love and affection. My experience in these matters,' adds the benevolent despot of seven-and-twenty, 'helps me to find out my neighbour's weakness and furnishes me with arms to oppose his folly.'

An East Indian expedition was being fitted out in February 1754, and our Lieutenant-Colonel writes :

We have sometimes thought ourselves in the way of this East Indian expedition ; and if they had sent a regiment from England, it could have been none other. But Lord Bury's rank and employment (he was aide de camp to King George the Second) exempts him from these undertakings, and I do not suppose he would think it consistent to let his regiment embark without him. So we are reserved for more brilliant service.

In the tone of his letters henceforward we may note a change. His mind appears tinged more and more with seriousness and stoic resignation. Writing of a disappointment, he says :

Pleasures that are enjoyed leave but a slight impression. They furnish matter for idle talk. But cooler reflection upon them serves but to convince a thinking person that we are occupied about small matters and earnest upon trifles.

In the same letter the Lieutenant-Colonel tells his mother :

I have been appointed to preside at a general court-martial composed of officers of our regiment for the trial of a deserter. This is the first time that I have acted in that grave office—and a very grave one it is, when the matter under consideration is of any importance. These courts of justice should not be assembled too frequently, lest the troops should forget or lose the respect and veneration that they ought to have for such courts.

Yet humour is not altogether absent from his correspondence, as many passages demonstrate.

I come up for two months before embarkation to appoint factors' agents, &c., upon all my estates, and settle other weighty concerns, that my affairs may not run into confusion in my absence. This I hope you will think is a necessary

precaution for all that are possessed of any considerable property of lands, houses, manors, &c.

Wolfe got leave of absence for several months during the spring and summer of 1754, and although his relations with Miss Lawson had been finally severed, yet it appears he still continued on good terms with the young lady's uncle, General Sir John Mordaunt. He even went to spend some days under Sir John's roof at Freefolk, Hampshire, from whence he writes :

My mistress's picture hangs up in the room where we dine. It took away my stomach for two or three days and made me grave ; but time, the never-failing aid to distressed lovers, has made the semblance of her a pleasing but not a dangerous object. However, I find it best not to trust myself to the lady's eyes or put confidence in any resolutions of my own.

His term of leave ended, he rejoined his regiment at Exeter, where he was now much concerned in the matter of further promotion, although then probably the youngest lieutenant-colonel in the service.

Sir John Mordaunt hit upon a point in his journey to Plymouth that seems to carry reason and prudence with it. It occurred to him that, as Lord Bury would probably get the first regiment of Dragoons that fell, and as another colonel of rank or quality or Parliamentary merit would probably succeed him, Sir John thought that it would be best to wait that event to propose the other change. He thinks it so difficult to accomplish that he is willing to have some circumstance of that sort in aid of the request, for although I cannot expect or hope to succeed Lord Bury, yet it is a kind of grievance to put men over the heads of those who have been perhaps more accustomed to command, and have had all the business to do for several years. This is a plea that would be of very little service in any other case, but may do good in this. Most of my brother lieu. colonels are people who have arrived at the height of their expectations or at least will be contented to wait till their turn comes without murmuring. Sir John offered to begin immediately, but he advised this delay as the most convenient ; and you may be sure I did not oppose it.

James Wolfe was certainly not a man who regarded a lieutenant-colonelcy as the 'height of his expectations.' In another letter he tells his mother, then with his father at Bath, that 'it is cheerfulness and ease that will prolong your life, and that is not to be had but in some well-suited society.' And for that reason he thinks cards 'are reasonable and very innocent instruments of diversion, although not particularly fond of cards myself.' His parent has repeated to him some eulogies of his friend, an old Dowager Lady Grey, concerning him.

It is time my Lady Grey should discard me and take a younger lover. I am really not worth a farthing. But, however, she may be assured that I am now as much in love with her as with any woman in England—a fact that she seemed to doubt the last time I saw her.

On another occasion he writes :

I have heard of my Lady Grey very lately ; she sent me her compliments and, what was more (as she expressed it) her love. You see, I have the art of

preserving the affections of my mistresses, and I may be vain of these conquests without offence or danger to my reputation.

It must be remembered that this was in the decade following the last Jacobite rising, and that Exeter was a Jacobite stronghold. So resolved was Wolfe to allay the animosity of the people for the military that he neglected no opportunity to that end.

Will you believe [he writes] that no Devonshire squire dances more than I do? What no consideration of pleasure or complaisance for the sex could effect, the love of peace and harmony has brought about. I have danced the officers into the good graces of the Jacobite women hereabouts who were prejudiced against them. We were upon such terms with the people in general that I have been forced to put on all my address and employ my best skill to conciliate matters.

When Lord Bury's father died and he succeeded to the Albemarle peerage and the command of a cavalry regiment, his Lieutenant-Colonel thought the time had arrived when he might advance his claims to command. At least, he expected that none under the rank of General would be put over him. 'I am resolved not to serve one moment longer than I can with honour even if I should starve.' As war with France was imminent, the old General hastens forward with an offer of his purse. The son replies :

12th March, 1755.

I do hope that a proper confidence will always subsist between us. I have no interest distinct from yours, nor many passions to gratify ; or if I have any they shall always be subservient to your pleasure, for now I think I have them under pretty good command.

Whenever I may have occasion to desire the aid of your purse, it will generally be with a view to do you honour and to enable me to serve his Majesty as you yourself would serve him. If there is a war, I must either rise or fall, and in either case am provided for ; but as I would willingly enjoy the society of my friends without being troublesome to them, I should rather prefer the former as the means of doing it and having as yet some little relish of life.

To his mother he writes from Winchester, the 26th of March 1755 :

DEAR MADAM,—Upon my arrival here yesterday I found your letter, and I found a very unsatisfactory account of your health in it. The weather has been so uncommonly sharp that I feared it would affect you, and you have the misfortune to feel all the changes and rudeness of climate that this country is subject to. I can recommend nothing to you but the same course that you have hitherto pursued ; to be good and religious is the only means of quieting the mind under great afflictions ; we have no other comfort here below, nor anything else worth our regard. A little more stirring in fair weather, and in a light machine if you had one, might help you ; but the house and a great chair is death or a life of misery.

We are impatient to know whether peace or war is resolved on. If the latter, as we suppose, the troops will probably encamp very soon, to be ready for all purposes. In either case I must go to London for a few days to settle my affairs, and then I shall have the pleasure of being with you.

The Marines you speak of, if they do raise any, will be put into companies of 100 men each, and not into regiments, as the newspapers have proclaimed ; and these companies are to have a field officer to inspect them, a lieutenant colonel

or major to every ten or twelve companies. The whole body of Marines will be under the Lords of the Admiralty and entirely out of our way. But do you imagine, if regiments were raised, that I should have any, the least chance to succeed? All my hope of success must be grounded upon right and just pretensions. I must serve, and serve well, or I cannot get forward; for who will be at the trouble to solicit for me out of pure friendship? No man will ask such a favour but where he promises himself, and expects something in return.

I thank you for all your kindnesses and for the pains you bestow upon me. I should be sorry if it brought the least distress upon you, or even cramped your compassionate and generous disposition. I have but a little while longer to be troublesome to you; a war of two or three years will, I hope (though I do not wish it for my own sake, at the public hazard and expense), improve my circumstances.

The sergeant I brought from London does not please me; if you hear by chance of a good honest groom or a servant that can dress a wig, I pray you let me know. I thought I had left a stock with you—'tis what I have most occasion for at present, as mine are actually worn to threads. I am a good deal out of repair.

By the middle of April 1755 Wolfe learns of the appointment of Colonel Philip Honeywood, M.P., to succeed Lord Bury, and has recourse to philosophy to reconcile him to the change. Unless there was war it did not affect him. He might 'jog on in the easiest position in the Army and sleep and grow fat.'

We were then on the eve of the great war with France, whose end was to be the crowning victory and death of the very soldier who penned these lines four years before (the 20th of June 1755).

I do not know what news may be stirring in the great world, but we have none that is bad. Our fleet is now more formidable than the fleet of England ever was, and as the regiments are growing every day more and more complete, I don't apprehend that there is the least shadow of danger to the island this campaign.

What I most apprehend, and what is very well worth our thoughts, is the excessive expense that a war creates to the English nation. This expense has already involved us so deep in debt that we have not much more credit, and consequently must give up the funds, Bank, &c., whenever the means of raising fresh supplies fail. This consideration should determine every thinking man (when war is declared) to divide at least his substance and take the first favourable opportunity to secure something upon land for his family, in case the other portion should be lost in the public ruin. It is, no doubt, a little troublesome to begin late in life to manage estates, especially great ones; but a small matter by way of security of two or three hundred pounds a year is not, nor can be, very inconvenient; and I think I could, with the help of friends, find out a purchase of that sort that would be no burthen. I do heartily advise this measure for your particular safety. My father's regiment is certainty for him and my trade will always subsist me in exigencies, and (sad it is to confess it) rather mends by the distress of others than falls off. A war is of most uncertain conclusion, and the demands of money prodigious while it lasts. All private accounts should be cleared, and we should not become responsible for other men's affairs when our own are so precarious.

I have been here since Monday at the races, where there never was less sport in the horse way; but that defect is a good deal made amends for by the vivacity of the other entertainments, which the people here, and I suppose everywhere, give into, as if no danger hung over us nor no war was to be feared.

I have danced incessantly, and mend upon it, which will encourage me to be more the servant of the sex upon these occasions than I have hitherto been.

I would have you persevere in riding as the most salutary of all exercises, and the very best of all remedies for ill health. Have you two horses? How are you provided? for there is a growth of little cattle here that might produce something to fit you. I have countermanded the pacing horse.

I am going once more to Portsmouth to enjoy the dreadful though pleasing sight of our mighty navy. The Marines are in full exercise to be ready to go on board and relieve the regiments of Foot now at Spithead.

In the next month he is back at Canterbury, writing:

All notions of peace are now at an end. The most discerning people of the country have long been of opinion that a war would be the certain consequence of the steps that have been taken by us in return for the attempts made by the French. The embargo laid upon shipping, the violent press for seamen, and the putting soldiers on board of our fleet makes me conclude that the maritime strength of our enemy is by no means contemptible; and as we are open to assaults in almost every part of the King's dominions, both here and in America, I am much of opinion that the enemy's first attack will be vigorous and successful. We must, however, hope that fortune will favour us, since we do our best to deserve her smiles.

After Mrs. Wolfe's somewhat serious attack of illness in 1755:

Southampton: Sunday, 15 July, 1755.

DEAR MADAM,—I must write you a short letter (but a very sincere one) of congratulation upon the return of your health, or rather, I fear, upon the present removal of your pains. Would to God that what you have felt was to be the last of your sufferings, and that a future life of peace and ease was to make you some amends for the many unpleasant hours that are gone by! My wishes for you are truly those of a son for a mother whom he has always found kind and indulgent; for I conclude such mothers cannot have sons that wish them otherwise than well.

What is seemingly a peculiarity of Wolfe's disposition was his callousness to death—even of his nearest and dearest. One says 'seemingly' because something must be ascribed to the formal style in which he customarily writes, his control over his own feelings, and his inability to convey the least pathos. In this respect he is the true stoic warrior and strangely resembles Wellington. He rarely alludes to death with any deep feeling, and sometimes our notions are shocked by the want of it. Mrs. Wolfe lost both a brother and a sister within six months of each other. Of the first, Bradwardine Thompson, M.P., her son writes:

Canterbury: Feb. 20, 1756.

DEAR MADAM,—I can't say I am sorry for my poor uncle's death, otherwise than as it is a matter of concern to you; which I hope will not be more lasting than the cause seems to demand.

The Duke's coming here will determine my going to town. I shall want nothing but a suit of black clothes and fringed ruffles; those I have already (I mean the muslin ones) should be lessened in their depth—and two or three more pairs bespoke of a proper size. Will you take the trouble to do this business for me, and I shall thank you. My duty to my father. I am always, my dear Madam,

Your obedient and affectionate son,

JAM. WOLFE.

Of his aunt he observes to his father : ' Mrs. Abthorp's death may be reckoned rather fortunate than otherwise, since it was hardly probable that she would recover from the melancholy state she was in, or that her natural disposition would correct with her returning judgment if she did recover.'

As Mrs. Wolfe advanced in years and in illness her temper grew more infirm, and in her letters to her son she is perpetually upbraiding him for his neglect. It is nothing to the purpose that he has nearly always fulfilled her lightest commands. She presses for his influence to secure the appointment of certain youthful military aspirants. He exerts himself and not unsuccessfully in their behalf. Amongst several letters on this subject one may be singled out :

You cannot doubt my readiness to oblige you in anything that is of immediate concern to yourself ; but you must not put me upon actions that I would blush to engage in and that my uncle should blush to ask. I can never recommend any but a gentleman to serve with gentlemen. There is little prospect of a low dog's doing a shining act.

But one letter of reproaches at last goads him into a warmth of expression he afterwards regrets.

13th Nov.

My temper is much too warm, and sudden resentment forces out expressions and even actions that are neither justifiable nor excusable, and perhaps I do not correct that natural heat so much as I ought to do ; but you must have observed that people are apt to resent what they, at first view (and often inadvisedly), take for injuries, with more than common quickness, when they come from an unexpected quarter. With regard to myself, you must leave to time and exerted reason for the correction of those errors and vices which may at present prevail most against sense and judgment—pointing them out in the gentlest and friendliest manner, and by that means help to weaken and to destroy them. I have that cursed disposition of mind (the worst quality that can seize the heart of man, and the devil's great assistant) that, when I once know that people have entertained a very ill opinion, I imagine they never change ; from whence one passes easily to an indifference about them, and then to dislike ; and though I flatter myself that I have the seeds of justice strong enough to keep me from doing wrong, even to an enemy, yet there lurks a hidden poison in the heart that is difficult to root out. However, in this respect Satan is disappointed, for I have been so long used to love and esteem you in gratitude for your good offices, and still more in consideration of the many excellent qualities that you are possessed of, that it must be a very great change indeed on your side that could weaken my affection for you. Now and then I think myself forgot—but still attribute it to some unhappy cause of health, and wish it better. Compassion alone for your sufferings (if all other motives were dead) ought to make me calm under your reproofs, if they were ever so severe ; and may be, if I only pitied your condition, without any mixture of affection, I should be more so. It is my misfortune to catch fire on a sudden, to answer letters the moment I receive them, when they touch me sensibly, and to suffer passion to dictate my expression more than reason. The next day perhaps would have changed more still and carried more moderation with it. Every ill turn through my whole life has had this hasty and first impulse of resentment for its true cause, and it proceeds from pride. I am too much affected with your letter to leave you a moment in doubt about my inclinations, which you may be assured are always tending affectionately towards you, and which do in reality make your

ease and quiet and welfare of consideration greater than any concern of my own ; and I can safely say that I have always had your well being much more sincerely at heart than my own interest, and am pleased to find in myself so much merit in my love and regard for you, so well deserving it at my hands.

From Canterbury on the 4th of April 1756, Wolfe writes to his mother :

The fine season will call us all to business and leave no excuse or pretence for the lazy and indolent to indulge their dispositions. Would you believe that there are many who call themselves soldiers who, to excuse their shameful idleness, cry out that they believe there will be no war—no invasion—and so act as if they were persuaded of the truth of it ? [He adds at the close of the letter] : Mr. Beckwith has got another child, so that he is now the father of four sons, and I have not one ! My duty to the General. I am, dear Madam,
Your obedient and affectionate son,

J. WOLFE.

There are a couple of letters which bring before us a rather pathetic little picture. The lieutenant-colonel has just been appointed Quartermaster-General for Ireland, and is to kiss hands on his appointment. He arrives in London and dashes off a letter to his father at Blackheath, which he concludes thus : ' If my mother will let me know the hour she will take me up in her chariot, I shall be ready to wait upon her at Blackheath ; and if she does not care to come herself, only signify your pleasure as to sending the chariot, and I shall be at my post.' Crabbed in temper as she was Mrs. Wolfe was dotingly fond of her brilliant son, and resolved to meet him at the bridge. The appointed day arrives ; it is bitterly cold, and a blizzard is blowing. Nothing loth, the good lady bundles out of bed, mounts her coach, and drives ten miles to Westminster Bridge. Her son is not there. She waits there three hours until she nearly perishes with the cold, and then, with thin lips and blazing eyes, orders the coachman to drive back to Blackheath. It appears James had written by the penny post to countermand the carriage. His letter arrived too late.

From his conduct as Quartermaster-General in the unhappy Rochefort Expedition Wolfe was a marked man.

Mr. Fisher writes me word that the King has been pleased to give me the rank of Colonel, which at this time is more to be prized than at any other, because it carries with it a favourable appearance as to my conduct upon this late expedition and an acceptance of my good intentions.

He thus refers to his famous evidence before a special Army commission :

I have a summons to attend the Board of General Officers who are appointed to enquire into the causes of the failure of the late expedition ; they begin their examination to-morrow, and I suppose will not end it soon. Better and more honourable for the country if the one half of us had gone the great road of mortality together than to be plagued with inquiries and censures and the cry of the world.

Just before his departure for Louisburg at the beginning of 1758, Wolfe in his letters more than hints the possibility of his never seeing either of his parents again. To his uncle, Major Walter Wolfe, he writes that 'the General seems to decline apace and narrowly escaped being carried off in the spring.' As for his mother, 'she, poor woman, is in a bad state of health, and needs the care of some friendly hand to prop up the tottering fabric. She has long and painful fits of illness, which by succession and inheritance are likely to devolve on me, since I feel the early symptoms of them.' Under these circumstances he turns to his old friend, schoolfellow, and companion-in-arms, George Warde, begging him with another friend to be his attorney and representative while he is away. The other friend is Colonel Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, one of the 'Makers' of British Canada.

My DEAR MAJOR [he writes from London, the 1st of February 1758],—As the time of my sojourning in North America is uncertain, accidents may happen in the family that may throw my little affairs into disorder, unless some kind friend will take the trouble to inspect into them. Carleton is so good as to say he will give what help is in his power. May I ask the same favour of you, my oldest friend, in whose worth and integrity I put entire confidence? I believe there should have been some powers drawn out and some formality in this business, all which I am a stranger to; but I am no stranger to the good will and honour of the two persons to whom I recommend my concerns. I wish you much health and prosperity, and am, my dear Major,

Your faithful and affectionate servant,

JAM. WOLFE.

Amongst the letters from the conquered province of Acadia, now Nova Scotia, I cull the following, written after the capture of Louisburg:

27th July, 1758.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you two or three letters from Halifax in relation to our voyage and preparations for the siege of Louisburg. We got out as soon as possible, and came without any accident into the Bay of Calarouse, made a disposition for landing, and had very near been foiled in the attempt. By great good fortune, however, we got ashore, proceeded to attack the town and the shipping, and at length have succeeded in both. We burned four ships of the line and took one; the enemy sunk two frigates, and our squadron has caught a third, so that we have hurt their marine a little and possessed ourselves of Louisburg. Our loss in all this affair, notwithstanding the most violent fire from the shipping, does not amount to much above 400 men killed and wounded, that of the enemy at least three times as much. The garrison to the number of about two thousand men are prisoners of war; they laid down their arms this morning, and we took possession of the town. Two of our captains of Grenadiers are killed and 6 or 8 subaltern officers, and about as many wounded. The Indians and Canadians gave us very little trouble. I believe their chief was killed the day we landed, and the rest, who are veritable *canaille*, were a good deal intimidated.

We have a report this day from the continent that an attack has been made upon some advanced post of the enemy with success, but that my Lord Howe was killed in the beginning by a cannon shot. His loss is irreparable, because there is not such another soldier in his Majesty's service, and I do not at all

doubt but that in two campaigns he would have driven the French out of North America. We have been rather slow in our proceedings, but still I hope there is fine weather enough left for another blow ; and as our troops are improved by this siege, the sooner we strike the better. Two of the French men-of-war were boarded in the night by the boats of our fleet and both taken. This *coup* was quite unexpected and astonishing, and, indeed, if we had not been very well informed of their negligence and security, would appear to be a rash attempt.

I see my name among the new Colonels ; I hope Fisher will take care of my affairs, as he is intended for my agent. The climate is very healthy, though the air is foggy and disagreeable. I have been always very well since we landed, and have got through this business unhurt.

Soon after the date of the foregoing letter, its writer returned to England, one of the heroes of the hour, became engaged to Miss Lowther, and was entrusted by Chatham with the expedition against the great French stronghold in Canada. Ere the following summer had passed away the vital spark of this marvellous boy, who is to war what Keats is to literature and Pitt to politics, was extinguished for ever in a sudden and glorious uprush of victory on the heights of Quebec.

BECKLES WILLSON.

Quebec House, Westerham.

HAVE WE THE 'GRIT' OF OUR FOREFATHERS?

THIS is a question that all who love their country should ask themselves, for upon the answer depends not only the existence of the Empire, but also the very continuance of the British race as one of the dominant peoples of the world.

The writer of this article, whilst recognising that the 'grit' of our forefathers (to use an expressive and well understood, though perhaps not strictly classical, word) is to be found in its full strength and vigour amongst large numbers of our people, doubts whether it permeates the entire mass of the population in anything like the proportion it did, say, a hundred years ago. The writer understands by the word 'grit' that virile spirit which makes light of pain and physical discomfort, and rejoices in the consciousness of victory over adverse circumstances, and which regards the performance of duty, however difficult and distasteful, as one of the supreme virtues of all true men and women. Having expressed this doubt, he will endeavour to justify it by pointing out some of the signs which appear to him indicative of a decadent spirit and of a lack of virility amongst portions of all classes of the community.

Let us give in this matter, as is right, due precedence to the ladies.

The deeds of former generations of British men and women, patent to all who read history, render it unnecessary to argue the possession by our ancestors of this virile spirit.

Do our women of the present day carry on the noble traditions of their forerunners in this respect? The word 'duty' was as sacred to our grandmothers as it was to our grandfathers.

Duty demanded of a woman in former days that she should subordinate her own inclinations to those of her parents and of her husband, and that in her conduct she should consider the interests of the State. She was taught that her first duty in life was to marry, and produce children who should carry on worthily the traditions of the family and of the race to which she belonged. Whilst unmarried she was trained in the virtues of obedience, respect for authority, endurance, and diligence in the prosecution of all household and

domestic duties. She was expected to prepare herself for the married state. When married, honour demanded that she should face the obligations of the marriage tie and the sufferings and dangers of childbirth (ten times greater in her days than in ours) with as much coolness and courage as was expected of the man on the field of battle or in the presence of deadly peril.

Society was merciless to those of either sex who failed in the exhibition of courage in the face of their respective duties.

What is the attitude of some of the women of to-day towards these special duties and obligations of their sex? Is it not a fact that amongst the richer classes, at all events, some girls decline to marry unless their suitors are in a position to supply them with luxuries unheard of by their mothers? And have we not heard of girls marrying a man for his money, or his position, and then refusing to live with him?—an act of cold-blooded treachery and of heartless cruelty, which society should punish by a stern ostracism of the offender.

We know that the birth-rate is diminishing year by year. Does not this mean that women are showing the white feather, and are shirking one of the principal duties of their sex? Again, are the present generation of mothers to be found as often in the nursery and in the schoolroom as their ancestors? I think not. The general complaint is that amongst the richer mothers the children are more and more being left to the care of governesses and nurses. The desire for pleasure and for personal ease seems to have taken firm hold of the minds of many well-to-do women, and to have driven out the maternal instincts. I do not say that the women of to-day are altogether lacking in physical or moral courage. To gratify her ambitions in the world of sport, or of society, the modern woman not infrequently displays a fine quality of endurance and great tenacity of purpose. The question is, Do the majority of the women of our nation exercise these same virtues of self-control and discipline in the performance of daily duties, both great and small?

The middle-class woman apes her fashionable sister. In former days the wife of the professional man took an active, personal, intelligent part in the management of her home. She was to be found in the kitchen, as well as in the nursery; she was careful of her husband's money, and did not attempt to vie with her social superiors. Now all this is altered. She must run in the same race as her fashionable sister, with perhaps only a tenth part of the latter's income, to the financial ruin of her husband and of his professional prospects. Not infrequently the husband also, imbued with the theory that 'nothing succeeds like success,' urges her to keep up the level of so-called smartness and style, in order to maintain the impression of his professional prosperity, and because he too enjoys the luxuries of good living, costly dressing, and frequent social pleasures.

The ever-increasing body of professional and of working women is

perhaps less exposed to the dangers engendered by easy and sheltered living, but even amongst a certain class of these there is a tendency to shirk any training which entails long and concentrated effort, and a happy-go-lucky impression prevails in some minds that general adaptability and native wit will enable them to seize the chances of life and steer themselves into a haven of comparative prosperity. The instability of much women's work, and the constant creation, through the whims of fashion and other causes, of new occupations, tend to develop a habit of lightly disregarding the performance of monotonous duties; while the demands made by class custom upon many professional women for extravagant dressing, and for the acquisition of the latest social accomplishment, create a love of luxury, of excitement, and of constant change, that seriously militates against the development of the more stable traits of character.

Let us descend again in the female social world.

Has not the modern domestic caught the fever of an easy life and of equality of condition? Is she to-day as solicitous of her employer's interest, as hardworking, as skilled in her profession, and as proud of it as the servant of former days?

Without being a pessimist I fear the answer to these questions cannot be truthfully given in the affirmative.

If there be some grain of truth in what I have said, is there not reason to inquire why the women of to-day take a less serious view of their duties than did those of former generations?

Let us now consider briefly the case of the men, and the attitude assumed by them in regard to duty. Do they possess the same measure of 'grit' as their forefathers?

The writer desires to make no sweeping generalisations. He proudly acknowledges the splendid qualities of courage and of endurance displayed within recent years by large numbers of Britons, both in peace and in war. He fully recognises the heroic deeds of our soldiers, of our sailors, in action, and of our civilians in times of accident and of peril to life; nevertheless, he would ask whether it is not a fact that surrenders to the enemy without serious loss of life took place during the Boer war more frequently than it is agreeable to the patriot to hear about? In previous wars, when surrenders occurred, they were almost invariably in accordance with superior orders and after such serious loss of life as showed that ultimate success was a practicable impossibility. But in the Boer war some British soldiers are reported to have thrown down their arms without orders, and this on more than one occasion; and it is even said that a great surrender took place owing to a junior officer having raised the white flag without instructions. I do not like to dwell on this subject, as it may seem to cast a slur—which is the last thing I should desire to do—on an Army which I firmly believe to be still the equal in courage of any in the world.

Let us turn to the civil side of life.

It may be argued that our supremacy in the Olympic Games is sufficient proof of the healthy condition of our national qualities of pluck and endurance. I do not regard this as sufficient proof. The excellent results achieved by a few selected experts, who are subjected to long and severe training, is no guarantee that there is a high standard of physical efficiency and of courage among the people as a whole. Even in this realm of sport, dear as it is to the heart of the nation, there is an increasing tendency, among both rich and poor, to enjoy it as a spectacle rather than to take an active part in it, and there are large numbers of men who are far readier to criticise the 'form' of some notable footballer or cricketer than they are to submit themselves to even the mild severities of amateur training, or to take the rough and tumble of the game itself.

The writer is fully aware that large numbers of men are labouring steadily and honestly in their respective spheres for small and often most inadequate pittances without grumbling, content as long as they can worthily perform the tasks which duty demands of them; but is this the usual attitude of men towards the work of their lives? and do our men compare favourably in this respect with those of some other nations, such as the German and the Scandinavian?

The average Englishman is often too phlegmatic and heavy of brain to forecast the future with any detail. He is content to trust to inherited instincts of pluck and resource to pull him through all difficulties and adverse circumstances. He forgets that these same instincts of pluck and of resource were only developed in our forefathers by the hard and strenuous conditions of their daily lives, conditions which enforced the continual, not the occasional, use of these qualities.

The national and individual successes of former times, of which we are so proud to-day, were won by the unrelaxing 'grip' which our ancestors, as a rule, kept on themselves in the performance of duty; and this was combined with an ever-watchful outlook on the future, and a foresight which was largely the result of the stern discipline of the day, which never failed to visit with instant and condign punishment any dereliction of duty, or even innocent failure in the execution of superior orders. We are justly proud of the victories of Nelson, but how many of us know or realise that he was constantly and untiringly, in all spare hours, preparing himself and his captains for every possible contingency of naval warfare? The battle of the Nile was mentally won before ever it took place, yet most Englishmen attribute it to the brilliant genius of the moment. Pluck and quick-wittedness are invaluable national assets, but they cannot be maintained without frequent daily use, much less can they be retained at that high level of perfection at which we are wont to estimate them if their use be relegated solely to the emergencies of life.

The German works longer hours, takes fewer holidays, and often spends his leisure in perfecting himself in his business, with the result that he is cutting out our men in many spheres of life. Whilst the young Englishman's head is filled with thoughts of sport, and that far too often from the point of view of the spectator rather than of a participant, the German is gaining knowledge which will avail to advance him in his profession. The waste places of the earth used formerly to be colonised by the Briton; now he finds the labour of subduing nature too severe for his enfeebled energies, and settles in the towns, leaving the health-giving tillage of the virgin soil of new countries to the hardier races, whose minds and muscles have been strengthened by discipline and who recognise the nobility attached to strenuous labour.

Labour in the present day is a thing to be avoided—not to be proud of. It is a disagreeable necessity, which must be made as short and as easy as possible, compatible with the earning of the daily bread-and-butter.

The substitution of the limited company for the old-fashioned private business tends to make men less conscientious in regard to the service they give to their firm of employers. The managing director of a company is not so severe a taskmaster as the head of a private firm—he has not so much at stake, either financially or in the matter of commercial reputation; and neither is there the same incentive to work hard for the benefit of an impersonal body of shareholders as there is for an individual master. Hence the feeling arises that it is sufficient if just enough attention be given to business to prevent the possibility of dismissal, and that nothing more can be demanded. Surely this is a deplorable attitude of mind, and one far removed from the mental 'grit' of our forefathers, and incompatible with their stern regard for duty. Whilst other nations commence work at five and six o'clock in the morning, and even earlier in summer, in the West End of London no business can be transacted before nine or ten A.M. So engrained are our idle habits that, hopeless of being able to induce the present generation to change its hours, Parliament has, through one of its Committees, approved of a Bill to legalise the alteration of the clock on certain dates, so as to induce people to rise earlier than they are accustomed to do by making them believe that the hour is later than it really is. Can anything show more clearly than does the discussion of such a Bill how idleness has eaten into the bone of some portions of our people; for, of course, if of our own free will we chose to rise earlier in the morning, no legislation would be necessary.

No other nation maintains an army of paupers out of the enforced taxation of the industrious. No other State provides hotel accommodation gratis for those of its citizens who dislike work and prefer to roam from workhouse to workhouse and enjoy, at the expense of their hard-

working neighbours, the delights of the country in the summer. With such facilities for idleness it is not astonishing that Great Britain can show a larger number of idle men living on the industry of others than any other country in the world. These men claim to be unemployed, but, as John Burns is reputed to have said—and he ought to know—‘their one prayer on rising, if they ever pray, is that they may not find work that day.’

It has been ascertained that in ordinary times amongst these men the proportion of genuine unemployed who are both able and willing to work is only about $\frac{1}{3}$ or 4 per cent., the others being either physically incapable of work or idle scoundrels living on their fellows.

Slackness is not, however, confined to the poorer classes; it is found also amongst the richer, amongst those who have been enervated by a faulty upbringing, usually connected with luxurious living. There is an increasing difficulty in finding amongst the leisured classes men willing to work without remuneration for the public benefit and in philanthropic enterprises. It is a very general complaint that as the older generation of hardworking men of leisure die off it is difficult to replace them.

There appears to be a general slackness amongst all classes of our population in regard to the performance of duty—a slackness which is weakening to the moral fibre and is one of the most potent signs of lack of ‘grit’ amongst the young.

Pleasure is the god—self-indulgence the object aimed at. Large numbers of men and women seem to have but one aim, namely, enjoyment of the largest amount of so-called pleasure with the smallest amount of labour. As a matter of fact, these people never really obtain the object of their desire, for they never taste of genuine pleasure, which declines to be divorced from that honest labour which is the true source of its keenest delights.

But is this right? Can a nation flourish under these conditions? Remember that our Empire has been obtained by hard struggle and our commercial position by indomitable pluck. Is it likely that we shall be permitted to retain these except through the strength of our own right arms and by the power of well-trained brains? We are face to face with hardworking competitors who have been taught in the home and in the school to subordinate self to the demands of duty, and who have received the most careful and intelligent and well-considered training in all branches of knowledge. In Germany and in Scandinavia nothing in the training of youth is left to chance, and this training is compulsorily continued until the man or woman attains adult age. We permit the children of our working and industrial classes to leave school at thirteen, or even at twelve years of age, we teach them little that is of practical use to them during these few years, and then, after spending millions, we turn them loose into the streets, free from all control, and wash our hands of them. The

boys have learnt no trade, the girls can neither cook, wash, nor make their own garments unless the materials are cut out for them. They cannot even scrub properly, and are unwilling to do what they consider menial work. A helpless crew, which soon becomes a hopeless one. They can only become errand boys and girls. In a few years they grow too old for this; they are dismissed, and are left stranded in the world. Undisciplined, untrained, with their heads filled with notions of their own importance, and unable and unwilling to work with their hands, is it astonishing that our streets are filled with armies of incapables who call themselves the unemployed? And this is the way we are content to raise an Imperial race destined to rule, save the mark! one-fifth of the human race!

Will our rulers, our education committees, and the general public never learn that they are manufacturing incapables and paupers by a system of education which treats all alike, whatever may be their future callings in life, and which turns out annually thousands of boys who know no useful art or trade or occupation, and of girls who when they marry know nothing about the care and feeding of babies, the management of a home, and all those useful arts so necessary to a housewife—girls who are deplorably ignorant of the elementary knowledge, as essential for women as for men, that what cannot be paid for must, in the long run, be gone without, and who imagine, consequently, with appalling vagueness, that a home and family can be maintained on the slenderest income and one which shows little prospect of future increase or even of permanence?

Poor children, they are to be pitied! From earliest years they learn that what they want, that they must have, even if it be procured through the agency of the pawnshop, the hire-purchase system, or by the squandering of the family capital. Familiarity with debt, the common use of materials morally not their own because not paid for, and the withholding of no desired pleasures, familiarise these boys and girls with a most unseemly side of life and seriously blunt their moral sensibilities.

In former days the children of their age could neither read nor write, but they had been trained to labour each in his own sphere. They were not made unhappy by being given a smattering of knowledge which must necessarily be useless to ninety out of a hundred; they could generally earn their bread-and-butter, and a hard discipline had placed 'grit' into their systems, so that the inevitable sufferings of life were borne by them, as a rule, with a light and even cheerful heart. Troubles and hardships which were the daily lot of previous generations seem to the enfeebled folk of to-day as unbearable. Hence the immense increase of suicides. We even hear of children committing this crime, a thing unheard of in former days. What is the cause, and what is to be the cure for this unhappy condition of affairs and for the lack of 'grit' in portions of our population?

There are many causes and no one cure. Luxury, the spread of a false humanitarianism, and the consequent decay of discipline, are amongst the causes.

The rapidity of legislative, scientific, and other economic changes produces the feeling that there is now little stability in even the most venerated institutions, traditions and enterprises; consequently, that it is not worth while to build a career on too solid a foundation.

I do not propose to suggest any one cure, but there are some steps which those of us who are parents might take to counteract the enfeebling influences. To begin with, I maintain that no training is so effective in producing this desired 'grit' as strict and unquestioned discipline in the earliest years, enforced if necessary by what used to be called the wholesome 'encouragement of a slipper.' In addition to this, can we not surround our children with an atmosphere of order, and teach them steady and cheerful obedience to duty, instead of allowing them to hear from their elders expressions of impatience and annoyance at the intrusions of private and public duty. By training them from the earliest years to be conscious of the calm, quiet, but ever-industrious processes of nature, and of the inevitable consequences of infringements of her wise laws, can we not imbue them with a deep-rooted knowledge of the necessity of obedience to law and order and of diligence as the very conditions of life itself, enforcing these lessons with a kind but firm discipline in the events of their daily lives?

Is it not possible to give in our schools some definite instruction as to the importance of the processes of thought and of their effects upon both character and physique? Will not a knowledge of the consequences of slovenly, inaccurate, and unwise thought (so often engendered in girls by constant novel-reading and unrestricted indulgence in pleasure), of continual disregard of duty, and of slackness of personal discipline, induce these children to submit willingly to a stricter *régime*, and minimise the prevailing sense of rebellion against what sometimes may seem to them the senseless dictates of those in authority? If we could but add to this knowledge a sense of the infinite importance of our human inheritance and of the short time we have at our disposal in which to work out our individual and national education, should we not then have given our young men and women a sound foundation of quiet, disciplined strength, on which we could trust them to build year by year the structure of noble character? Surely we may see that our children, whatever their station in life, are taught to use their hands, so that they may be able under any reverse of fortune to fend for themselves. By setting them tasks slightly beyond their capabilities we can strengthen by struggle their mental and physical powers and give 'grit' to their moral natures. We can give them a taste of the exquisite happiness which follows victory over difficulties, and so prevent them from

regarding failure with a benumbing sense of depression. There is a danger lest the too carefully educated children of the present day shall have their mental and manual progress so scientifically graduated that they fail to learn the necessity for that vital effort which alone makes achievements of value. We must so train them that the inevitable mistakes and failures of later years may call forth a quality of dogged persistence, instead of resulting in depression and consternation. We can bring up the children in a more Spartan-like manner, so that the lack of luxuries and comforts may not appear as evils beyond the endurance of man, and that when they go forth into the world they may be accustomed to hard work and to the pressure of subordination, and not make themselves miserable by striking against the inevitable pricks of life. We can, in short, remember, in the nursery and in the home, the words of one of the wisest of men, who said, 'The rod and reproof give wisdom, but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame,' and we can each of us in his own domestic circle, by example and by precept, preach the gospel of discipline, of duty and of endurance, and thus give to a generation unborn, or just born, that 'grit' which would appear to be lacking in so large a number of the young men and women of to-day.

MEATH.

THE PROBLEM OF AERIAL NAVIGATION

- THE recent construction of machines on which, for the first time in history, men have flown through the air, coupled with the prospective growth of the dirigible balloon into an airship, has led to a widespread impression that aerial flight is soon to play an important part as an agency in commerce. Such a feeling is quite natural under the circumstances. In forecasting the possible results of invention we begin by reasoning from analogy, and the progress of invention in the direction of aerial navigation, with its alternations of success and failure, is at first sight very like what we have seen in the beginnings of every new system of developing the powers of nature. Possibilities of great results have first been shown; then, step by step, difficulties have been overcome, until possibilities have grown into realities. The possibility of aerial flight has been shown both in theory and practice, and the difficulties now encountered in perfecting it seem quite like those met with in perfecting the steam engine, the telegraph, and the telephone. The present movement has an advantage over the preceding ones in that its ultimate outcome is more clearly in sight. We find it easier to imagine ourselves flying through the air in balloons or upon aeroplanes than it was a century ago to conceive of the world's commerce being carried on by the power of steam. We can best judge the possibility that this prospect will be realised by first considering what it has in common with the past, and then inquiring whether we have any grounds more secure than analogy on which to base a forecast.

It might seem that there can be no better ground for now limiting what may be hopefully expected from the 'conquest of the air' than there was a century ago for limiting what could be expected from the development of steam navigation. At each early stage, from the time when steam was applied to the propulsion of boats on the Seine and the Hudson, to the date when the first steamship crossed the Atlantic, it was easy, by taking what was known as the measure of the future, to show that no great result could be expected from the new system. With the earlier engines no ship could cross the ocean. But improvement in engines was brought about both by invention and by the development and application of physical principles. The

theory of the steam engine, and indeed of heat engines in general, had been set forth by Carnot, but the ideal steam engine to which this theory led was so far outside the practical reach of the time that the earlier inventors and engineers paid little attention to it. Only the germ of the theory of energy had been found by Rumford, and it was not until it had been farther developed that it could be fully utilised in guiding invention. Thus it came about that, instead of the ocean steamship being rapidly developed, a century elapsed before it had assumed its present proportions. Is it not reasonable to expect that the airship, whether balloon or flyer, will have a similar history? This question cannot be answered by pointing out present imperfections. We all know that as a means of transportation it is, up to the present time, so expensive and so doubtful that it is only from future improvements that any important result can be expected. We must inquire whether there is any well-defined limit to future improvement, and, if there is, learn where we shall stand when, if ever, that limit is approached.

One word as to the trend of our inquiry. The vital question is not whether aerial navigation is practicable, for that has been settled in the affirmative. In the time of Montgolfier it was shown that men could rise and float in balloons; twenty years ago it was found that a balloon could be guided; now it is proved in the best of all ways, that of actual trial, that a man can fly through the air on an aeroplane. But we are all looking for more than the bare fact of sailing or flying above the earth. We wish aerial flight to serve some practical purpose in the world's work, and to compete with the steamship, the railway, or the mail-coach in the carriage of passengers or mails. The inquiry into which the reader is now invited to enter is, What measure of rational hope we can entertain of this consummation.

All the questions involved are, at bottom, those of physics and mathematics. The pivotal points are such as numbers of feet and pounds, the density of air, the tenacity of materials used in construction, and the resistance to motion under varied conditions. These can be discussed in the most satisfactory way only by mathematical computations. But it is not necessary to go into numerical details to find a basis for our conclusions. General principles, easily within the comprehension of every educated person, will serve our purpose as well as the most rigorous mathematical investigation.

I.

We must distinguish at the outset of our inquiry between advance in knowledge and progress in invention. No definite limit can be set to the possible future of knowledge, nor to results which may yet be reached by its advance. The best recent example of a discovery in the required line, indeed the only example which suggests

the possibility of extending the efficiency of a heat machine beyond the limit now set by the theories of physics, is the finding in radium of a substance which emits energy in seeming defiance of the laws of energy. Ideally, the power of annulling the gravity of matter would perhaps be the most revolutionary one that we can think of. But the most refined experiments made with a view to discover whether anything can be reached in this direction have shown that by no method yet known can the gravitation of matter be altered in the slightest degree. Should some way of controlling or reversing gravitation be discovered; should it be found possible to make the ether react upon matter; should radium hereafter be produced by the ton instead of by the milligramme; should some metallic alloy be found having ten times the tenacity and rigidity of steel—all our forecasts relating to future possibilities in the application of power would have to be revised.

But we must note that the present efforts of inventors are not taking this direction. They are accepting physical principles and the facts of engineering as they now stand, and are not seeking to discover new sources of radium, to find new alloys, or to bring out laws of nature hitherto unknown. Our forecast must therefore be based upon the present state of science, and can relate only to what is possible through invention being continued on lines it is now following. I enter this caveat not because there is any great probability of an epoch-making discovery in any of the directions just mentioned, but to define clearly the ground for our conclusions.

When we study progress in the application of power from this point of view, we see that it has, during the entire nineteenth century, been approaching fairly well-defined limits, which can never be extended except by some revolutionary discovery that has not yet cast even its shadow before. With every step forward we have come nearer the limits, thus leaving less room for future advance. There is a certain amount of energy stored up in fuel which may possibly be utilised in the application of power. The engineer of to-day who reads Dickens's graphic description of the steamship in which he first crossed the Atlantic, with flame issuing from the top of her funnel, will appreciate the enormous waste of power that must have been incurred. The problem of invention from that time to this has been to save as much as possible of this wasted energy and apply it to the blades of the screw propeller. There is also a limit to the power which can be exerted by an engine of given weight. Inventions of lighter and lighter motors have been steps toward this limit, which is probably not yet reached. Yet we are so much nearer to it in the engines which to-day run Count Zeppelin's airship, and the flyers of Farman and Wright, that we may safely say that it is at least being approached.

The resistance and supporting power of the air are yet more

eterminate. No progress in invention will increase the weight which a given volume or surface of air will support at a given speed, nor can the resistance experienced by a surface in moving through the air ever be reduced below the point set by physical theory. With these conditions in mind we are prepared to inquire what form an aerial vehicle may take, and what results may be expected from it.

II.

Two systems of navigating the air are now being developed, which are radically different—we might almost say opposite—in their fundamental principles. One is that of the flying machine, which is supported by motion through the air as a bird by its wings. The only form of flyer yet found feasible is the aeroplane, which is supported by a rapid movement of translation, and of which all flying machines now being tried are samples. Of another form, a flyer carried by revolving wings, I need not speak in detail, because success in this form has not yet been reached. Whether it does or does not hereafter supersede the aeroplane, the principle of support through motion alone is common to both.

The other form is the airship proper, floating in the air by its own buoyancy, and not held up by propulsion. It is, in fact, the dirigible balloon, so enlarged and perfected that the term airship may well take the place of balloon in discussing it. For conciseness I shall use the terms 'flyer' and 'airship' in comparing these two forms of aerial vehicle.

It is much easier to point out the limits to the development of the flyer than to that of the airship. There are several drawbacks to every form of flyer, either of which seems fatal to its extensive use, and which taken together throw it out of the field of competition. One of these is inherent in the theory of its support by the air; the others are purely practical.

Being, as it were, supported upon the air, it must present to the latter a horizontal surface proportional to the entire weight to be carried, including motor, machine, and cargo. If one square yard of surface can be made to carry a certain weight at a certain speed, one thousand square yards will be required to carry one thousand times that weight. Any enlargement of the machine must therefore be in a horizontal direction. The estimate of weight must be so much per square yard of horizontal surface; an addition of weight in the vertical direction can never be possible. Hence, if any enlargement of the flyers is ever made—for example, if they are to carry two men instead of one, as at present—it must be through enlarging their superficial extent in the same proportion. Reflecting on the present extent of the successful flyers, it will readily be seen that a practically unmanageable area of supporting surface and a consequent weakening

of the machine will be required for any important enlargement. Whether the limit be one, two, or three men, every extension of it must, to secure the necessary strength, involve increased weight per square yard, which will be less and less compatible with its performance.

A practical difficulty which seems insuperable is that the flyer, supported only by its motion through the air, can never stop in flight to have its machinery repaired or adjusted. It makes toward the ground like a wounded bird the moment any stoppage occurs. The navigator may be able to guide its fall, but not to prevent it. He can only choose the point of dropping among trees, houses, rivers, or fields which, within a limited area, will be productive of least damage. No engine yet built by human skill, much less the delicate motors necessary in the flyer, can be guaranteed against accident. The limitations upon a vehicle of transportation, the slightest accident to whose propelling machinery involves in all probability the destruction of the vehicle, as well as danger to the lives and limbs of the passengers, need not be dwelt upon. If a steamship were liable to go to the bottom the moment any accident occurred to her machinery, the twentieth century would have come upon us without steam navigation on the ocean.

Another serious limitation upon the flyer is that it cannot be navigated out of sight of the ground, and must descend at once if enveloped in fog. This necessity arises from the deviation in the apparent direction of gravity which must be produced by any change in the inclination of the supporting surface, through the consequent acceleration or retardation of the speed. The principle at play is shown in an observation which may be made whenever a railway carriage at high speed is brought rapidly to a stop. A passenger standing well balanced on his feet during the period of retardation will find himself suddenly falling backward at the moment of the complete stop. He has been leaning backward while fancying himself erect.

Neither of the two drawbacks first mentioned is incident to the airship. Her buoyant power is proportional to her cubical contents, and not merely to the surface she presents to the air. She can therefore be enlarged in length, breadth, and thickness, instead of being confined to length and breadth, like the aeroplane. Floating in the air, she may possibly stop for repairs, which the flyer never can. This faculty carries with it a wide range of possibilities, how little soever may be the probabilities of their realisation. A comparison with the steamship will show them in the clearest light.

As the ocean steamship has increased in size, she has also increased in speed. At the present moment the two largest ships afloat are also those of highest speed. It may have seemed to many, as it long did to the writer, that in this there was a constantly increasing sacrifice of power. The larger the ship the greater the power, and therefore the greater the consumption of coal, required to drive her at any given

speed. It might, therefore, be felt that considerations of economy would suggest that the smaller ships should be built for high speed rather than the larger ones. But the advance is in reality upon correct lines. Leaving out the practical limits set by such conditions as the depth of harbours and the time required to load and unload, the larger the ship the more economical the application of power in driving her at any given speed. The principle involved is simple. The model remaining the same, the carrying capacity increases as the cube of the length. But the resistance of the water, and therefore the power of the engine and the consumption of coal, increases only as the square of the length. Hence the larger the ship the more economically can a ton of cargo be carried at a given speed.

The same principle applies to the airship. The larger she can be built, the more economically she can be driven when we measure economy by the ratio of carrying power to cost of running. The limits to her possible size cannot be set by any principles of physical science. The question is simply one of constructive engineering—How large can we build her and still keep her manageable?

This view is not presented as opening out a vista of unlimited progress, but rather to avoid ignoring any possible line of progress. An airship of a size not yet dreamed of will require new devices for the application of power which may be utilised in our present system of land and ocean transport. We can never do away with the difference between the ground, the ocean, and the air as supporting agencies, and the solution of the problem must, in the long run, turn upon their respective advantages and drawbacks.

III.

Among the ideas which, inherited from our ancestors or formed in childhood, remain part of our nature through life may be placed the notion we so universally entertain that, if we succeed in navigating the air with a fair approach to safety, an important end will be reached. This notion must have been as deeply felt as one so purely speculative can be from the time that men reflected on the flight of birds. If any child to-day grows up without many a time longing for the power to fly, and reflecting how much easier its possession would make it to pass from country to country, it must have been from some unusual power of refraining from useless speculation. The notion, justified perhaps in our ancestors, that flight through the air has some inherent element of superiority to locomotion on the surface of the earth or ocean is still a feature of our common nature.

Let us lay aside this notion long enough to inquire whether the cheapening of transportation by steam power during the last century has not practically done away with all the supposed advantages of flight through the air, which appeared in so strong a light to former

generations. Probably few of us realise in our daily thought that it now costs less to transport any small light article—a pair of shoes for example—across the Atlantic than to deliver them from a shop to the house of a customer in New York or London. Careful thought may show us that, leaving aside exceptional cases, like that of striving to reach the Pole, the substitution of aerial for land and water transportation is at bottom the substitution for the solid ground of so imperfect a support for moving bodies as the thin air.

We can best judge this view by coming down to concrete facts. Let us take the case of an express train running from London to Edinburgh. When going at high speed the main resistance it has to encounter is that of the air. It is in overcoming this resistance that the greater part of its propulsive power is expended. Now, imagine the highest possible perfection in an aerial vehicle which shall carry passengers and mails from London to Edinburgh in competition with the railway. If the surface presented to the air by the vehicle were no greater than that presented by the train, it would still encounter a large fraction of the same resistance when going at the same speed. But, as a matter of fact, owing to the necessary size of the flyer, the resisting surface would be vastly greater than in the case of the train, and the means of overcoming this resistance by adequate propulsive power would be more imperfect and expensive. In the case of the train the wheels of the engine are made effective by the reaction of the solid ground. In the airship the reaction is only that of the air, a condition which necessitates propelling surfaces of a superficial extent greater in proportion.

Needless to say, the consumption of fuel must be increased in proportion to the power to be expended. The Royal Mail airship will therefore have to consume several times as much coal as the engine of the Flying Scotchman if she is to carry the same burden. What the multiplier may be admits of at least an approximate estimate, but it may be feared that the most careful mathematical computation would show a disparity so extravagant as to deaden interest in the subject.

This view may appear in conflict with the principle already mentioned, that increased economy will be gained by increasing the size of the airship. But we must remember that the economy is measured by the ratio of cargo or other weight carried to fuel consumed. It must always cost more to run a large ship than to run a small one. Economy is gained only when we increase the dimensions of the airship so that she will carry more cargo than the ocean steamer or the railway train. The projector of an airship who would successfully compete with the steamship in ocean traffic must not permit his modesty to suggest beginning with dimensions less than a length of half a mile and a diameter of 600 feet. His ship might then be able to carry some 10,000 tons of cargo or 15,000 passengers, and

it would be only through these great possibilities that economic success would be reached. If this requirement seems extravagant or impracticable, the fault lies in the problem itself, and not in our treatment of it.

In order to present the case in another wholly practical aspect, it may be remarked that, no matter how high the speed of the airship, the wind would affect it by its entire velocity. A normal speed of 100 miles an hour would be reduced to one-half by meeting a wind blowing in the opposite direction at a rate of fifty miles an hour. It is true that a favouring wind of the same speed would accelerate its motion, and enable it to reach its destination more quickly. But it is needless to describe the practical drawbacks of so uncertain a system of transportation.

When we look carefully into the matter, we see that these are by no means the only drawbacks inherent to the general use of the airship. In addition to her being carried out of her course at the rate of twenty or thirty miles an hour by a wind blowing across her line of motion at this not unusual speed, comes the difficulty, we might say the impossibility, of finding her destination or effecting a landing in foggy weather. To appreciate these drawbacks it must be remembered that they do not arise merely from imperfections in the present development of the airship, but are inherent in any form of aerial vehicle, no matter to what degree it may be perfected. Unless the science of the future discovers some form of action between material masses, of the practical attainment of which the science of to-day gives not even a hint, any method of aerial transportation must be subjected not only to the drawbacks we have mentioned, but to a number of others which we refrain from setting forth merely because the items are all on the debit side.

But let us also in fairness see what is to be placed on the credit side. First and almost alone among these must be in the reader's mind the fact that steam transportation on land requires the building of railways, which are so expensive that the capital invested in them probably exceeds that invested in all other forms of transportation. Moreover, there are large areas of the earth's surface not yet accessible by rail, among which are the two Poles and the higher mountains. All such regions, the mountains excepted, we may suppose to be attainable by the perfected airship of the future.

The more carefully we analyse these possible advantages, the more we shall find them to diminish in importance. Every part of the earth's surface on which men now live in large numbers, and in which important industries are prosecuted, can be now reached by railways, or will be so reached in time. True, this will involve a constantly increasing investment of capital. But the interest on this investment will be a trifle in comparison with the cost and drawbacks incident to the general introduction of the best system of aerial

transportation that is even ideally possible in the present state of our knowledge.

Let us stop a moment to see the framework of the reasoning on which our conclusions are based. We have not taken either the airship or the flyer of to-day as the measure of what is possible in the future. We have not dwelt upon the great ratio of failure to success or of labour cost to results in the trials hitherto made. The vehicle we have had in mind, and of which we have shown the shortcomings, is an ideal one to be realised, if possible, in the future—a vehicle in which every part shall be so nicely adjusted that the maximum of efficiency shall be reached with the least possible weight, and the best devices used to diminish friction and insure the application of all the power available in the fuel to the purpose of driving. We have allowed no practical questions of construction to interfere with success. We have shown what would be the more than colossal dimensions of an airship that could successfully compete with the ocean steamship of to-day, without inquiring into the practicability of building her or the problem of managing her in an ocean storm. May we not say, as the outcome of these reflections, that the efforts at aerial navigation now being made are simply most ingenious attempts to substitute, as a support of moving bodies, the thin air for the solid ground? And is it not evident, on careful consideration, that the ground affords a much better base than air ever can? Resting upon it we feel safe and know where we are. In the air we are carried about by every wind that blows. Any use that we can make of the air for the purpose of transportation, even when our machinery attains ideal perfection, will be uncertain, dangerous, expensive, and inefficient, as compared with transportation on the earth and ocean. The glamour which surrounds the idea of flying through the air is the result of ancestral notions, implanted in the minds of our race before steam transportation had attained its present development. Exceptional cases there may be in which the airship will serve a purpose, but they are few and unimportant.

The attitude of the writer is not that of an advocate conducting a case against aerial navigation and leaving it to the other side to present its own views. He cheerfully admits the possibility of exceptional cases in which the airship may be a more effective means of attaining an end than any other yet at our command. The most promising result now in sight is the reaching of the Poles. It may be feared that the failure of the ill-fated *Andre* has cast too dark a cloud upon his enterprise. It is not unlikely that Count Zeppelin's balloon, when improved, will be the first vehicle actually to carry a human being to the North Pole. If nothing more interesting than fields of ice is found there, the result will still be of value by putting an end to a useless expenditure of energy which has been going on for

generations. Let us, then, permit the airship to gain all the prestige it can by being the first agency to make the Pole accessible.

IV.

The possibility of using the airship in warfare has already presented itself so strongly to the minds of men, especially in England, that it may well be included in our inquiry. The power of flying through the air was always possessed by the superhuman beings, animated by malevolence, who held so prominent a place in the imagination of our ancestors. It is, therefore, only natural that, when an airship is conceived as flying at pleasure over land and sea, she is pictured in our minds as an engine for scattering death and destruction by the explosion of bombs, unless her course is stopped by an enemy possessing sufficient power to engage in conflict with her. Let us, then, inquire to what result an appeal to reason and fact will lead us in estimating the efficiency of an airship in carrying on military operations.

Her possible usefulness in reconnaissance, though easily exaggerated, is too obvious to need discussion. The really vital question is that of her efficiency in conquering a country, especially an island like England. The ways in which the airship might be used in war are numerous. I will, therefore, first summarily examine some points which will limit our inquiry.

Enough has already been said to show that the flyer is out of the question. The airship proper, or enlarged balloon, is the only agency to be feared. Her vulnerability is obvious. Her size is so great as to make her an easy target; her sides so thin that she can be pierced through and through by any bullet, even that of a revolver; and her interior composed of gas so inflammable that an explosive bullet would reduce her to a mass of flame. A single yeoman armed with a repeating rifle could disable a whole fleet of airships approaching the ground within range of his station before the crews could even see where he was or what he was doing. How many such vehicles would be required to carry and land, with all its accoutrements, an armed force sufficiently large to be a menace need hardly be computed. To carry out the enterprise the fleet must either operate at night or choose an hour when the country is enveloped in fog. Saying nothing of the difficulties inherent in navigating the air and of choosing a point of landing when the ground is invisible, it would be easy by a system of searchlights to make a landing as difficult at night as during the day. Should advantage be taken of a smoky and foggy day, with a view of landing without being seen, the difficulties would be as great on the side of the aerial vehicle as on that of the defence against it. The navigator of an airship must at all times be at the disadvantages already mentioned, one of which is that of being always carried with the wind, and of knowing nothing of his motion at the

moment except what he can learn by observing the ground. He would therefore be unable to find his way in a fog. Above the region of fog and cloud he might in an uncertain way be guided by observations on the sun or stars, but this would be much more uncertain than in the navigation of a ship, owing to the want of a clear horizon. The more closely one analyses the conditions and the requirements of an invading force, the more clearly it will be seen that the idea of invading England with a formidable army borne in airships is quite chimerical. Compared with what would be the outcome of such an enterprise, should it ever be undertaken, the Spanish Armada was a miracle of success.

It is, therefore, by operations conducted so high above the ground as to be outside the range of bullets that the airship must be used in military operations, if at all. The serious question is, In what way could a fleet of airships be used in conducting military operations or aiding an invading army by operating at this height? We can scarcely conceive of her as a fighting engine at any height. It is barely possible that, if made of sufficient size, the lightest field artillery might be fired from her. But her offensive power would be so insignificant that we should waste time in attempting to estimate it. Of course she could do some damage to a place like London by dropping the smallest bombs into it; but this would be a wanton proceeding, of no avail in conquering a country, and therefore not permissible by the rules of modern warfare.

The only rational fear to be entertained is that a fleet of airships might drop explosive bombs into fortifications and upon the decks of ships of war. The projectiles could not be fired—that would not only be enormously expensive, but useless, because dropping them would be as effective as firing them. On the defensive side, the construction of a machine gun which, pointed vertically, could fire a shot to a height of two miles is so simple a matter that I assume this to be the height at which the aerial ship will have to operate. Let us, then, inquire what England may have to fear from explosives dropped upon her forts and ships from a height of two miles in the air. We must remember, at the outset, that the air is rarer by about one-fourth at this height than at the earth's surface. This reduces in a yet greater proportion the possible weight of projectiles which an enemy could carry. If we reflect that, making allowance for the necessary weight of a balloon, its gas and its accoutrements, every ton carried at a height of two miles would require more than 5000 cubic yards of gas in the balloon, we shall see that the task of seriously injuring a modern fortification by dropping explosives into it will be at least an expensive one.

But how is it in a case of a ship-of-war? Among the conditions of the problem would be these. The time required for a bomb to fall from a height of two miles is between twenty-five and thirty seconds,

depending upon the resistance which it experiences from the air, as compared with its size and weight. During this time the ship, if in motion, would have moved away by her entire length, and would therefore escape the missile, unless due allowance had been made by the attacking power for her motion. This might be possible; but, even if it were, a still greater difficulty would be found in the fact that the balloon is itself in motion, because it floats in the moving air. True, the motion of the wind would be neutralised if the balloon steered against it with the proper speed. But the navigator of the balloon cannot determine the direction of the wind, as can the sailor. The only way by which he can know how a wind is carrying him is by observations on the ground below, presumably on the ship he desires to attack.

Now let us estimate the degree of precision required in the operations. Let the reader imagine himself looking down vertically from a scaffold swaying in the wind at the pavement, fifty feet below. On that pavement imagine an object, two or three feet in length and from four to six inches in breadth, swaying about in such a way that he can scarcely judge when, if ever, it is below his station. Then let the problem be, with the wind blowing, to drop a bullet in such a way that it shall strike the object in its fall. By the most skilful arrangements he might perhaps hit it once in forty or fifty trials. The problem of the balloon would be of this same kind, except that nearly half a minute is required for the missile to reach the object. We may admit that a dirigible balloon, carrying a hundred bombs of a ton each, and taking her position two miles above a battleship, would probably succeed in dropping one, two or three upon her deck. Would this disable her or seriously impair her fighting power? A torpedo discharged under water against the side of a ship sinks her, partly from being under water, and partly because the water reacts in the explosion. But the torpedo exploding on the deck has nothing but the air to react against it, and the limit of damage would probably be a hole or fracture in the deck. We need not be experts to know how small is the area of damage in an explosion of dynamite.

Bearing in mind all these considerations, it would appear that England has little to fear from the use of airships by an enemy seeking to invade her territory, even if she tamely allowed him to do his worst, which she need not. The key to her defence is the necessary vulnerability of a balloon. In this respect the latter is so completely the opposite of every other engine of war that it requires a little reflection to appreciate the case. A conflict between two aerial navies composed of balloons belongs to the realm of poetry. Most extraordinary would be the disparity of force if mutual annihilation were not the speedy result of an attempt to engage in a conflict. Each side could continue firing a few moments after being riddled, no matter how great the damage sustained, but the work of those

moments would suffice to send both combatants on their way to earth or ocean. If explosive bullets were used the result would be yet more tragic.

I assume that, should England ever be threatened with attack by an aerial navy, she would not follow the example of the perhaps mythical and certainly chivalrous French battalion, which extended to the enemy the invitation: 'Gentlemen, please fire first.' The possible availability of the perfected airship, if she ever becomes a reality, in rendering possible an excursion into the atmosphere above an enemy's country cannot be denied. But when this is done, the task of firing a single explosive bullet into each balloon of an entire navy is so much simpler than that of dropping explosives heavy enough seriously to damage a modern fortification or battleship, that common-sense will choose this policy in preference to any other. If a single airship or, to guard against accident, two or three, can, by watching a favourable opportunity, destroy an aerial navy in its own country in any stage of its construction, may we not assume that no Power is going on to make any great effort to develop such a navy after the possibilities are fully appreciated?

In presenting the views set forth in the present article the writer is conscious that they diverge from the general trend, not only of public opinion, but of the ideas of some able and distinguished authorities in technical science, who have given encouragement to the idea of aerial navigation. Were it a simple question of weight of opinion he would frankly admit the unwisdom of engaging in so unequal a contest. But questions of what can be done through the application of mechanical power to bodies in motion have no relation to opinion. They can be determined only by calculations made by experts and based upon the data and principles of mechanics. If any calculations of the kind exist, the writer has never met with them, nor has he ever seen them either quoted or used by any author engaged in discussing the subject. So far as his observation has extended, the problem has been everywhere looked upon as merely one of experiments ingeniously conducted with all the aid afforded by modern apparatus. He has seen no evidence that any writer or projector has ever weighed the considerations here adduced, which seem to him to bring out the insuperable difficulties of the system he has been discussing, and the small utility to be expected from it even if the difficulties were surmounted. If he is wrong in any point—and he makes no claim to infallibility—it must be easy to point out in what his error consists. He therefore concludes with the hope that if his conclusions are ill-founded their fallacy will be shown, and that if well-founded they may not be entirely useless in affording food for thought to those interested in the subject.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

THE ORPHANAGE: ITS REFORM AND RE-CREATION

IN one of his most delightful essays, Froude tells the story of a distinguished German writer and *savant*, who said that for his part he could not conceive how the English people came by their Reformation.

After a candid exposition of many facts not too complimentary to our national pride, he added that we seemed to be 'hide-bound by tradition and precedent.' The essential justice of the latter part of this criticism must often recur to the mind of any unbiassed person who sets himself to the task of enquiring into the conditions and methods of orphanages existing at the present day. It would take us too far from our present purpose to trace the origin and growth of these institutions, many of which were founded a hundred years ago and more, and came into existence owing to some special need or set of circumstances. These circumstances have changed, the needs have disappeared; nevertheless, unbelievable as it may seem to those who have frequently visited this or that favourite orphanage on prize days and anniversaries, the original conditions and restrictions and even methods of management still continue, and are taken for granted as wholly right and even desirable. The reply, 'We have always done so; it works very well,' appears to satisfy even moderately intelligent committees and officials; and the criticism and suggestions of the astonished outsider are usually met by indifference, polite for the most part, but not invariably so, and the implied verdict that they are unnecessary and mischievous. Yet it is not to be doubted that many who support the orphanages that have come within my survey will unqualifiedly disapprove of many of their common and salient characteristics, and will be in harmony with some, at least, of the recommendations put forward here, the very core of which is *inspection* by carefully selected women, who would be responsible to Government—or any other properly constituted tribunal—and *unconnected*, whether as committee or as any other body, with any orphanage or institution. I hope to prove up to the hilt the need of this inspection, so long as orphanages remain in their present form, and the inclusion of all philanthropic institutions of this nature, whether supported by public

contributions, or by companies, or by the founder or founders, in Mr. Samuel's Children's Bill. This reform would meet with strenuous opposition by committees, by officials and by timid parents, whose position at the present moment is almost without exception a negligible one. For its ultimate goal, that of the entire reconstruction of the orphanage and its transformation into a less mediæval sanctuary, will be instantly discerned by those either sufficiently far-seeing or sufficiently self-interested; and many minor yet most important and even imperative reforms must in the meantime be fought for.

My investigation during the last few years has been extended to some sixty or more of these orphanages, large and small, well known and almost unknown beyond the small staff employed; and it has been carried on quietly, and in some instances silently, not merely as a visitor who admires the children's rosy, fat cheeks, and, for the most part, well-nourished, tidy persons, but wherever possible by going out of the beaten track; by asking questions not 'supposed' to be asked, and by gently insisting upon a reply; by now and again having the opportunity to question a child or parent; by a more thorough and detailed examination of Reports than is usual; and lastly, by a personal stay in more than one of these establishments, in what capacity it is not necessary to state here. The inside knowledge obtained under this latter condition was most valuable. The autocratic power wielded by a matron who without much difficulty exercised her influence over her committee of men; the absolute lack of appeal on the part of children, over-conscious of the necessity to endure things, however intolerable; the timidity of the average mother, who, however conscious things were not right, never would complain through fear of being told, as she invariably is, by secretaries and other officials, that she is at perfect liberty to take her child elsewhere; the utter farcical absurdity of a committee consisting of ponderous well-meaning gentlemen of the middle class, who saw nothing, and, so far as the education and rearing of girl children are concerned, were incapable of seeing what is to be seen by the eye of experience and knowledge; the really horrible isolation of a community of girls and women cut off from the rest of the public, the former lacking the high spirits and elasticity of children who have always had freedom, individuality and their own natural surroundings—all these features, incidental to the institution to which I was for the moment attached, set me speculating as to whether they were a set of peculiar, isolated phenomena, or characteristic in a greater or less degree of all the charitable institutions of this order. My investigations and comparisons enable me to state with truth and authority that many of the above objectionable features are absent from some of the most enlightened of these institutions. On the other hand, the very worst of them prevail in many regarded by the public with the greatest confidence and admiration.

Roughly speaking, all orphanages come under one or other of these headings :

1. Those that have grown with the spirit of the times, and with some slight modifications and alterations might be taken as the model upon which such communities should be conducted. As an instance, the Princess Mary Village Homes may be cited. In certain details they might be advantageously improved. It is sufficient to say here that the principle *au fond*—that of grouping children in cottages under kindly, sensible, middle-aged women—is the right one.

It is highly desirable, even essential, that they should be given a little more play of light and air, which would follow from the attendance of the children at the ordinary village school after a due period has elapsed. One effect of this would be to modify the atmosphere of this well-managed institution, where almost all the children have one or more parents in prison. There should be also a more systematic and scientific household training, of which further details are presented later, and there would then remain little to criticise unfavourably. The system of 'friends' needs enlarging and placing on a more sound basis, but this is a reform in the hands of leisured women which the authorities would gladly welcome. Unfortunately orphanages conducted upon this progressive plan are in a minority.

2. There is the group including most of the large and well-known orphanages, which is established on a bad system, that of herding together one hundred or two hundred or three hundred girls or boys, often in palatial edifices, in which the educational curriculum is far behind that of any ordinary Board School ; the training for domestic service of the girls, most casual and superficial, whilst there are no workshops for the boys ; and as an inevitable outcome, the growing up of the children without individuality or initiative or self-reliance. But in this group the results are often better than might have been expected, owing usually to the special qualifications of character and experience of the lady charged with responsibility (or, in the case of boys, of the master, though the scope of this article is mainly limited to orphanages for girls).

By qualifications, I do not mean the capacity, so highly valued it would seem, of keeping down expenses, or of feeding the children at a lower rate than that of predecessors, but those so difficult to estimate at their right worth, so seldom rewarded, so often even unrecognised, yet of such priceless value in work of this order. I think, though I stand to be corrected, they can be found only in their fullest and highest perfection in one who unites traditions of breeding and culture, the effects of life-long environment, with a love of children, a devotion to duty, and an attitude regarding her work that is almost that of the nun to her sacred vocation. At least three times I have come across such superintendents or matrons, and the

difference of atmosphere and outlook are most striking. The Home may contain large numbers, and it may even house (as at the Brixton Orphanage for Fatherless Girls) no fewer than 250 girls; nevertheless it will have a quality that one looks for in vain elsewhere, a *personal* quality, the precise nature of which I cannot pretend to explain. But the Home which breathes this essence is simply the wide width of Heaven from the ordinary orphanage with its staff of paid officials, and its conscientious, austere, depressing atmosphere. It cannot of course often happen that such a conjunction of qualities can be found united in one person. The prizes are not great enough to attract women of marked administrative capacity, nor is a profound love of children usually found allied with this form of practical capacity.

It can but be placed on record here that human beings with this noble equipment are actually devoting their lives to the fulfilment of the difficult and often most saddening duties that devolve upon the matron of an orphanage: and that the least satisfactory of systems in the hands of such men and women can be neutralised and even transformed into actively fruitful environments.

As I write these lines there comes across my memory one of those incidents which more than pages of analysis and description throw light and reveal as in a flash the very spirit and essence of a great undertaking. I had visited that day several orphanages, and my spirit was utterly depressed and melancholy. I had stood in vast, too immaculately clean dormitories with their cold, white, unhome-like bare walls, and their long rows and rows of countless little narrow beds, faultlessly precise and uniform even to the fold of a quilt. I had been unable to subdue the emotion that had from time to time troubled me, when I pictured the heartrending desolation of the child I knew best, had he come to one of these places, fresh from the love of his foster-mother, whilst his frightened gaze wandered round the great bare room, with never a sign or symbol of a child's restless feet or mischief-loving little fingers. And the somewhat wooden replies of officials had become so oppressive, that I sought in vain to escape from my last task, a visit to the orphanage I have just named. As I crossed the sunny garden, whose fine old trees lovingly shadowed the splendidly airy rooms, in contrast to the insignificant, mean frontage, my eye suddenly espied a miscellaneous collection of children's cheap, worn toys thrown carelessly upon the window sill, as though they had been recently played with. So trivial a thing, and yet in a moment these well-drilled repressed little automata I had been seeing all day were *transformed* into the dear, self-willed, careless children I knew; and life once more held for me some sweet and vivifying moments. But the nobility and breadth of character exhibited by some in charge of these institutions, must not blind us to the radical defects of the system upon which they are conducted, or to the fact that under incompetent, stupid and narrow administration they

are capable of becoming even worse than the actual system necessitates. This criticism especially applies to the orphanages comprised in

Group 3, including many of the orphanages, if not most, which enjoy, as I have said, the largest share of public esteem and admiration. They have often vast funds to draw upon and are under the auspices of well-meaning persons in prominent positions, who are not only genuinely amazed by any expression of criticism, but appear indisposed to entertain the idea that uncompromising objection is taken to the fundamental principles upon which they are based. No modifications of this or that detail of discipline or management will avail here. The strongest public opinion must be brought to bear in no uncertain fashion, the active co-operation and direction of women of judgment, sense and feeling must be obtained, and, when necessary, Acts of Parliament introduced which will give properly appointed Commissioners the right to control the funds and overhaul the very foundations of the immense edifices, insisting upon a complete regeneration of management and the sweeping away of cast-iron traditions and precedents which exert the cruellest pressure upon human lives.

This section comprises such huge and prominent institutions as the Foundling, which in many respects exhibits unique conditions; more representative ones such as the Orphan Working School in Haverstock Hill, the Soldiers' Daughters' Home in Hampstead, and a smaller group with certain specific peculiar characteristics, such as the City of London Freeman's School at Brixton. Many of the worst survivals are common to them all, survivals which, dating from fifty or sixty years ago, have remained unaltered and unmodified, and that form an environment for children so stupidly unsuited to the conditions of the world, such as we know it, as to fill a person who hears of them for the first time with incredulity. That there should be institutions modelled upon lines so narrow and ugly reflects much discredit in my judgment upon the numberless women clamouring for larger rights, and for wider interests, than are associated with the home. Upon this point I shall have something more to say. It is convenient here to complete the list of groups before considering the important ones in detail; and with regard to

Group 4, I propose to make but the briefest of comment. This last division comprises small orphanages often run either by the original founder or by some relative, who, however unfit or even undesirable, remains at the head of the concern from some feeling, surely wholly misplaced on the part of the committee, that it would seem to be ungrateful or disrespectful to the memory of the founder, if she were removed. This group of institutions usually suffers from want of funds, and ought to be done away with, root and branch. In one instance where several girls have run away, I learned from a young mistress, on the point of leaving, that the committee met irregularly, sometimes at intervals of six months, and consisted usually of two gentlemen, both relatives of the lady superintendent.

These hole-and-corner 'homes' provide an education that hardly deserves the name, and that cannot be compared with that given in the least efficient of elementary schools, reproducing the wretched, superficial instruction given to tradesmen's daughters fifty years ago, without compensation in the shape of the thorough instruction in cookery, laundry and the household arts which they received. There are two 'Homes' (probably many more) in which the sleeping accommodation ought to be condemned forthwith, and the sanitary arrangements in at least three others were most elementary; indeed, without speaking unfairly, they verged upon what is insanitary. None of these orphanages had any arrangements for the proper care of the girls' health; there was neither nurse nor doctor attached, and the appearance of the girls would have convinced anyone who knows the signs of good health that in physical as well as in mental development many of these poor children were far below the average of children in the poorest working-class homes. I have some ten or twelve Homes upon my list which come under Group 4, and my single recommendation with regard to them is the immediate and imperative necessity for their demolition.

Let us now return to section 3, which includes most of the best-known institutions. It is only right to make a few generalisations of a favourable nature. Let me say at once that the majority of these institutions are almost beyond criticism so far as the material wants of the children are concerned. Many of the buildings are truly palatial, and it is a real question, which, however, I leave others to decide, whether it is well to rear children who will have to earn their living in the workaday world under such supremely comfortable and prosperous conditions. With regard to cleanliness, ventilation, order, and good organisation, the only desiderata that the visitor as a rule has the opportunity of estimating, it is hardly possible to find anything of which to complain. Here however the evils and disadvantages inseparable from large numbers have to be reckoned. The routine, the automatic discipline, the almost military preciseness under which these young lives grow up from babyhood to girlhood and youth, are so systematised that one cannot look for any vestige of individuality, initiative, or self-reliance to emerge. These perhaps are moral rather than material problems, and may be thought out of place at this precise point; yet these moral qualities really grow out of the material conditions, and so long as these orphanages exist in their present form it is hard to see how they are to be altered. The food is of excellent quality, and, so far as one can judge, is carefully cooked, and on the whole attractive. But there are many details of diet which a woman accustomed to the feeding of boys and girls, and knowing something of the properties of food and the necessities of young children, would alter. I think, too, that more scope should be given for the play of individual appetites, and that some of the more

enlightened theories about the value of different food stuffs ought to be understood by matrons and committees. Still, it can be fairly conceded that children in orphanages are well fed in addition to being well housed. I can also say decisively that I came across no single case of anything that could be called *intentional* cruelty. Stupidity in plentiful quantity, but with every disposition to recognise it I saw neither excessive beating, nor bullying, nor starving, nor that horrible system of torture which puts little children in dark rooms by themselves, or deprives them of necessary food or even sleep till tasks of appalling difficulty are toiled through. Finally, it is only fair to say, amidst much that struck me as painfully stupid, callous, and even inhuman, I saw much quiet heroism, a devotion to duty amidst circumstances calculated to depress and deaden sensibilities that was beyond all praise, and not infrequently, and perhaps more especially amongst the minor officials, lives of great moral beauty.

In quite a number of aspects the Foundling Hospital in Guilford Street occupies a unique position. Its situation in the very centre of London, the distinctive and quaintly pretty dress of the children—to some of us the saddest of symbols—the vast funds which the Governors control, and the strange, tragic circumstances attaching to the birth of the infant brought to the gates by the youthful mother, not only give the institution the prestige that attaches to mystery and romance (for who knows what illustrious or exalted rank the father may not occupy?), but also a kind of *permanency* of character, so that no one either questions or criticises even in these topsy-turvy days. Yet a deep responsibility attaches to everyone of us willing and content to accept that all is right. I cannot divest myself of the share of blame that attaches to every woman who has done no more than see the children well clad, well fed, and for the most part rosy-cheeked, upon anniversaries and other festive occasions, and who repeats the parrot cry, 'How lucky these boys and girls are!' 'Such dear little things, and how pretty they look in that quaint costume!'

Lucky! To enter this world without name or father. That is the first stage in the life of the little girl pilgrim. Then follows the second, her entrance into the Foundling and the acceptance of its grim conditions. To be doubly bereaved: never to see again her mother's face, never to hear her voice, never to feel her kiss upon her brow, her caresses upon her baby lips, and at the very moment of her abandonment to be re-baptized with the stain of her birth necessitated by the Constitution of the Foundling. There she remains through the years of childhood, cut off from happier children with fathers and mothers, till she goes out into the world at sixteen with the indelible brand that maintenance at the Foundling irrevocably carries. If, after knowing these truths, there are still women with hearts in their breasts who can take a pleasure in the quaint, distinctive, pretty costumes of brown and white, they must be strangely constituted.

Examine more closely for a moment the conditions under which a child becomes a foundling. Every leaflet or report issued by this institution bears these impressive words: 'It should never be forgotten that this institution, in addition to the maintenance and education of children, has another most important object, viz. *the restoration to society and their friends of young persons of previously good character, and it is impossible duly to estimate the immense importance of this work.*'¹

The restoration of the young mother to society may be interpreted in various ways. It would be inferred, no doubt, by many who carelessly read these consoling words, that the support given to the young mother, often little more than a girl, for the period, long or short, which must elapse after a moral ordeal of this kind (felt to a greater or less degree according to the temperament, upbringing, and to some extent rank in society of the mother) would take both a material and spiritual form. With the vast funds possessed by the Foundling authorities, *no less than 25,000*l.* a year*, it is possible to provide the adequate and efficient means which other societies with the same objective are incapable of giving, owing to lack of money. In whatever spirit the words are interpreted, they will surely convey some sort of help. It will, I feel, be a somewhat severe strain on the common sense of most men and women to give credence to my solemn statement, that the help given to the young mother, *the immense importance of which 'cannot be duly estimated,'* is precisely—*nothing*! I wrote down the replies of the courteous young assistant-secretary, who seemed very willing to receive ideas and even to be struck with the justice of some of them, and also those given me by the matron, which indeed simply corroborated those of the assistant-secretary.

'What steps do we take to preserve the relationship of mother and child?' he repeated, 'none at all. We take effectual means to cut off the child from the mother, according to the expressed intentions of Coram.' The founder, Coram, whom the authorities of the Foundling seek to please so piously, lived in the reign of George the Second, and was the master of a trading vessel. 'Coram,' added the assistant-secretary, 'went even further than we do. Do we make any inquiries? Of course, most searching enquiries, and if they are not satisfactory, if we find the mother has not told the truth, we don't go any further. The children are all illegitimate, but the mother must have lived *a respectable life up to her first fall.*'²

The matron told me that they only considered first cases. 'A woman presenting herself with a second illegitimate child is soon bundled out.'

'What steps do you take then to assist the young mother to regain her footing?' was the next question put to the assistant-secretary and matron. 'Well, we relieve her of the child, the best way I should say

¹ I have italicised these words so that they shall not be read heedlessly.

² I have italicised these words for a reason that will soon explain itself.

of helping her. We feed, clothe, and maintain her child, and thereby set her free to earn her living.'

'But do you *do* nothing? Do you assist her to get work, or lend her money, so that for the immediate present she is not forced to go on the streets? Surely you satisfy yourself that the mother has a home to go to, and in the event of her having none help her to find one? Do you mean that you do absolutely nothing for a mother who is in such wretched despair that she brings herself to part with her child and give it over to strangers for ever and ever?'

The matron said, 'Oh, we always pay their fares.' The irony of this reply was so unconscious, that had I not allowed myself a bitter smile, I might not have been able to control my emotions of a different kind.

Recollect, here is a young mother who is not a wicked or abandoned woman. That the Foundling authorities readily admit; only a woman, young, often mistaken in the meaning of her feeling for the father of her child, who has been lacking in knowledge of the world and self-control at the most critical moment of her life.

I do not claim to have a wide experience of these girl-mothers, but many times it has been my sad, but hopeful, task, to help in finding a home for a little child, handicapped before it has seen the light of day; and I can, without fear of contradiction, maintain that many of these young mothers have the stuff of which the truest womanhood is made. Too kind, too trusting, too yielding, many of them are; and not always victims, as it pleases a certain section of the feminist school to make out, but willing to confess that they have failed, and, what is better, willing to repent. But in their supreme hour of martyrdom, when they emerge from lying-in hospitals or infirmaries, deeply ashamed as many are, and deeply conscious of the gulf between them and happier women, when it is a mere throw of the dice whether they will sink or rise, they need wise help, good sense, love and tenderness. As I have pointed out till I am weary, we need a 'Guild of help' attached to every place of this kind to sustain the girl and help her financially with the cost of maintaining her child. And the instrument for her salvation is ready at hand. If she is to be saved, it is by means of and through one agency alone, her child. The mother's failure is in part redeemed by the very act of creativeness that she is called to endure with much suffering and mental anguish, and deprived of all the consoling joys that are compensation to stronger women. Her final regeneration—and there is scarce one of these young mothers in whom the idea is not dimly discerned from the very moment that she feels the child at her breast—is achieved slowly and nobly whilst she works and toils and expiates for her child. What, then, can be said in adequate condemnation of the procedure, the salient characteristic of which is that the young mother is bereft of the child at the moment of her sorest need and profoundest long-

liness? 'She can write if she likes,' says the matron, 'and about two a year do.' It would be demanding superhuman virtues to expect a woman to feel her mother's love for a being taken away in the first weeks or months of infancy, whom she is not allowed to see, or to write to, or to have any hope of being re-united to. Can anyone with experience question that in this singular method of 'restoring the mother to society,' the exact reverse must usually be the consequence, since she is violently deprived of the single incentive to effort and self-sacrifice?

Let us now pursue the destiny of the child. At any age less than twelve months it may be handed over to the Foundling officials. The recording of facts is not infrequently a painful obligation, and it has to be said that at every step of the little creature's pilgrimage the wrong thing seems to be done.

As we have seen, early in its life-journey, whilst still in the cradle, sorrow and bereavement set their mark upon the piteous little being, and of that sweet, joyous atmosphere breathed about them by the homeliest father and mother there is none. Still, thank God, there is an innumerable company of good large-hearted women with the right mother instinct, who may be trusted, under proper control and supervision, to play the part of foster-mother to a child or small group of children. Nothing can more nearly approach the home and mother that the child has lost, than a clean homelike country cottage with its cheerful bustling house-mother (such as we may see at the Princess Mary Homes), taking to her kindly bosom the desolate scrap of humanity cut off, through no fault of its own, from all those united to it by feeling and ties of blood. But, on the other hand, nothing could be more dangerous than this system as carried on by the Foundling authorities. Not only is there no council of ladies, disinterested, leisured and sympathetic, having the judgment, experience and sympathy essential for this responsible work, but there is no systematic inspection of any kind, no rigorous supervision, no careful and constant examination of the children, no instructions to the foster-mother. Everything is done in the most casual and unsystematic manner. A country doctor, who seems from the inquiries I have made to do his best under impossible circumstances, amidst his multifarious other duties, selects the cottages for the hundred or so babies under four years of age who are distributed about the villages near his residence, and any inspection is limited to his frequently seeing the children during his journeys through the villages. In his own words, 'I am continually up and down the roads where the children live, and there is also pay day, when I often see the children.' There are two doctors attached to the institution, and a significant and painful fact in connexion with their functions, is to be found in the refusal of the authorities to permit a lady to visit the cottage homes even in the presence of the doctor! An

unimpeachable authority, well known for her work amongst poor married women, writes to me as follows: 'I know many of the homes in which the babies are, and some years ago I asked to be allowed to be given the power to inspect and supervise every home containing one of the foster infants. I was curtly refused. *Yet there is the greatest necessity.* The homes are not always what they ought to be, nor the women selected to play the part of mother always the most fitted, though they may have bonny children themselves. Many of the country mothers are most ignorant, and though they manage to keep their own offspring alive, it becomes a very different matter when it involves the artificial feeding of someone else's child.' Moreover, is there any woman with experience, who fails to appreciate the risk of leaving helpless beings in the hands of women known in many cases only superficially to the doctors, and who ought to be under the immediate guidance and control of those superior in birth and education and knowledge, and of irreproachable character? When one thinks how easily dark things might occur which it would be the instinct, indeed the interest of everyone concerned to hush up; when one recollects how difficult is the rearing of children often on artificial foods, and how often the little waif is brought into the world under most disadvantageous conditions, is it not almost impossible to believe that any community could be so culpably careless as to allow this large number of children who cannot speak, and who are too young to defend themselves, to be left to the supervision of busy country doctors?

It is only fair to say that many of the foster-parents seem passionately fond of these little creatures whom they have tended to the best of their power.

At four the child leaves its foster-mother and is brought into the institution, and according to its sex placed on the boys' or girls' side. Happily, at the age of four, emotions and memories are not of any great depth, and no doubt the little one soon settles down and lives contentedly enough with its companions. It is now up to its sixteenth year well fed, palatially housed and adequately clothed. But material good, however important, can be too dearly purchased; it can be purchased at the cost of more intrinsically essential things. The identity of the child, known only to one or two of the Governors, has been dropped absolutely. The girl (or boy) is given a name selected by one of the Governors who concerns himself with this task, by which she is known henceforth exclusively. *She leaves the institution ignorant of her own name, or, to be pedantically correct, of the name of the mother who bore her, or of any single particular of her parentage.*

This will come as a shock and revelation to many who were under the same impression as myself, that the girl had such particulars as were known about her mother disclosed upon leaving the institution. This is not the case. The girls and boys leave the institution at sixteen in virgin ignorance of their identity, of their relations to other

human beings in the world, to whom in some cases they must have the very closest ties of blood. I do not want to pursue the startling and indeed horrible train of thought which this amazing set of facts induces. It does not need to have a riotous imagination to picture what may happen in a world where coincidences in the shape of meetings between widely separated relatives are everyday affairs. But this does not mark the end of the charity child's sufferings. The same amazing want of common sense and common judgment are to be found in the internal economy of administration. Here are 200 girls growing up between the ages of five and sixteen, when they leave to enter domestic service, *and there is no ladies' committee, and not a single woman upon the board of management.* There is not a single woman, apart from the matron and the other officials, who has any part in the arrangements for rearing and educating these 200 girls. I have said that many of the characteristics of the Foundling are to be found elsewhere. At the Soldiers' Daughters' Home in Hampstead, at the Freeman's City School in Brixton, where there are seventy girls, the same incredible state of things exists. At both these institutions, in the latter especially, there is an imperative need of a committee of women. I will give one practical instance which will appeal to the common sense of any one possessing it, though it is really of less consequence than many matters involving the moral training and welfare of the girls. At the City School the girls are orphans, daughters of lower middle-class parents. They leave the school at fifteen to go into shops, offices and the like. No domestic training is given them; they do not make or learn to make their own clothing; they do not do an hour's service in the work of the house; and, could there be any stronger argument for the appointment of women of sense and administrative capacity, for the 131 children in the school (of whom seventy-one are boys, all of them above the age of seven years), there is maintained, upon the authority of the matron, a staff of *twenty servants*. Contrast this ridiculously extravagant retinue with Miss Bird's establishment round the corner. Here are 250 girls of all ages, and there is no staff of servants at all, the girls doing the work, cooking, cleaning and laundry work, with the aid of a house matron for each department, and doing the different household crafts gladly and exquisitely well. Ever since 1854, when the City School came into existence, it has contributed to the State numbers of girls who have never done a day's household work, never even washed a pocket-handkerchief or had an hour's instruction in either subject, and who have been for years waited upon by a staff of servants! Some amongst us have smiled whilst we listened to young ladies, who have not long left the schoolroom, modestly assuming to themselves the government of the Empire; but it is surely no less a ridiculous and unfitting rôle for City gentlemen to arrogate to themselves the internal management of an institution

for girls. Is it not a paradox that this state of things should exist, at a moment when not a Woman Suffrage meeting takes place without especial mention of the fact being made, in language of most vehement indignation, that the would-be voters have no part in the care and control of the thousands of poor women and girls?

Here are scores of orphanages containing hundreds of friendless girls—children, many of them, without either father or mother—and their dreary lives are often passed within a few yards of streets filled with well-to-do women, many of whom base their political demand upon the necessity for helping the weak and friendless, whilst they have failed to act the rôle of ‘friend’ to the girl children at their own doors.

It is not alone as administrators and inspectors examining into every nook and corner that ladies are needed, but even more as counsellors and friends to these isolated, desolate, repressed children. Realise if you can the unnatural phenomena of the Foundling girl’s life. The child has not a single friend or relative in the outside world; she has no social relations with any human beings beyond the walls of the institution. In all the outside world, she has no woman friend other than the officials. She knows no child who has parents—do these children, one speculates, know there *are* such beings as parents?—and a home of which it is a beloved member. Then not even the big girls of sixteen are allowed out, either alone or with a batch of companions, the spacious grounds being considered sufficient for exercise and recreation. All her sixteen years the girl has been ordered, arranged for, thought for. No one expects or wishes her to think for herself or to act for herself in the smallest particular. Here, cut off from the outside world, knowing nothing of it, seeing nothing of it behind these great gates, she lives in an unnatural, cloistered, mediæval way, a fitting preparation for the life of the nun. But is there anyone who can defend it from the point of view of a preparation for the workaday world into which this poor child is launched at sixteen? I confess I cannot contemplate this event, even in imagination, without being profoundly moved. I cannot think that all children, even charity children, are so blunted and hardened as to be destitute of the feelings and pains of our common humanity. I cannot but think of the dreadful feeling of bewilderment and desolation that this girl must be steeped in when she is cast upon the world to do her own fighting, she so helpless, so ill-equipped for the battle. It is true that she is indentured for five years and under the supervision of the matron, who visits her from time to time, and of her mistress. But no mistress in the world can dog the girl’s footsteps and watch at every step to see that she does not fall, and with such it must be a miracle that saves her from falling. One wonders with infinite pain what she thinks of, how she bears the glances, we may be sure not always feeling, of her fellow

servants ; for, recollect, she is stamped ineffaceably with the brand of her mother's and father's wrong against society. Is it not time that we abandoned *all* orphanage uniforms, carrying with them the needless taint of charity, and usually singularly conspicuous and inartistic ? Why should the poverty of the mother, more often than not due to the death of the bread-winner, be converted into the instrument of reproach and disgrace for the child ? 'A boy,' says the writer of the greatest philosophical novel³ in England since 'Mark Rutherford' appeared, 'is not a devil. But boys are devils.' In the same way a charity official is not inhuman, but charity officials are inhuman. How painfully and frequently this dictum is driven home to one during such investigations and inquiries as these ! With one or two hopeful exceptions, I found everywhere the tie of motherhood looked upon lightly, and even with contempt. Everything is done to weaken it. There is no faith in its unspeakable potency, even when the mother is not *all* she might be ; no effort made to cherish a relationship that must of necessity suffer when the child who has a mother only sees her at lengthy intervals. Many of the regulations are most harsh and unnecessary. At the Soldiers' Daughters' Home the mother may not take her child out for a walk upon her visits. I inquired why not, and the answer of the matron was, 'It was out of the question.' Pressed to explain why, she remarked, 'Why, they would take them to the public-house.'

Only a few yards away there is an admirably managed little institution, the Sailors' Orphan Home. The matron is a lady, an ex-High school mistress, and she is supported by that rare accompaniment of a girls' orphanage, a women's council.

The girls here are freely permitted to go out with their mothers. 'Nothing more wrong,' says Miss Forsyth, 'has ever happened than too indiscreet an indulgence in sweets.' Yet the quiet attractive blue serge frock of a sailor girl is not conspicuous, as are the scarlet skirts and trimmings of the neighbour institution.

Limitations of space necessitate my presenting the rest of my investigations in the form of recommendations.

The first and paramount need, as I have stated, is a strong council of ladies attached to every institution, not satisfied simply to 'address the children occasionally,' *en masse*, as at the Orphan Working School, but so organised that each lady attaches herself to a group of children, befriends them, and finds them work on leaving school. Moreover, a record should be kept of each child's career for some years. It is not alone at the City Freeman's School⁴ that the matron knows scarcely

³ *The Longest Journey.*

⁴ It is only fair to say in regard to this School that since writing the above I was able to interview Mr. Montague, the Headmaster, who on my earlier visits was ill, and who most favourably impressed me by his deep interest in and knowledge of his boys, and by the breadth of mind, good sense and real kindness he evidently possesses.

any details of the destiny of the girls after leaving school. Reference on this point had to be made to the clerk. The placing of girls in situations is not the function of a man clerk.

The Women's Council must faithfully concern themselves with every department of the orphanages. The diet in many directions needs improving. White bread, the staple food of most, cut up the day before needed, is not the best food for growing children. In many cases, too, ignorance of food values is exhibited. Porridge, for instance, might with advantage be introduced.

The education is for the most part hopelessly out of date. At the City School the course dates from the year 1854, and includes a smattering of many subjects that are neither suitable nor advisable. •

At the Orphan Working School, why so called I know not, the boys have not a single workshop, and the girls have no systematic household or laundry or cookery training. But they are taught shorthand. At another orphanage, in many respects admirable, the girls were not only taught shorthand and typewriting, but also a most antiquated system of bookkeeping. The majority of the teachers in orphanages are most inferior and very ill-paid. The teaching of small children on kindergarten principles appears to be unknown. The delightful and stimulating 'nature' teaching has not been, so far as my inquiries have gone, introduced anywhere. From every point of view, from the standpoint of actual teaching, from the standpoint of other advantages, viz. intercourse with happier children who have parents and homes to which in all probability the orphanage children would be introduced, inestimably good results would follow were these children sent to the ordinary elementary schools of the district, and permitted to mingle freely with other children, returning to the orphanage for meals and shelter. Change of scene, the stimulation and the bracing effects of competition, would be incalculably good. No one with insight can deny that the atmosphere of many of these institutions, both for teachers and children is most oppressive and heavy—there is a something unspeakably stagnant. A free current of air blown in from the outside would be of the utmost benefit. I was especially conscious of this need at the Orphan Working School, at the Soldiers' Home, at the City School at Brixton, at Dr. Müller's Orphanage and many others.

The systematic teaching of the Home crafts, which ninety per cent. of the girls will need to exercise, married or single, hardly exists. In a perfunctory way the girls sweep and dust the rooms occupied by the matron and staff. Consequently a most valuable opportunity is lost of showing how fine, true, and honourable and artistic are the Home crafts and of raising their achievement into a fine art. The training of the girls in type-writing, with the view of their swelling the lower branches of the commercial world, ought to be forbidden. It cannot be defended. The life of a woman clerk has not one single thing to

recommend it. It is the most soulless, unhealthy and unprogressive form of drudgery that can be pursued by a girl; its prospects are hopelessly bad after the first few years, and as a preparation for marriage and maternity it is the worst possible.

The arrangements should be of a less mediæval character. In respectable suburbs of England, groups of girls placed upon their honour ought to be allowed within certain limits to go out, and should be entrusted with small commissions. There must be healthy intercourse with the outside world, and all these institutions ought to be open at certain hours to the public, at the convenience of course of the matron. The children ought to be given greater freedom. At an institution recently visited one child had been punished—the matron's elegant expression was 'smacked'—because she jumped upon ground allotted to the staff. Characteristic sign of the Charity Institution! On the one side of a gravel path is a delightful green lawn with shady trees. This is kept for the staff. On the other side is a treeless asphalt playground—this is for the children, who, one supposes, like other children delight in the feel of springy turf under their feet.

Corporal punishment for girls should be absolutely forbidden. If the offence be so grave as to need this, there must be something wrong with the child, or at least it ought to be of rarest occurrence. When the ladies' committees are appointed it will be their business to control this practice. Miss Bird finds that she can maintain discipline amongst her 250 girls, drawn from very lowly though respectable surroundings, without ever resorting to caning, much less to severer forms of corporal punishment.

There ought to be proper systematic inspection. At the present moment much of the inspection is a farce. I asked the clerk of one famous school—the matron having assured me 'that they did not profess to admit visitors at any time'—whether any outside body had any right of admission. He said, 'Yes, the Charity Commissioners have, but they never exercise it; they never come.'

'Why not?' I asked.

'Because they are so satisfied that they don't need to.'

'But how can they be satisfied if they don't visit you?'

'Oh, they have our reports.'

So this school supplies its own reports, naturally scarcely of an unbiassed nature to the Commissioners, who are so well satisfied that they do not trouble to give the school a visit even. This seems a singular mode of carrying out their duty. Inspection, fearless, disinterested and thorough, must be carried out not by *trained hospital nurses or ex-matrons*, but by men and women with the special gifts of wide sympathy, insight, love and knowledge of children, and with above all humanity. Only by this means can an ampler, diviner spirit be breathed into the dead bones of these places.

Finally, there ought to be a movement for wholly changing the face

of these institutions and bringing them more into line with the modern spirit of humanity. In scores of cases the placing of the children in the orphanages means the breaking up of the family and the demoralisation of the mother, and the expenditure of absurdly extravagant sums of money. An instance illustrating this may be given. A young woman in a South of England village, healthy, comely and capable, lost her husband, a middle-aged workman. She had six beautiful, intelligent, healthy little children under eight years. Several ladies who knew the woman well at once took steps to place the children in orphanages. Others expostulated, pointing out that the woman was a careful, capable mother, and that with a little help she could make a good living out of dressmaking and sewing. It was suggested to the vicar that if three shillings could be obtained weekly for each child, the mother could manage. The mother could have probably earned another fifteen shillings without either the babies suffering or her work failing. It would have kept the family together, left the children in the country, and with care the mother could have saved a little each week for future emergencies. It meant, however, responsibility and considerable personal trouble, and even sacrifice on the part of some one or more persons willing to keep in touch with the family, and advise and assist when needed. What happened? One summer day an unhappy lady took the two elder children, twins, to one of the big London institutions, where the mother's intercourse, as at the Foundling, practically ceases. A third little boy was got into another similar establishment, and six months later the fourth little boy was despatched to another 'home.' The unfortunate mother who adored her little flock and would gladly have worked for them, did not dare to stand up and assert her rights against vicars, important ladies and so forth. The family is broken up, the children are parted and estranged from a good mother, and brought up by officials who will no doubt be kindly to them, but cannot replace the irreplaceable: they grow up strangers from their brothers and sisters, and the expense is quadrupled. The average expenditure will be about 30*l.* for each child, and in one case at least considerably more.

But were it the other way, were the institution upbringing more economical than the preserving of family life, I should still utter the most eloquent plea of which I am capable for the cherishing and maintenance of the home, at any rate during childhood. More than once from amidst the serried ranks of girls in their stuff frocks and woollen mittens, there has flashed forth from beneath the close-cropped hair, a look that has for long haunted me, something of brooding wistfulness and loneliness, something in its half-unconscious pathos that is a sentence, a sob. That desolate, yearning glance, that so often startles and thrills one amidst the rather wooden stolid faces, is it anything less than the broad, deep, simply human appeal for someone to love

us and to love, the sad mute reproach to those who have held in such light account the mother's care and love? We hear so much to-day about 'woman's rights.' Is it perhaps but the natural corollary of this agitation, that there seems on every side a tendency to underrate the divine rôle of the mother, *divine* however humble? We need to show greater faith and greater tenderness when the problem of the upbringing of the orphan faces us. It is wonderful how thriftily and decently children are brought up to respectable womanhood and manhood by mothers whose whole lives are passed in sewing, scouring, brushing and cooking for their children. The mother's homely cares, the contrivances of poverty so long as it is not destitution, even the discipline of poverty if not too severe, the animal spirits that are to be found amongst the very poor, and the part the child of necessity takes in the family services and duties, have all a real value and form a more free, true and natural field for the growth of fine character, than the trimmed and pruned walled-in garden of the charity institution, with its want of personal love, personal responsibility and unfettered activities. It is not a popular gospel to preach to leisured women to-day that greater patience, sympathy, and practical benevolence shown to the mother bread-winner in her hour of supreme need, would often and often save her little one from the charity institution, and redeem her from selfishness into the noblest womanhood. One final word: until we can eliminate the charity institution altogether, shall it not be agreed amongst those of us with a sense of humanity, that we must labour to obliterate the dividing line between the normal, natural happy life of the ordinary child, and that of the no less innocent charity child? Is there any reason why the teachers for the little ones should not abandon the stupid, dreary, old-time repetition instruction, now happily vanishing from the schools of the poorest, and invest their teaching of these little creatures with the freedom, enlightenment, and joyousness that are the inheritance of those whom Froebel has inspired? Is there any reason why the older boys and girls should not know something of the delights of Nature to be found in every common and pond? And is it an Utopian ideal to hope that before half a dozen years have elapsed, each boy and girl in these orphanages will have a friend in the great world outside who will find the way as only a woman with imaginative sympathy and the instinct of tenderness can, to its starved heart, and by giving it a place in her own circle, restore or create those exquisite offices arising from her instinctive motherhood which are the birthright of every child?

FRANCES H. LOW.

AN ACTOR'S VIEWS ON PLAYS AND PLAY-WRITING

IN the last February number of this Review I took occasion to draw attention to what I considered some serious errors which had crept in between the modern actor and his audiences, and the marked interest taken in those notes is my principal reason for continuing my reflections and endeavouring to deal with another phase of the question, viz. the writing of modern plays as it affects the profession to which I have the honour to belong.

Be it understood that in this article, as in the former one, my primary object is the betterment of my terribly overcrowded calling, which can in the end only be benefited by successful plays running in well-filled theatres.

I have been accused in some quarters of pessimism in my former article, whereas, in reality, no man is farther from that condition of mind than myself, but it is idle to deny that theatrical 'times are very bad indeed.' And why? Let me endeavour to give a valid reason: the absolute lack of real interest in the majority of the plays produced.

More than thirty years ago that master of stagecraft and dramatic productions, the late Dion Boucicault, in the course of conversation made use of the sentence in my presence, 'Ah! when young men get tired of writing clever plays perhaps they may write successful ones'; and I was greatly interested to see, quite recently, that an up-to-date dramatist raises the same point, in another way, after all these years.

Is this the correct reading of the conditions affecting the successful production of plays or is it not? I contend that it *was, is, and will* be the only solid basis to go on.

Far be it from me to argue against cleverness in plays. If it were my mission to argue from the art point of view I could take up that parable, I hope, without difficulty; but there are plenty of theorists to-day without me, and I am contending for a principle, the principle of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and a return to the times when a larger number of my calling could earn a fair liveli-

hood, enjoy the comforts of a modest home, and bring up and educate their children respectably and well. This is not asking much, but, alas ! I fear, it is far more than is obtainable in very many cases under existing circumstances.

Can anyone give a valid reason for the ascendancy of the Music Hall and Musical Comedy ? I think I can ; and I repeat my earlier sentence, 'the absolute lack of interest in the majority of the plays produced.' The modern stage is dying from lack of colour in acting and lack of dramatic action in the plays presented.

One of the most pronounced characteristics of the human mind is the desire for, and the delight in, illusion. Just as one reads a 'Stanley Weyman' novel ! One realises, of course, that it never happened, yet the pleasure of being carried, temporarily, into the world of romance is so great that one almost wishes it did. So a paying audience assembled in a theatre loves to be lifted out of its every day, humdrum mood, and to spend two or three hours in an atmosphere of idealism, whether ancient or modern, and has rarely failed to pay for entertainment of such a nature when reasonably good. But what is happening to-day ? A certain section of the dramatic Press, led by one gentleman of more than ordinary dogmatism, are apparently unable or refuse to recognise the constantly expressed opinion of the paying public, and only allow the quality of merit to such plays as come within the scope of their own little pet theories.

Those theories seem to be expressed by such phrases as 'psychology,' 'insight into character,' etc., and their favourite condemnation 'A Theatrical Play,' and on a recent occasion I read a notice where one of these gentlemen claimed that the coterie to which he belongs had 'educated the public' to a better drama than formerly. These sentences look very fine in print and the parrot cry 'the education of the public' crops up at not infrequent intervals, but I venture to join direct issue with their writers with all the emphasis at my command. A very lengthened and extended observation has shown me that your 'educator of the public' (at all events theatrically) is, finally, a sadly neglected person, and the people who have prospered and remained prosperous are those who successfully gauged the public's requirements and gave them what they wanted.

What is the meaning of the word 'theatre' if it is not a place for a theatrical entertainment or a theatrical play ? The theatre is not the place to lecture on social subjects or argue on hereditary ailments and sordid problems. Let us look the facts squarely in the face, and if I am proved wrong I will gladly admit it and own that my thirty-seven years on the stage in different hemispheres has taught me nothing. On the one hand, what are (practically) *all* the plays that have made successes and big money ? Why, theatrical plays through and through ! On the other hand, how many of the modern so-called 'clever,' 'brainy,' 'psychological,' 'insight into character,' 'non-

theatrical' plays have made anything for their writers or anyone else? No one is more competent to judge of this point than a working actor, like myself. A few years ago, one could hope that after rehearsing for three or four weeks one could count on a reasonable run; to-day it is becoming quite common to rehearse four or five weeks and get, in return, one or two weeks' salary.

As in my former notes I am writing only of what has occurred within my own absolute experience.

A few examples occur to me as I think over it. *Fedora* has certainly made half a million pounds. *The Silver King* probably much more. *The Sign of the Cross* as much. *The Lights of London* a very large sum. Boucicault's three great Irish plays *Arrah-na-pogue*, *The Colleen Bawys*, and *The Shaughraun* enormous sums. The authors' fees on these plays would (I expect) amount to at least fifty thousand pounds in each case. I am writing from conviction rather than absolute knowledge. This list might be greatly extended and include many comedies, but I cite the above to prove my argument. Robertson's *Caste* has been played for forty years almost continuously. Certain critics sneer at Robertson as of the 'tea-cup and saucer school.' Well, I was in the old Prince of Wales' Theatre the first night *Caste* was played and I can never forget it. The chivalry and delicate romance of Fred Younge, the admirable comedy of George Honey, our present Sir John Hare and Sir Squire and Lady Bancroft, the lovely domestic pathos of Lydia Foote! I am in the autumn of a working actor's life now and may be expected to be fairly satiated with acting in all its branches; but I would go many miles to pass another such pleasurable evening, and I venture to assert that I should be joined in my pilgrimage by a very large number of ardent playgoers who are not afraid of a 'theatrical play' or who love to spend an evening under the spell of tender romance and human interest and sympathy.

'Tea-cup and Saucer Drama,' forsooth! Better far than the 'Garbage Drama' which some would hold up to us to-day as entertainment, and which neither entertains nor amuses, except the most limited few, but on the other hand drives our public out of the theatre habit, and if carried far enough, or even as far as some writers on stage matters would appear to desire, would bankrupt and close every West-end theatre in London in a year—a consummation which, so far as dramatic theatres are concerned, seems within measurable distance.

These are strong words, but I have no hesitation in using them and no doubt of their truth.

To-day eight West-end theatres are playing musical comedy, six are closed altogether, several others are to my knowledge playing to less than expenses, and the money lost in recent years in producing undramatic and uninteresting plays would go far towards establishing the much-discussed National Theatre.

As opposed to some of the successes I have noted I would ask,

How many plays produced in the last fifteen years have the slightest chance of being heard of fifteen years hence? I think I know of one certainty and about two or three possibilities.

There are, at present, several societies in London who produce plays of an advanced type on Sunday evenings and Monday matinées. And why not? It is a fairly harmless form of debauchery, because the audiences know what to expect and can attend or stop away as they please. If authors can be found who can afford to write for art's sake alone, and actors can be found who can afford to act for the beggarly pittance they offer, with the additional inducement, held out as a bait, of advancing themselves in their profession, it is their own business; but I would submit that I do not recall a case where the actor has received any advantage from accepting such underpaid engagements, and, what is more to the point, in the direction of my main contention, I cannot, at the moment of writing, remember a single instance of a play produced under these circumstances which has ever reached and succeeded before a general paying public, I mean if unaided by other and stronger circumstances. It may be argued that many of these plays are not expected to make money, but I venture to say that the original hope of every man who writes a play is that it may make a success with the public and, incidentally, thereby make money; and I further submit, on behalf of my calling, that if these intellectual feasts provide amusement to a number of the *dilettanti* of London, they should, at least, be robust enough to be able to pay a reasonable wage to the artists employed. What a chance is presented here for the national or subsidised theatre if it ever arrives.

During the last two or three years a vast amount of almost hysterical praise has been showered upon a set of clever advanced plays, produced principally at matinées at certain West-end theatres. They have been, beyond all doubt, very interesting, and quite successful for six or eight performances before the limited and select public which constitute matinée audiences. Scarcely one of them paid expenses when subjected to the stronger test of transference to the Evening Bill. Scarcely one of them has been tried elsewhere, and he would be a bold man indeed who would predict that any one of them will be heard of in ten years' time. This is, doubtless, very regrettable, but it is impossible to ignore facts or gainsay nett results when one is arguing on a broad basis and contending for what one believes to be a great principle. (Of course Mr. G. Bernard Shaw's successful plays are not included in the immediately foregoing category.)

A great deal of interest and discussion was recently aroused by the Censor's refusal to license a certain play, and the fact was made a peg on which to hang a protest against the Censor's office altogether. The play was afterwards produced by one of the before-mentioned societies, and I venture to say was as strong an argument

in justification of the Censor as could possibly be found, not only in the public interest but also in the interest of the author. Clever it was, no doubt, but I should not envy the feelings of anyone who produced it before an audience who considered themselves called upon and in a position to judge and express an opinion upon its morals and its taste, as well as its dramatic value. I have played in a great many London 'first nights,' pleasant and painful, and I think I know full well what would happen in such a case both during the progress of the play and at the final fall of the curtain. At all events, I gravely fear that it could never, under any circumstances, have been a successful money-making play.

Not long ago I had a professional engagement to play for some months in a play which was well constructed and dramatic enough for anything, but contained certain unpleasant features and, at times, skated over very thin ice. Numbers of times during my association with that play I have seen ladies and gentlemen leave the theatre (more especially younger members of the audience), and I know of many good, solid, paying playgoers who could never be induced to bring their families to see it when they had learned the character of the story. Result: the play was in some places a *moderate* success only, and in others a very positive failure.

I now desire to step 'out of my course' briefly to allude to something which took place just before my time, although I knew and enjoyed the friendship of the prime mover therein in later years, and played with him in many of his finest performances. Probably one of the very brightest spots in English stage history, as well as one of the very worthiest managements that ever shed a lustre on the British drama, was the association of Messrs. Phelps and Greenwood at Sadler's Wells Theatre. No one ever dreams of alluding to their achievements nowadays. London soon forgets. And yet 'tis well at times to stop and think. For eighteen years, from 1844 to 1862, this management drew all London to an out-of-the-way theatre. There, with a fine, sound company, each member eager *and encouraged* to do his or her best, plays produced well enough *only*, no speeches, no paragraphs, no interviews, no booming, just dignified, sincere, straightforward service of the public year in and year out, they reached the great heart of that public and held it firmly to the end. They produced all of Shakespeare's plays but four, and their *répertoire* would mean a list of all the finest plays in our language including many first productions, and, although other West-end managers were more the vogue of fashion, and were even favoured by royalty itself, there was never any doubt as to where the great public found its dramatic home and its money's worth. And just as one wonders at their achievements in the direction of productions, so one is almost lost in admiration at the art and versatility of the leading actor. I can read of no one actor on the English-speaking stage who ever played

as many parts, and as wide a range of parts, as well as Samuel Phelps. No one has ever proposed a monument to him. He did not need it. His monument is in the hearts of all his contemporaries amongst London playgoers who remember him and his work, and who, whenever one of the great parts is mentioned will say, 'Ah! I saw Sam Phelps play that at Sadler's Wells.' London stood bareheaded for miles when we laid him to rest on that dull November morning in 1878. Those who did not know him felt they had lost a personal friend, and those who had the privilege of his friendship knew that an incomparable artist and noble-minded, worthy citizen had gone to take the wages of a life of truth and honest worth. An artist with the finest
 • ideals I have ever met in any branch of art, it may be truly said of him :

Take him for all in all,
 We shall not look upon his like again.

Here was indeed a genuine 'public educator'! One who did it without announcement or ostentation, but, like the American author's famous insect, '*got there all the same.*'

I trust I may be pardoned this slight digression, especially as it brings me back directly to my text. Phelps and Greenwood produced nothing but theatrical plays, pulsating with humanity, interest, poetry, and dramatic incident and situations. In short, plays—not lectures, treatises, or problems; just plays.

I have a second strong reason for this digression, because I believe thoroughly that 'what has been done could be done again.' Given a London theatre of fair size, and not weighted down with middlemen's profit rental (the most glaring curse of the modern London stage) and a fair capital, and I firmly believe I could within twenty-four hours give a list of a hundred fine plays that would each run a month or six weeks to good business without authors' fees at all. Here would be programmes for about eight years. The plays need not be produced extravagantly. Let the poet's fancy and the dramatist's quality, aided by the brains of the artists depicting them, all have a chance to show at their best, as in the case of Sadler's Wells. In a very short time the theatre would be in possession of a useful stock of scenery and properties. The absence of authors' fees would be equivalent to a *prima facie* profit of from 5 to 10 per cent., which in itself would constitute a good interest on the capital invested, and the public would soon find out for themselves where they were catered for after their hearts' desire, as they *have* found out in one notable instance in London to-day, and are testifying their approval in no uncertain manner. But the plays *must* be plays. Could such a scheme be put in motion I would be willing to prove my sincerity of purpose by devoting what years of a working actor's life remain to me to its furtherance, and I fancy many more hopeless schemes are constantly being brought forward, and often, I fear, with disastrous

results to the investors as well as the artists engaged. At all events, I should consider it a far more hopeful project than a national or subsidised theatre if for no other reason than that I firmly believe it would be self-supporting, and, in the end, very profitable.

Of course, such a scheme would be ignored by the advanced or 'educating' section of the dramatic Press, but that might be a 'blessing in disguise' or, possibly, 'a consummation devoutly to be wished.' Who amongst my readers saw the late John McCullough's production and performance of *Virginus* at Drury Lane in 1881? This is one of the finest acting plays imaginable, and one of the greatest mentalities of that day wrote of this event that it was 'three hours spent in the absolute atmosphere of ancient Rome.'

One more instance. It is the fashion nowadays to decry *The Lady of Lyons*, a play laid down on the true great lines of dramatic construction, which has made incalculable money and pleased incalculable thousands of playgoers. Doubtless it appears tawdry as pronounced by a modern school of performers, who are apparently afraid of or unable to delineate romance of any kind; but does anyone recall Mrs. Kendal's performance of Pauline in the later days of Hollingshead's management at the Gaiety Theatre in 1877? I doubt if an audience was ever more deeply moved. I can safely say I have never seen one. But then Mrs. Kendal knew how the play and part were meant to be played, and was not afraid to exercise the actor's art in carrying out the intention of the author. I was engaged in both the performances cited, so I am not writing from hearsay knowledge.

It is curious to find the story of *The Lady of Lyons* cropping up as the absolute basis of a modern light comedy, but such is the case at the present time.

It may be assumed from the foregoing notes that I am one who believes that art and commercial success cannot go hand in hand in the matter of plays, or that I am advocating a transpontine style of melodrama. Nothing can be farther from the fact. I believe and advocate just the opposite.

Practically all the foibles, failings, vices, and plague spots of our frail human nature have been dealt with by the older dramatists, but it is in the *treatment* of a subject for the stage that its strength or weakness lies. The writers of the past dealt with these subjects in a lofty, grand manner, and by means of literature and poesy, fancy and wit, covered up the sting in the charm of artistic atmosphere. It is when these subjects are handled by the modern ardent (not to say blatant) realist that they become morbid, sordid, ugly, sometimes filthy, always unamusing, unentertaining, and—what is worse from the point of view of these notes—dull, deadly dull; and, as before stated, drive the paying public out of the theatre habit.

Sir Henry Irving told me in conversation during my last en-

gement with him in 1901, that in the later days of his management he produced a play at the Lyceum by a very distinguished man of letters with great Press influence behind him. The cast included Miss Terry, Sir Henry himself, and the full strength of the Lyceum company. A clever play, but one that the public did not want, and one night it was played to less than forty pounds, gross receipts. Whether the artists of the past were greater than those of to-day or not is a moot question, but certainly *no one* at the present time can draw unless the play is popular. To-day, more than ever, 'the play's the thing.'

In conclusion, it would be impertinence for me to tender advice to the tried dramatists of to-day. But I may mention that at least four of them, in the course of conversation, have expressed views which startlingly coincide with my own.

To the budding and oncoming writer for the stage I would appeal, and urge with all the possible strength of conviction begotten of experience, 'do not be misled by the false doctrines of inexperienced or bigoted theorists who constantly misrepresent the views of the paying audience.' What the public wants (and always has wanted) is a well-made play, with *action, situation, romance* (or *comedy* as the case may be), *human nature*, and human sympathy. What they do *not* want is a lecture, a problem, a treatise, or a dramatised disease. Leave such subjects to be discussed by the various learned societies which are formed for that purpose. If you have ideas for a theatrical play, write it. As before stated, the public loves a theatrical play, and more than often pays well for it. One success in that direction may make you rich. The managers will seek and court you. The actors and their families will bless you. And don't be surprised if the magic word art (with a big A) follows in due course, because on the stage as elsewhere 'Nothing succeeds like success.'

J. H. BARNES.

SOME RECENT PICTURE SALES

No phase has been more remarkable in the annals of picture sales of the past decade than what may be justly termed the triumph of modern artists, English and Continental, during the last season or two. It has for long been the custom of a few ill-informed writers, who fail to distinguish between 'pot-boilers' and serious art, to shout, with strident voice, of the 'slump' in modern art. It does not seem to be recognised that the enormous prices paid thirty or forty years ago for the 'popular' works of artists of the early and mid-Victorian period were largely due to a meretricious vogue, and that no change in fashion can galvanise into life the taste for such pictures. The story-telling canvas of those days was easily painted and rapidly sold, and even the high price which it for a very brief period realised in the auction room can never have deceived anyone into the belief that the thing was either art or that it was permanent. It would be as absurd to rank works of this description with modern art as it would be to describe the novels of G. W. M. Reynolds and Hall Caine as literature. They are the flotsam and jetsam of art, the redundancies brought into existence by an uncultured taste, and they pass into fruitless oblivion like seed sown in stony places.

Tastes will always differ as to what constitutes art. The verdict of one generation is not always ratified by those which follow. There are, however, certain broad principles which must always count. It will be curious to see, twenty years hence, how far the taste and tendencies of to-day are ratified—or the reverse. It is certainly a very remarkable fact that nearly all the sales of the season just concluded have been of modern artists: not one important collection of old masters has come under the hammer. Roughly speaking, during the 1907 season, pictures by the old masters and of the Early English school produced—chiefly at Messrs. Christie's—110,000*l*. It will be seen from the tabulated statement which follows that from January to July ten sales alone have approximately produced the huge and unparalleled total of 340,000*l*.—nearly all of which has gone in the purchase of pictures by artists working within the limits of the first three-quarters of the last century, and this in spite of the depression in trade, Old-age Pensions, the Beer panic, and the thousand and one other things which pessimists tell us are taking this country to the dogs!

These ten sales are :

Name of Sale	Date	Number of Lots	Total
			£
S. G. Holland	June 25, 26, 29	432	138,118
H. Roberts	May 21, 22, 23	809	65,678
Iamay, Acland Hood, and others	April 4	134	81,890
Tatham and Dickins	May 7	99	28,552
Knowles, Loder, and others	May 27, 28, 29	589	20,000
Ponsonby and others	March 28	151	18,000
G. R. Burnett	March 21-23	312	11,902
W. Connal	March 14	85	8948
C. A. D. Halford	Feb. 15, 17	826	8150
Sutherland	Feb. 8	101	7644

The majority of the collections were formed by men who had made their money in commercial pursuits and found their recreation in picture-collecting. It is perhaps not wise to inquire too minutely into the question of profits and loss, although some striking examples of both ups and downs are ready to hand. It is said that Mr. Holland spent 200,000*l.* in pictures ; but probably the real truth, if it could be known, would put the actual figure much lower than this. Whatever he spent—and the same remark applies to the similar but on the whole much inferior collection of Mr. Humphrey Roberts—the sale was an undoubted success. It is difficult to appreciate the subtlety of the reasoning by which a man should expect to realise a profit on what is his hobby and not his business. It is curious to note that the sales of the collections of four of the small band of men who recognised the beauty and the charm of the Barbizon school—James Staats Forbes, Alexander Young, Humphrey Roberts, and S. G. Holland—should, after a race together for many years, be all dispersed (two by private purchase and two at auction) within two or three years. Sir James Knowles, the founder and editor of this Review, whose name appears fifth in the above list, was an ideal collector worthy to rank with Ralph Bernal of an earlier generation, and with the Huths of more recent times. Gifted with the genuine *flair* of the *connoisseur*, an excellent all-round judge of art matters, and by no means accustomed to pay fancy prices, nearly all Sir James Knowles's purchases give evidence of a fine taste, and at their dispersal amply vindicated his judgment and foresight.

The honours of the season undeniably fall to J. M. W. Turner, ten of whose works (drawings and pictures) have produced the enormous total of over 44,400*l.* The Tatham, Acland Hood, and Holland collections were all remarkable on account of their Turners, and in that of the last named a 'record' was obtained. Some years ago the late Mr. T. H. Woods, of Christies', gave the present writer a few statistics of the Turners which had been sold under the hammer at that historic house, and these showed that 284,000*l.* had been paid for pictures and 243,000*l.* for drawings, and up to the present

time probably three-quarters of a million have changed hands in this 'commodity' alone in King Street. At the Bicknell sale of 1863, ten Turners which had cost 3750*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* realised 17,261*l.* 10*s.*, and ever since then there has been a growing commercial appreciation of works of this great artist. Of the scores of Turners which have come up for sale during the past season, seventeen may be selected as of the first rank of importance. These are shown in the following table (*d.* signifying water-colour drawing) :

Title	Sale	Price, 1908	Previous Prices
Mortlake Terrace, 1826, 35 × 47 .	Holland	Gs. 12,600	James Price, 1895, 5200 gs.
Morning after the Storm, 1840, 12 × 21	"	7700	—
Bench at Hastings, 1810, 35 × 47 .	Acland Hood	6000	—
The Storm, 1840, 12 × 21 . . .	Holland	5500	—
Heidelberg, with Rainbow, 1840-5, 13 × 20, <i>d.</i>	"	4200	Gillott, 1872, 2650 gs.
Constance, 1842, 12 × 18, <i>d.</i> . .	Tatham	2200	—
Orfordness, 11 × 16, <i>d.</i>	Holland	1850	Knowles, 1877, 375 gs.
Windsor Castle, 11 × 17, <i>d.</i> . . .	Tatham	1700	J. Smith, 1870, 680 gs.
Hastings, 1818, 15 × 23, <i>d.</i> . . .	Holland	1600	C. S. Bale, 1881, 1150 gs.
Saltash, 1825, 10 × 16, <i>d.</i>	"	1050	Knowles, 1865, 210 gs. ; Leyland, 1872, 450 gs.
Carnarvon Castle, 11 × 16, <i>d.</i> . .	Tatham	970	Novar, 1877, 760 gs.
Vale of Heathfield, 14 × 22, <i>d.</i> .	Acland Hood	700	—
Zurich, 11 × 18, <i>d.</i>	Tatham	680	Gillott, 1872, 710 gs.
Torbay from Brixham, 1815-18, 6 × 9, <i>d.</i>	Holland	680	Knighton, 1885, 190 gs.
Vale of Pevensey, 15 × 22, <i>d.</i> . .	Acland Hood	650	—
Rye, Sussex, 1820, 5 × 9, <i>d.</i> . . .	Holland	650	C. S. Bale, 1881, 340 gs.
Vale of Ashburnham, 1816, 14 × 21, <i>d.</i>	Acland Hood	610	—

There was, in one instance, a slight 'fall,' but this does not materially affect the remarkable 'rise' which is apparent on comparing the figures in the last two columns. It is not known how much the Acland Hood drawings and the one picture cost the original owner, 'Jack' Fuller, M.P., but probably 500*l.* would have been the outside price of the whole series of fourteen works.

Next to Turner, in price but not in number, ranks John Constable, two of whose works reached four figures. In the Holland sale *Salisbury Cathedral*, 34 × 43, signed and dated 1826, realised 7800 guineas. Writing in January of that year, the artist speaks of the 'ruined state' of his finances, and remarks 'I am executing all my commissions, amounting in all to 400*l.*; two months will complete them.' From an interesting 'scale of Mr. Constable's prices for landscapes' in this year, we learn that his charges were 60 guineas for a canvas 30 × 36, and 120 guineas for one 50 × 40, and probably he did not get more than 100 guineas for the *Salisbury Cathedral*. There is another and much better-known version of this picture, identical in every respect except for a slightly different manipulation of the foliage, in the South Kensington Museum; it is signed and dated 1828, in

which year it was exhibited at the Royal Academy. Painted 'for a bishop of the diocese, who, finding some trivial fault with the dark cloud behind the cathedral, declined to take it,' it passed into the Sheepshanks collection and thence to the South Kensington Museum. The Holland version was practically unknown until it appeared at the Old Masters in 1895; it has been etched by Brunet Debaines. Of the second Constable to realise four figures, the Humphrey Roberts' *Opening of Waterloo Bridge*, 17 x 32, 1100 guineas, there are also several versions: the big picture is in the Tennant collection; others were in the Birch sale in 1853, 240 guineas; Burnett, 1882, 98 guineas; and Webster, 1893, 180 guineas. The only other Constable to which attention need be drawn is *The Valley Farm*, 50 x 40, the original sketch which hung (on loan) for many years at South Kensington Museum; at Capt. Constable's sale in 1887 it realised 54 guineas and sold on the 3rd of July for 620 guineas.

The five great portrait-painters of the Early English school may be tabulated together, precedence being arranged according to the highest price paid this season:

Name of Artist	Title of Picture	Sale	Price in 1908	Previous Price
T. Gainsborough	The Artist's Daughter (Mrs. Fischer), 30 x 26	Loder	Gs. 4550	Heugh, 1878, 360 gs.
"	The Artist's Wife, 28 x 23	"	2650	Heugh, 1878, 340 gs.
"	General Wolfe, 29 x 24	July 3	1800	—
"	Mrs. D. Hodges, 30 x 25	H. Roberts	1000	—
Sir H. Raeburn	Mrs. Mackenzie, 50 x 40	July 3	4500	—
"	Mrs. R. Hay, 49 x 40	"	3200	—
"	Capt. R. Hay, 94 x 58	"	650	—
G. Romney	Mrs. Morley, 30 x 25	March 28	2750	1790, 30 gs.
"	Mrs. Poulter, 30 x 25	"	1500	1780, 18 gs.
"	Mrs. Charnock, 49 x 39	July 3	1900	1795, 70 gs.
Sir J. Reynolds	Countess of Erroll, 50 x 40	July 9	2500	1769, 25 gs.
Sir J. Reynolds [probably F. Cotes]	Portrait of a Lady, 35 x 27	July 3	(bought in) 2000	—
Sir J. Reynolds	The Laughing Girl, 29 x 24	"	480	1887, 240 gs.
"	Woody Landscape, 28 x 28	Jas. Knowles	410	1885, 8 gs.
Sir T. Lawrence	Duchess of Norfolk, 30 x 25	Sutherland	820	1851, 11 gs.

There is a singular absence of sensational prices in the foregoing table; the most remarkable of all are perhaps the two Gainsboroughs which head the list. These two portraits, with one of the artist's unmarried daughter, were obtained from the family of John Heugh, a well-known collector of the mid-nineteenth century; he was a City merchant who was constantly buying and selling, and he probably obtained the three extremely interesting Gainsborough family portraits for very small amounts. Unfortunately the third portrait is no longer with the other two, all three of which were purchased by Messrs. Agnew at Heugh's sale. In contrast to the two three-quarter length Raeburns

in the list, there were also two imposing whole-length portraits of Alexander Allan and Mrs. Allan and child, 81 × 57 (8th of May), which fell at only 350 guineas each.

Of recent years there has been a very appreciable increase in the value of the pastel portraits of Daniel Gardner and John Russell. In the former case a record was obtained on the 28th of March, when a portrait in pastel and *gouache* sold for 1250 guineas, the same property including another example, the Bouverie children, which went for 500 guineas. The highest price this season for a Russell pastel was 1500*l.* which a group of Miss Darby and the artist's son, 40 × 30, realised at Robinson and Fisher's on the 14th of May. This is the second highest price (in England)—the record is still held by the beautiful portrait of Mrs. Elizabeth Currie, 24 × 18, 1789, which realised 1551 guineas in 1901, and was again sold at auction in Paris last December, this time for no less than 80,000 francs. Downman's portrait of Mrs. Rawlinson, 7½ × 6½, realised 200 guineas on the 28th of March, and Cosway's portrait of Mrs. Benfield (Fanny Swinburne) 400*l.* at Robinson and Fisher's on the 3rd of July. Mention may be here made of two examples of George Morland which this season reached four figures: *Group of Peasants*, 27 × 35, 1792, 1750 guineas (3rd of July), and *Blindman's Buff*, 27 × 35, engraved by W. Ward, 1788, 1100 guineas (28th of March).

Modern English artists are grouped together in the following table, and again the order of arrangement is according to the respective market value as shown at the season's sales:

Name of Artist	Title of Picture	Sale	Price in 1908	Previous Price
Sir W. Q. Orchardson	Hard Hit, 1879, 33 × 48	H. Roberts	Gs. 3300	Previous 'record,' 710 gs.
"	Napoleon on H.M.S. <i>Belle-rophon</i> , 28 × 44	Holland	1600	—
F. Walker	Harbour of Refuge, 22 × 35, <i>d.</i>	Tatham	2850	Record for Walker.
"	Marlow Ferry, 11 × 18, <i>d.</i>	Holland	2700	Lehmann, 1892, 1120 gs.
"	The Street, Cookham, 9 × 13, <i>d.</i>	"	1600	1875, 450 gs.; 1886, 860 gs.
"	The Fishmonger's Shop, 14 × 22, <i>d.</i>	"	1600	1892, 600 gs.
"	The Violet Field, 9 × 15, <i>d.</i>	Tatham	1600	Artist's price, 50 gs.
"	The Old Gate, 1869, 52 × 66	"	1500	—
"	The Bee-Hives, 9 × 13, <i>d.</i>	"	550	1898, 205 gs.
Sir J. E. Millais	The Gambler's Wife, 1869, 35 × 15	H. Roberts	2100	1874, 880 gs.
"	Caller Herrin', 1881, 43 × 31	Holland	1800	1904, 1600 gs.
"	Orphans, 1895, 37 × 27	Tatham	1540	—
"	Fringe of the Moor, 1874, 58 × 95	Ismay	1100	—
"	Sound of Many Waters, 1876, 57 × 88	Coghill	1100	1892, 2900 gs.
"	Stella, 1866, 44 × 36	H. Roberts	1050	1884, 1400 gs.
"	The White Cockade, 1862, 28 × 17	"	1050	1889, 400 gs.

Name of Artist	Title of Picture	Sale	Price in 1908	Previous Price
Sir J. E. Millais	The Moon is Up, &c., 1890, 40 x 55	H. Roberts	900	1900, 1000 gs.
"	Cuckoo! 1880, 50 x 39.	July 3	320	1884, 1900 gs.; 1900, 1550 gs.
G. Mason	The Gander, 1865, 18 x 52	Tatham	1900	Previous record, 480l.
J. Linnell, sen.	Carrying Wheat, 1862-74, 39 x 54	Ismay	1900	1867, 1650 gs.
"	Timber Waggon, 1852, 35 x 56	April 4	2150	1892, 3100 gs.
"	A Forest Road, 1853, 35 x 56	Ismay	1280	1859, 600l.
"	The Brow of the Hill, 1858, 21 x 30	Holland	620	—
Sir E. Burne-Jones	Love Among the Ruins, 38 x 60, d.	Tatham	1575	—
"	Wood Nymph, 1888, 48 x 48	Connal	1130	—
"	The Bath of Venus, 52 x 18, d.	"	560	—
"	Heart of the Rose, 1889, 37 x 51	"	500	—
J. F. Lewis	Turkish School, Cairo, 1865, 25 x 32	Holland	1250	1891, 1700 gs.
"	A Kibob Shop, Scutari, 1858, 20 x 30	"	1000	—
Sir D. Wilkie	Cotter's Saturday Night, 1837, 38 x 42	Ismay	1100	1872, 590 gs.; 1897, 1250 gs.
"	Bride at Her Toilet, 1838, 38 x 48	July 3	900	1892, 700 gs.
James Holland	Venice, 1846, 26 x 35	Holland	1150	1870, 98 gs.
"	Venice, 14 x 24	"	660	—
"	Colleoni Monument, 1830-31, 29 x 34	"	620	1872, 195 gs.; 1876, 520 gs.
"	Grand Canal, Venice, 12 x 19, d.	"	585	1894, 300 gs.
P. de Wint	Lincoln, 11 x 35, d.	Tatham	1050	1899, 480 gs.
Albert Moore	Midsummer, 1887, 61 x 58	Connal	1000	Cost 800l.
"	Reading Aloud, 1884, 41 x 80	"	800	Cost 750l.
Sir L. Alma-Tadema	Close of a Joyful Day, 1894, 32 x 13	April 4	920	—
D. Cox	Lancaster, Peace and War, 1842, 19 x 29	Holland	920	1887, 810 gs.
A. C. Gow	Garrison Marching out of Lille, 1887, 47 x 60	"	720	Record price.

With very few exceptions all the pictures in the foregoing list have more than maintained their previous market values, and what applies to particular pictures may be taken as applying generally to the artists who painted them. Fluctuations occur, for no apparent reason, in connexion with the sale of all kinds of art and literary property. Generally speaking, the 'drops' of the year have occurred in connexion with unimportant works of distinguished artists, or with artists who, having had their little summer of popularity, are no longer vital forces in English art. Some of these reverses of fortune may be briefly illustrated. W. C. T. Dobson's *Kate Kearney*, 1873, has declined from 130 guineas in 1876 to 9½ guineas in 1908; E. Duncan's *Wreck near Corbière Rocks*, 1865, from 146 guineas in 1881 to 18 guineas; Sir J. Gilbert's *On the March*, 1873, from 280 guineas in 1876 to 82 guineas; F. W. Topham's *Venetian Water-carriers*, 1870, from 200 guineas in 1881 to 65 guineas; W. Collins' *Cromer Sands*, from 250 guineas in 1874 to 32 guineas; H. Macculloch's *Loch Katrine*,

1866, from 430 guineas in 1884 to 95 guineas; W. Müller's *Acropolis, Athens*, 1843, from 760 guineas in 1887 to 130 guineas; Sir E. Landseer's *Otter and Salmon*, 1842, from 1800 guineas in 1890 to 360 guineas; J. C. Hook's *Mackerel Time*, from 860 guineas in 1892 to 360 guineas; and J. Phillip's *Gipsy's Toilet*, from 525 guineas in 1867 to 520 guineas, having reached its high-water mark in 1897 at 1,700 guineas.

The old masters have made a very poor 'show' this year in the sale-room; the one 'sensation' of this section occurred in connexion with Rembrandt's portrait of his son Titus, a three-quarter length, which was in Lord Young's sale on the 29th of February. It was purchased by a firm of dealers at the modest price of 205 guineas, and early in April it was announced that, after the picture was cleaned, it turned out to be a very fine example of the master, and that it had been sold in Berlin for something like 8000*l.*, which can hardly be regarded as a poor return for eight weeks' investment! On the other hand, the most noteworthy 'drop' of the season was in connexion with a fully documented example of Hobbema in the Holland collection, *The Market Day*, 17 × 21, which, bought at the Novar sale in 1878 for 700 guineas, now realised only 260 guineas. In connexion with the first entry in the following table, it should be explained that most of the pictures at Trentham Hall were submitted last year to public auction on the premises—always an unwise proceeding—and that many of them failed to reach the reserves. Those that were bought in were, with others, again offered at Christies' in February last.

Name of Artist	Title of Picture	Sale	Price in 1908	Previous Price
A. Van Dyck	Portrait of a Gentleman, 103 × 65	Sutherland	Gs. 2100	1907, 120 gs.
"	Cardinal Rivarola, 39 × 80	July 3	780	—
Rembrandt [? by F. Bol]	Portrait of a Gentleman, 38 × 33	"	2000	1890, 1550 gs.
"	Philosopher Writing, 5½ × 5	May 15	300	1923, 31 gs.
A. and L. Le Nain [? by Jan Molenaer]	Children's Concert, 1629, 26 × 33	Loder	1270	1875, 470 gs.
Velasquez	Peasants at a Repast, 37 × 43	July 3	1000	—
"	Portrait of a Lady, 29 × 24	"	1000	—
J. Ruysdael	The Bleaching Ground	Jas. Knowles	920	1867, 13 gs.
H. Fragonard	Entrance to a Park, d.	"	660 <i>l.</i>	{ Previous English record 175 gs. 1876, 66 gs.
"	Landscape with Big Trees, d.	"	200 <i>l.</i>	
Claude Lorrain	Fisherman and Angler, 25 × 30	"	630 <i>l.</i>	
H. de Bles	St. Catherine and St. Barbara, each 33 × 11	Ponsonby	700	—
A. Van der Neer	Woody River Scene, 25 × 34	May 15	640	—
R. Van der Weyden	Madonna and Child Enthroned, 3½ × 7	"	600	—
D. Teniers	Kitchen Scene, 12 × 17	Ponsonby	200	1902, 52 gs.

In no respect have the sales of the last year or two been more noteworthy than in connexion with the Barbison school of French

painting. Up to 1886, as may be seen from Redford's *Art Sales*, this group of artists can scarcely be said to have existed, so far as English auctions are concerned; and yet, according to Edward Strahan's *Art Treasures of America*, nearly every important collection of pictures in that country was more or less made up of works by artists who fall into this group.¹ Judging from auction records, the tide of popularity would seem to have arisen in England in 1890; but that there were many collectors and collections before this may be seen from Mr. D. Croal Thomson's admirable book, *The Barbizon School of Painters*, published in 1891, of which a new edition appeared in 1902. It is only within recent years that some of these collections, which were formed or being formed when Mr. Thomson wrote his book, have, in the natural course of events, come into the auction room or have otherwise been dispersed.

The Barbizon men were prodigious workers, but most of them died, if not in poverty, at least not overburdened with this world's goods. The growth in the general appreciation of their genius was a slow one, with the natural result that when they passed away their studios were stocked with unsold pictures. From these sources and from others, up to the year 1900, over 3200 examples of Corot, about 1500 of Daubigny, and over 1000 of Diaz have been sold by public auction in Paris and elsewhere. Some of the highest prices have been paid not in Paris, but in New York and London. In the following table I am able to convey many interesting points. The second and third columns show the number of works of each artist which have been sold in New York from 1886 to 1906, and in London from 1886 to 1907; the fourth and fifth columns indicate 'record' prices in America and England respectively, with the year of sale; and the final column the French 'record' prices (up to 1900) of the first three on the list. I am not able, with any degree of accuracy, to give the record prices of the second three, nor to bring the figures in the last column up to a more recent date than 1900:

Artist	Works sold in New York	In London	American Record		English Record		French Record (to 1900)
			Dollars		Gs.		Frs.
Corot . . .	116	49	1898, 86,000	1905, 2650	1892, 101,000		
Daubigny . .	88	22	1903, 9,700	1899, 720	1891, 68,000		
Diaz . . .	120	26	1900, 16,900	1908, 860	1897, 42,000		
Jacque (Ch.) .	56	16	1902, 8,100	1903, 920	—		
Mauve ² . . .	50	20	1906, 42,250	1897, 550	—		
Troyon . . .	84	89	1888, 26,000	1902, 7000	—		

¹ The importation into America of pictures by artists of the Barbizon school dates back for more than half a century. Mr. Seth Morton Vose, a dealer of Providence, Rhode Island, imported his first paintings by Corot in 1852, his first Troyons in 1854, and by 1857 he had not only pictures by these masters, but others by Daubigny, Millet, Dupré, Rousseau, Diaz and Delacroix.

² Mauve is, of course, a Dutch artist, but his affinity to the Barbizon school—particularly to Daubigny—is sufficiently strong to excuse his being included in the above list.

Large as are these prices, examples of most of these artists have changed hands, *à l'aimable*, at far higher sums. Corot's *Le Lac*, for instance, formerly in the James Staats Forbes collection, was sold by one dealer to another for 18,000*l.*, and this is by no means a solitary instance, even of its kind. To leave, however, the general for the particular, and to come back to the sales of the season just closed, I have tabulated the more important examples of the Barbizon and modern Continental schools which have reached, or very nearly reached, four figures. It will be more convenient to arrange the artists in alphabetical order:

Name of Artist	Title of Work	Price	Sale	Previous English Record
Corot.	River Scene, 17 x 23	Gs. 3000	Holland	1905, 2650 gs.
" . .	L'Étang, 15 x 26	2600	"	
" . .	Edge of the Wood, 20 x 25	2150	H. Roberts	
" . .	Landscape, 10 x 22	1400	"	
" . .	Quiet Lake, 15 x 21	850	"	1904, 820 gs.
Daubigny .	On the Oise: Morning, 1872, 17 x 32	3500	Holland	
" . .	On the Oise: Evening, 1873, 14 x 26	2900	"	
" . .	Village with Church, 1864, 13 x 21	630	H. Roberts	
Diaz . .	The Bathers, 17 x 25	2950	Holland	1903, 860 gs.
" . .	Woody Landscape, 10 x 13	650	"	
Harpignies	Matinée d'Automne, 1901, 25 x 31	1600	"	
" . .	Evening, 1902, 25 x 31	750	H. Roberts	
Israels .	La Fête de Jeanne, 28 x 52	1600*	Ismay	1898, 210 gs.
" . .	Sailing the Toy Boat, 19 x 29	1600	H. Roberts	
" . .	Age, 46 x 33	1350	"	
" . .	The Widower, 18 x 28	1200	"	
" . .	Washing Day, 15 x 21	1100	"	1879, 1610 gs.
" . .	Waiting, 15 x 31	720	"	
Jacque .	The Flock, 28 x 39	2500	"	
" . .	Watering the Flock, 31 x 25	1250	Holland	
" . .	Landscape with Flock of Sheep, 31 x 25	1050	July 10	1902, 920 gs.
" . .	Woody Pasture, 16 x 26	890	Holland	
L'Hermite	The Gleaners: Evening, 1890, 33 x 30	2500	"	
" . .	The Gleaners, 1889, 27 x 42	1250	"	
" . .	The Flock, 29 x 27	950	H. Roberts	1905, 540 gs.
" . .	The Evening Meal, 29 x 24	840	"	
Mauve .	Returning from Work, 22 x 40	1550	June 19	
" . .	Ploughing, 10 x 18	975	H. Roberts	
" . .	On the Scheldt, 29 x 43	850	Dickens	1897, 580 gs.
Troyon .	The Ferry, 28 x 19	3100	Holland	
" . .	Landscape with Cattle, 11 x 15	1150	H. Roberts	
" . .	The Fisherman, 14 x 31	1050	"	
Van Marcke	Returning from Pasture, 28 x 23	1150	Holland	1905, 1650 gs.

Of the ten artists named in the foregoing list, it will be seen that 'record' prices have been obtained this season for works by seven out of that number; in another case—Israels—the two highest prices only fall 10 guineas below the previous 'record.' Had there been space

* This picture was purchased from the artist's studio at The Hague, and at the W. Fenton sale in 1879 it realised 1610 gs.

to extend the list, about half a dozen other—but much smaller—‘records’ for pictures by artists of the modern Continental schools could be mentioned. These facts alone would lift the picture-sale season of 1908 out of the ordinary; and, taken generally, it may claim to be ranked as one of the most remarkable and most interesting seasons of the last quarter of a century.

W. ROBERTS.

THE CENSORSHIP OF FICTION

THERE is perhaps no branch of work amongst the arts so free at the present time as that of the writing of fiction. There are no official prohibitions, no embarrassing or hampering limitations, no oppressive restraints. Subject and method of treatment are both free. A writer is under no special obligation, no preliminary guarantee; he may choose his own subject and treat it in his own way. In fact, his duty to the public—to the State—appears to be *nil*. What one might call the cosmic police do not trouble him at all. Under these conditions, hitherto kept possible by the self-respect of authors, a branch of the art of authorship has arisen and gone on perfecting itself in mechanical excellence, until it has become an important factor of the life of the nation. To-day if the supply of fiction were to be suddenly withdrawn the effect would be felt almost as much as the failure of the supply of breadstuffs. Happily fiction is not dependent on the existence of peace, or the flourishing of trade, or indeed on any form of national well-being. War and business worries—distress in any form—are clamorous in their own ways for intellectual antidotes; so that though the nature of the output may be of every varying kind, the supply is undiminished. Herein it is that the wide scope of the art of fiction proves its excellence; as no subject and no form of treatment is barred it follows that changing needs may find settlement in suitable opposites. And so imaginative work becomes recognised in the higher statecraft as a useful product.

But in the real world all things are finally relative. There is in reality, whose existence and progress must be based on cosmic laws, no such thing as absolute freedom. The needs and necessarily recognised rights of individuals and groups must at times become so conflicting that some sort of give-and-take rules or laws are necessary to the general good. Indeed we might put it in general form that freedom contains in its very structure the germs of restraint. The measure and method of that restraint have to be ascertained by experience, and in some measure by experiment, for if we wait till experience, following a simple course of *laissez faire*, has learned the worst that can happen, at least a part of the protective force of common sense is thrown away.

This is a philosophy too simple to be put in books, and has its existence in the brain of every sane individual. Let us apply it to the subject in question—the union or at least the recognition of two values, the excellences of imagination and of restraint. Restraint may be one of two kinds—either that which is compelled by external forces, or that which comes from within. In art the latter in its usual phase is known as ‘reticence.’ This is the highest quality of art; that which can be and is its chief and crowning glory. It is an attribute practically undefinable. Its conditions are so varying and so multitudinous, its degrees so finely graded, its workings so mysterious, its end so elusive, that it is not possible to explain it adequately by words which are themselves defective and yet of ever-varying meaning. Suffice it that it is recognisable, and recognised, by all true artists. In it consists largely, if not wholly, the ethics of art; and on it, or in it depends that quality of art which brings it within the classification of ‘high’ art. The measure of the ethics of the artist is expressed in the reticence shown in his work; and where such self-restraint exists there is no need for external compelling force. In fact, self-restraint is the bulwark of freedom, inasmuch as it makes other forms of restraint unnecessary. Some power must somewhere in the advance of things recognise the imperfection of humanity. When the integer of that great body recognises that imperfection and the evils consequent upon it, those evils are at their least.

This is especially so where imagination is concerned, for the bounds of such being vague, the restraint from within need only be applied to the hither or known edge of the area of demarcation; whereas if laws of restraint have to be made at all they must, in order to be of efficacy, be applicable to the whole area. This proposition may seem at first glance to be in some way a paradox; that as the object of the external power is to prevent a thing of possible good from straying into the region of evil, the mandate should be to prevent excursion beyond the outmost point of good. But it is no paradox at all. The object is not merely to prevent the straying from the region of good, but to do so with the least measure of effort and at the smallest cost of friction. Whatever law, then, can be made or whatever application of force used to effect this—whether such law or force originate from within or from without—should in the first be as little drastic as possible and in the other as gentle as may prevail. Indeed, the difference between the internal and external forces thus applied is something like the difference between ethical and criminal laws. In the great world of fact, if ethical law be not observed the criminal law must come into operation, so that the balance of individual right be maintained and cosmic law vindicated.

I think this may be proved by the history of two great branches of fiction—the novel and the drama. By drama we must take drama

when acted. Unacted drama is but the novel in another literary form. The novel we must accept in its old meaning as a story, quite irrespective of length or divisions. In the case of drama the necessity for an external controlling force has been illustrated throughout some three centuries, and by its history we may by a parity of reasoning gain some light upon the dangers of the other form of literary effort. Of course, primarily the controlling force comes into operation because the possibilities of trouble are multiplied by the fact that its mechanism of exploiting thoughts is by means of the human body; and inasmuch as poor humanity is likely to err in many ways, possibilities of error in this respect are superadded to the inherent possibilities of purely literary form. There is also another aspect of this control which must be mentioned before being set aside, lest it confuse issues in the case of the novel. This latter is the State aspect of censorship. It must be borne in mind that this is a State and not a political aspect. It came into existence and remains entirely for the protection of the King. The official who has to deal with the question is a State and not a political official, and has his bounds of jurisdiction regarding the drama fixed *ipso facto* by the residence of the King. But in the matter of the general welfare of the public the censorship of the drama is based on the necessity of perpetually combating human weakness. This weakness is of two kinds—or rather in two forms: the weakness of the great mass of people who form audiences, and of those who are content to do base things in the way of catering for these base appetites. In fact, the quarrel rages round the standard of the higher law, made for the elevation as against the degradation of humanity; another instance of the war between God and devil. The vice of the many of the audience in this case is in the yielding to the pleasant sins or weaknesses of the flesh as against the restraining laws made for the protection of higher effort. The vice of the few who cater is avarice pure and simple. For gain of some form they are willing to break laws—call them conventions if you will, but they are none the less laws. The process of this mutual ill-doing is not usually violent. It creeps in by degrees, each one who takes a part in it going a step beyond his fellows, as though the violation of law had become an established right by its exercise. This goes on till a comparison between what was and what is shows to any eye, even an unskilled one, a startling fact of decadence. Then, as is too often observable in public matters, official guardianship of ethical values wakes up and acts—when it is too late for any practical effect. To prevent this, censorship must be continuous and rigid. There must be no beginnings of evil, no flaws in the mason work of the dam. The force of evil, anti-ethical evil, is the more dangerous as it is a natural force. It is as natural for man to sin as to live and to take a part in the necessary strife of living. But if progress be a good and is to be aimed at in the organisation of national forces, the powers of evil, natural

as well as arbitrary, must be combated all along the line. It is not sufficient to make a stand, however great, here and there; the whole frontier must be protected.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

What use is it, then, in the great scheme of national life, to guard against evil in one form whilst in another form it is free to act? In all things of which suggestion is a part there is a possible element of evil. Even in imagination, of whose products the best known and most potent is perhaps fiction, there is a danger of corruption. For imagination is not limited to materials of a special kind; there is no assorted and approved stock of raw material for its use. The whole worlds of fact and fancy are open to it. This is its strength, and those who have imagination and believe in its power as a working factor in education—and so making for good—may well be jealous of its privileges, not the least amongst which is its freedom. Its weakness on its assailable side is that it is absolutely and entirely personal. To what Walt Whitman calls 'the *en masse*' imagination does not apply, does not appeal. If the '*en masse*' feels its effects it does so not as a unit but as a congeries of individuals; a wave there may be, but it is a wave of integers dominated by a common thought or purpose. This being so, the strongest controlling force of imagination is in the individual with whom it originates. No one has power to stop the workings of imagination, not even the individual whose sensoria afford its source. But the individual producer or recorder can control his own utterances; he may have to feel, but he need not of necessity speak or write. And so individual discretion is the first line of defence against such evils as may come from imagination—itself pure, a process of thought, working unintentionally with impure or dangerous material. To the drama as written this argument applies; to the play as acted it does not. The dramatist like any other person of imagination can control his output in the first instance. And like any other writer he has been, up to the present, free to print his work; his publishing it being simply subject to ordinary police control. It is on the stage and acting side that the censorship as existing comes in. Of course it must be borne in mind that if the evil is traceable to thoughts as set forth in words, the words must then come into the purview and under the knife of the censor. But up to the point of stage use the dramatist has the same freedom as any other writer of fiction.

Now as to the possible evils of imagination. Wherein or of what kinds are or may such be? We shall, I think, on considering the matter, find that they are entirely limited to evil effects produced on

the senses. Here I speak only on the ethical side ; there may be evils of revolt against political or social laws, but in such case the work of imagination, novel or drama, must be taken as an educational machine or medium only. Imagination does not appeal to a nation except through its units, and so must be taken as dealing with individuals only, though its effects may ultimately become of general, if not of universal import. As example, in a base play given in a crowded theatre, though many may be gratified and so debased by the exposition of lewd suggestion—either verbal or of movement or appearance—there are others who will be disgusted. It is through the corruption of individuals that the harm is done. A close analysis will show that the only emotions which in the long run harm are those arising from sex impulses, and when we have realised this we have put a finger on the actual point of danger. Practically in this country the danger from unacted plays has not up to the present existed. English people do not as a rule read plays ; they prefer to see them acted. This is no doubt largely due to the fact that for a couple of centuries the plays that have been published, having already for stage purposes passed the censor, have had any passages considered objectionable or suggestive of evil deleted. As a practical matter they are as a rule but dull reading to those who look for salacious matter. Truly even the plays of the Restoration period and after, when Congreve, Wycherley, Farquhar and Mrs. Aphra Behn flourished, were written to suit a debased public taste ; even these are but tame affairs compared with some of the work of our novelists. But if the growing custom continues of publishing as literary works stage plays forbidden for that purpose by the censor, the public may—will—end by reading them in the hope of finding offensive matter. They will bring to the study for evil motives an ardour denied for purposes of good.

I may perhaps here explain that I speak of 'the censor' for purposes of clearness and brevity. We have a certain censorship over plays, but there is no such official as 'the censor.' By the Theatres Act the work of supervision of the stage is entrusted to the Lord Chamberlain, and it is a part of the duty of that functionary to issue the licence decreed by the Act as a necessary preliminary to the production of the play in a licensed theatre. For convenience—since he naturally cannot do such a mass of work himself—the Lord Chamberlain deputes a well-qualified gentleman to make the necessary examination of the plays submitted for licence. It is this gentleman to whom is applied the term 'censor' by the writers of letters to newspapers and of articles in magazines who clamour against 'oppression' and call aloud for absolute freedom of subject and treatment of stage productions.

Here we come to a point at which for our present purpose we may speak of 'fiction' as containing both the forms of imaginative

fiction, the novel and the drama. If we take it as 'published' fiction we can exclude all considerations of the drama, as the word fiction will include all sorts of literary effort as applied to imaginative work, of which the drama is but an accepted form. Henceforth in this article we must take fiction to mean published fiction, irrespective of form or size. By this means the matter narrows itself down to its simplest form, and we find ourselves face to face with the question: Are we or are we not ultimately to allow fiction to be put forth without any form of restraint whatever? The question is not merely a civic or national one. It is racial, all-embracing, human. Fiction is perhaps the most powerful form of teaching available. It can be most potent for good; and if we are to allow it to work for evil we shall surely have to pay in time for the consequent evil effects. Let not anyone with a non-understanding or misapplied moral sense say or believe that fiction, being essentially based on something that is not true, should be excluded altogether from the field of morals. The highest of all teachers and moralists, Christ Himself, did not disdain it as a method or opportunity of carrying great truth. But He seemed to hold it as His chosen means of seeking to instil truth. What is a parable but a novel in little? A parable may be true in historical fact—its ethical truth may be complete, but if so the truth is accidental and not essential. When those who listened to the Master were told that 'a sower went forth to sow,' or that 'a certain man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge about it,' or 'a certain man made a great supper, and bade many,' or 'two men went up into the Temple to pray,' did they believe, or were they intended to believe, that they were being treated to a scrap of veracious history? No. The purpose of the Teacher was to win their hearts through the force of imagination. If there be any doubt of this, read the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Here the Master, who knew the workings of heart and brain, did not hesitate to give even presumably fictitious details which might enhance the force and conviction of His story—just as a novelist of to-day does. He followed the two men into the divisions of the 'under world,' and even heightened the scenic effect by the suggestion of a great gulf between the two. When Christ taught in such a way, are we to reprobate the method or even to forego it? Should we not rather encourage and protect so potent a form of teaching, and guard it against evil use?

The first question then is as to restraint or no restraint. That restraint in some form is necessary is shown by the history of the last few years with regard to works of fiction. The self-restraint and reticence which many writers have through centuries exercised in behalf of an art which they loved and honoured has not of late been exercised by the few who seek to make money and achieve notoriety through base means. There is no denying the fact nor the cause; both are only too painfully apparent. Within a couple of years past

quite a number of novels have been published in England that would be a disgrace to any country even less civilised than our own. The class of works to which I allude are meant by both authors and publishers to bring to the winning of commercial success the forces of inherent evil in man. The word man here stands for woman as well as man; indeed, women are the worst offenders in this form of breach of moral law. As to the alleged men who follow this loathsome calling, what term of opprobrium is sufficient, what punishment could be too great? This judgment of work which claims to be artistic may seem harsh, and punishment may seem vindictive; the writer has no wish to be either harsh or vindictive—except in so far as all just judgment may seem harsh and all punishment vindictive. For look what those people have done. They found an art wholesome, they made it morbid; they found it pure, they left it sullied. Up to this time it was free—the freest thing in the land; they so treated it, they so abused the powers allowed them and their own opportunities, that continued freedom becomes dangerous, even impossible. They in their selfish greed tried to deprave where others had striven to elevate. In the language of the pulpit, they have ‘crucified Christ afresh.’ The merest glance at some of their work will justify any harshness of judgment; the roughest synopsis will horrify. It is not well to name either these books or their authors, for such would but make known what is better suppressed, and give the writers the advertisement which they crave. It may be taken that such works as are here spoken of deal not merely with natural misdoing based on human weakness, frailty, or passions of the senses, but with vices so flagitious, so opposed to even the decencies of nature in its crudest and lowest forms, that the poignancy of moral disgust is lost in horror. This article is no mere protest against academic faults or breaches of good taste. It is a deliberate indictment of a class of literature so vile that it is actually corrupting the nation.

The subject is one seriously undertaken, and with a full sense of responsibility. The evil is a grave and dangerous one, and may, if it does not already, deeply affect the principles and lives of the young people of this country. The measure of protection from it involves a departure from the custom of free speech hitherto tolerated by the Legislature. But the class it deals with is constructively a criminal class, and repressive measures such as are required in dealing with all crimes are necessary. Press criticism, which might help to restrain, is sadly deficient; the Press generally has manifestly not done its duty in this respect. The offenders are such as are amenable only to punitive measures. They may be described as a class which is thus designated in the searching Doric of the North of Ireland, ‘They would do little for God’s sake if the devil was dead!’ It is hardly possible to obliterate such works of shameful lubricity; unhappily the weakness of poor humanity makes a continuous market for them.

But we should at least try to prevent for the future such filthy and dangerous output. We take steps to deal drastically with evils that menace the well-being of society. Dance houses are regarded jealously, disorderly houses are sternly dealt with, the sale of noxious drugs is carefully regulated, even the sale of intoxicants is limited by restraining measures. In fact, all occupations based on human frailty are by the general wisdom of the State put in greater or less degree under supervision. Why not, then, if necessary, adopt the same attitude towards an evil more grave than any of the above, because more insidious?

The writer does not, for one, wish such a thing as a censorship of fiction to be brought about if it can be possibly avoided, if some other means of protection for the highest class of literature can be found or designed. He glories, like the others of his calling, in the freedom of letters, and trusts that some way may be found of dealing with the dangers that threaten. But if no other adequate way can be found, and if the plague-spot continues to enlarge, a censorship there must be. Of course there is, in a way, a remedy already. There exists a censorship of a kind, but it is crude and coarse and clumsy, and difficult of operation—the police. No one could wish an art so fine as literature, with a spirit as subtle and evanescent as æthereal ether—the outward expression of the ‘thaumaturgic art of thought’—put under repressive measures carried out by coarse officials. But it is the coarseness and unscrupulousness of certain writers of fiction which has brought the evil; on their heads be it.

The sad part of the whole thing is the wantonness of it. Coarseness there has always been of some measure. Smollett, for instance, was undeniably and wantonly coarse; even Fielding’s beautiful work was dyed with the colour of an age of luxury and unscrupulousness. But certain of the writers of our time claim absolute freedom of both subject and method of treatment, in order that they may deal with what they call ‘problems.’ Now there is no problem which may arise to any human being in the long course between the cradle and the grave which need be forbidden to public consideration, and which may not be wholesomely dealt with. There is not a household which may not have its painful experiences of some of them, and they are solved to some end with boldness and decorum. But it may be feared that writers who deal with lewd subjects generally use the word ‘problem’ either as a shelter for themselves or as a blind for some intention more base than mere honest investigation. The problem they have in reality set themselves is to find an easy and prosperous way to their desires without suffering from public ignominy, police interference, or the reproaches of conscience; with the inevitable result that they rightly incur the penalties distributable by all three. It is the same old problem which has tortured fallible humanity from the beginning, or, at any rate, since desire of many things found itself

face to face with inadequate powers and insufficient opportunities for attainment.

Truth can always investigate in worthy fashion. Otherwise medicine and surgery would be obnoxious trades, and law and the administration of religion dangerous callings. As it is, those who prostitute their talents—and amongst them the fairest, imagination—must expect the treatment accorded to the class which they have deliberately joined. The rewards of such—personal luxury and perhaps a measure of wealth—may be theirs, but they must not expect the pleasures or profits of the just—love and honour, troops of friends, and the esteem of good men.

BRAM STOKER. •

THE FOUNTAINS OF VERSAILLES

Of the gay thousands who throng Versailles throughout the summer, enjoying in its stately avenues and shady walks and the rich abundance of its waters, probably but few think of what these same waters represent as triumph of mind over matter.

Although the name of Versailles evokes to-day the image of stately buildings, cold and passionless guardians of so many souvenirs of human will and wilfulness, mad mirth, rollicking comedy and grimmest tragedy, it evokes also pleasant stretches of lake and canal and bubbling fountain, and especially visions of the wonderful play of 'les Grandes Eaux' on high days and holidays. If it is to those that Versailles owes her glory, it is to these that she owes a large share of her popularity; and these are the outcome of a long and strenuous effort of science, for Versailles, left to herself, could not have produced even the tiniest apology for a fountain.

'The only defect of this charming site is a total absence of water,' says a French author writing of the place, then scarcely more than a hamlet; and he continues:

'An insignificant brooklet, the *ru de Galie*, flows through the town, and this absence of water threatened to be an insurmountable obstacle to the growth of the place. Nothing but the iron will of Louis the Fourteenth could have overcome this obstacle.'

The 'iron will' would, however, have availed little had it not been backed by the energetic initiative of Colbert and Louvois, who, to realise their sovereign's wishes, hesitated not to demand of the science of hydraulics that which she had, as yet, hardly dreamed of accomplishing, and to aid her in the royally imposed task recoiled before no sacrifice of men or money. Colbert, indeed, as we shall see, was at first averse to the project, but his resistance was not of long duration.

The desire of Louis for fountains at Versailles seems to have been first awakened by the sight of Vaux, that stately château of Fouquet, the magnificence of which lent only too much colour to the popular accusations against its master and which had doubtless no little share in his downfall and doleful captivity.

What Fouquet had accomplished at Vaux with everything in his favour, he, Louis, would surpass at Versailles with everything against him. To establish at waterless Versailles fountains which should exceed in number and beauty the 'Nymphes de Vaux' sung by La Fontaine, was a task worthy the ambition of even Le Grand Monarque.

Francoine, the creator of the 'Nymphes de Vaux,' does not appear to have dreamed of the possibility of utilising the waters of the Seine at St. Germain. The eighty feet difference of level between the two places rendered the idea preposterous. He therefore sought on the higher ground north of Versailles and found what he wanted at Clagny.

Then began the construction of a complicated system of pipes, reservoirs, pumps and windmills which should assure a constant supply of water to the newly made fountains and grottoes of Versailles. But even thus early in her career Versailles proved the most ruinously extravagant of the King's favourites, and Colbert, as a prudent Keeper of the Royal Purse, was disconsolate. In 1664 we find him thus appealing to Louis :

'This place is much more for the pleasure and diversion of Your Majesty than for His glory. It is quite right that after giving great and continued application to State affairs as commanding admiration of all men, Your Majesty should give something to pleasures and diversions ; but care should be taken that these tend not to tarnish Your Majesty's glory. If Your Majesty will seek at Versailles the five hundred thousand écus spent there during the last two years, there will certainly be much difficulty in finding them. If Your Majesty would but reflect that to the end of time it will be seen in the Treasurer's accounts that whilst devoting such vast sums to Versailles you have neglected the Louvre, which is certainly the most superb palace in the whole world and the most worthy of the greatness of Your Majesty.

'Your Majesty is aware that, except brilliant exploits of war, nothing so clearly shows the grandeur of a prince as the edifices which he erects, and he is judged of all posterity by the splendour and magnificence of the palaces he builds.'

A strong dose of undiluted flattery concludes the exordium : *' Ah ! quelle pitié que le plus grand Roi, et le plus vertueux de la véritable vertu qui fait les grands princes, fût mesuré à l'aune de Versailles ; et, toutesfois, il y a lieu de craindre ce malheur.'*

Louis let himself be, at least, half convinced, and for some time the Versailles expenditure was kept within bounds calculated to reassure the troubled soul of the Ministre des Finances.

But in 1670 the King visited Condé at Chantilly, and the sight of those fountains which, as Bossuet tells us, 'were hushed nor day nor night,' fired anew the royal desires. The King now resolved that posterity should indeed judge of his greatness by Versailles, and

Colbert, sinking his scruples, gave himself with blind devotion to the task of furthering his master's wishes.

Clagny no longer sufficed, and the engineers of the time were in despair. A less obstinate man than Louis would have yielded to the inevitable, as indeed for a moment he was tempted to do. Charles Perrault relates that '*on était en branle de quitter Versailles en ce temps-là, pour aller bâtir dans un terrain plus heureux.*' But the 'iron will' of the Grand Monarque kept mathematicians and engineers to their task.

All the most famous engineers had their pet theories and plans, but the most audacious was unquestionably that due to Riquet, who declared it possible to bring the River Loire to Versailles. Riquet was no mean authority, for to him was due the Canal du Midi, then in process of making, which connects the Atlantic with the Mediterranean. A letter of the canal which should bring the Loire to Versailles was drawn up and the necessary authorisations were about to be signed, when the Abbé Picard, of the Academy of Sciences, bluntly declared the thing to be impossible. Charles Perrault, at that time Colbert's secretary, thus relates the circumstances :

"I mentioned this"—Picard's objections—"to M. Colbert. He ^{sub}mitted some annoyance and told me to send for the Abbé Picard, ^{for} who repeated his assertions. M. Colbert, angry at seeing an obstacle appear in the way of the satisfaction he hoped to procure the King, spoke very plainly to M. Picard and told him to be careful ; that M. Riquet was no ordinary man ; that the success of his canal gave him a prestige, and that certainly he could not be so grossly mistaken as people wished to make out. M. Picard, without one word of reply, made a low bow and withdrew, which surprised me greatly, and it seemed to me that the Minister was rather taken aback.

'This took place at the further end of M. Colbert's library. As he was returning to his private room I said that, if he thought fit, I would bring M. Riquet and M. Picard together without either suspecting it to be done intentionally, and that I would faithfully report to him their conversation. M. Colbert approved my idea, and the next day I sent for them. When M. Riquet arrived (for I had arranged that he should come first) I said :

"M. Colbert has ordered me, sir, to ask you for information with regard to the great enterprise you are about to undertake in order to bring the River Loire to Versailles, for he wishes me to give him a detailed account of the matter, that the payments may be arranged for. I confess, sir," I added, "that it seems to me a very difficult matter, seeing that Versailles lies high, while the Loire is certainly in the lowest part of the plains it traverses."

"That is true, sir," he replied ; "but mathematical instruments are more exact than any reasonings based on the simple appearance of things. I have taken exact observations of the ground from that

part of the river whence I mean to take the water to the place where I intend it to flow to, and I am sure of what I advance. I have a greater slope than is necessary even."

"I have been told," I replied, "that you promise to bring the waters of the Loire to the top of Mont Satory, and——"

"I do not know," he interrupted, "what people may choose to relate about Mont St. Satory."

"There is not," said I, "any saint to that mount. It is called simply Mont Satory, and apparently you have raised hopes that you would bring the river there, for two days ago M. le Nôtre, accompanying the King on the banks of the canal at Versailles, remarked what a fine thing it would be to see the vessels from the Loire descending the hill at full sail and entering the canal itself. M. le Nôtre could not have spoken thus had not the King told him that you would bring the Loire to Mont Satory, and the King could not have said that had not heard it from M. Colbert, who could only have had it from your own lips."

"What I have promised I will perform as a gallant man," replied M. Riquet.

At that moment M. Picard entered.

"Sir," I said to him, "you are fond of the beautiful and especially of the marvellous. At Versailles is going to be done what has hitherto been deemed impossible. M. Riquet promises to bring a part of the Loire to the top of Satory. Think what fountains can be made, having a river there!"

"Certainly, that would render superfluous both pumps and mills," replied M. Picard, "but the thing appears to me extremely difficult, and I hope this gentleman will pardon me for doubting that the Loire can be made to rise even to the level of the ground floor of the Palace of Versailles, much less to the height of Satory. It is well known that the Seine at St. Germain is in summer eighty feet below the ground floor of Versailles, and it is not easy to imagine that the Loire, at any point whatever, is eighty feet higher than the Seine."

"Imagination," said M. Riquet, "must yield to the exact measurements that have been taken."

"Such measurements," retorted M. Picard, "are not easy to take, and I doubt whether the ordinary instruments be sufficiently exact for such great distances as those in question."

They said several other things, and I perceived that M. Riquet was not very sure of his ground. I reported this conversation to M. Colbert, who some days later appointed M. Picard and other members of the Academy of Sciences to take fresh measurements.

These led to the plan being abandoned as impracticable, and the costly and cumbrous system which had served for Clagny was applied to ponds further distant, on the plain between Versailles and Rambouillet. Where the natural supply of ponds was insufficient, others

were dug. All these ponds were connected with each other and with Versailles by an elaborate system of trenches. The whole country between Versailles and Rambouillet is still cut up by these '*rigoles*,' which in many places, as near Trappes for instance, still bear the royal crown and *fleur-de-lys* cut in the grey stone of bridge or boundary. That picturesque little stream, the Bièvre, which to-day comes to an ignominious end in the sewers of Paris, was pressed into the service, and reservoirs were constructed to collect its waters. But still there was not enough.

In 1675 Colbert called to his aid the Flemish engineer, Arnold Deville, whose hydraulic works in his own country were famous. Deville declared the possibility of raising the waters of the Seine to feed the ever-increasing *jeux d'eau* of Versailles. After careful soundings he decided upon a spot between Chatou and Bougival as most fitting for the huge machine he proposed to erect.

Naturally the idea was much discussed in engineering circles, and Morland, chief engineer to James the Second of England, found, as he believed, a solution simpler and less costly than Deville's. James had so much faith in his own man that he sent him to France to lay his plans before Louis, and the rival machines were put to a practical test. Two small models were erected: the one at St. Germain by Morland, the other at Maisons by Deville. The victory remained with the Flemish engineer, who forthwith began his grand construction.

When, after five years' hard work and the expenditure of some eight million pounds sterling, the machine was completed and the waters of the Seine flowed by the Aqueduct of Louveciennes to Versailles, the delight of the King was unbounded. Deville received a gift of twenty thousand pounds and the honour of the King's personal thanks. He was appointed life-governor of the machine at a yearly salary of 2,400*l.*, and had a house built for him at Louveciennes.

But Deville's work was barely finished when Colbert fell and was succeeded by Louvois, his mortal enemy.

In this matter of the waters, as in all else, Louvois must needs show himself a better man than his fallen rival. Colbert had dreamed of bringing the Loire to Versailles, but he—Louvois—would certainly bring the Eure. The King's ambition was fanned to the height of folly. Not only should Versailles exceed in glory Vaux and Chantilly, he would execute for his beloved Versailles—his own creation—works excelling all that had been achieved by the Romans; his fame and grandeur should far exceed theirs, and posterity, measuring '*le plus grand Roi à l'aune de Versailles*' should have a noble standard.

Louvois submitted his plan to the Academy of Sciences, who, noting the constant rise of the ground from Versailles to the Eure, was pleased to declare the scheme eminently practicable. The execution of it was entrusted to Vauban, the famous marshal and military engineer.

If the expenditure had been lavish before, it now became fabulously, fantastically extravagant. Thirty thousand men were employed, of whom two-thirds were soldiers. The work was begun at Pontgouin, some distance beyond Chartres, by the construction of a vast reservoir in hewn stone destined to receive the sources of the Eure, whence the water could be directed at will into the canal which should carry it to Maintenon, a distance of some twenty-eight miles. At Maintenon came the big difficulty of the project. The river which was to make glad the slopes of Versailles had to be carried across the deep valley of Maintenon before it could pursue its even way over the plains between Rambouillet and Versailles.

Louvois and Vauban were by no means the men to be turned from their task by the difficulty of erecting an aqueduct over three and a half miles long, even in a country void of building. As the land had been scoured to find water, so now it was scoured to find stone and lime. The one was found at Epernon, the other at Germonval. But Epernon in one direction and Germonval in another, were each distant about eight miles from Maintenon; and Vauban realised that even were he to mobilise all the beasts of burden in the district they would not suffice for the transport of the enormous amount of material required. So, with the army at his disposal, he set to work to dig canals connecting Maintenon with Epernon and Germonval.

Threatening war did but redouble the efforts of Louvois to complete his gigantic undertaking. Day and night the work went steadily on; the arches of the aqueduct rose as by magic; across the plain which reaches from Maintenon to Trappes the new bed of the river was dug, and a series of ponds created to ensure to the stream a uniformity of level. At the same time reservoirs were constructed for collecting the waters from the ponds of Saclay and Trou Salé, and the pipes carrying the water over the valley of the Bièvre at Buc replaced by a stone aqueduct.

But events were too quick for Louvois. The breaking out of war in 1688 put an effectual stop to all these gigantic enterprises. Masters and men went to take part in less pacific struggles, and this conquest of Nature was left for the science of the nineteenth century to complete.

To-day most of the ponds are but a name. Trou Salé and many others are now green fields awaiting the inevitable builder. The unfinished Aqueduct of Maintenon stretches its picturesque ruins lamentably across the valley. Those of Buc and Louveciennes have long been dry.

The Flemish engineer, Deville, is alone justified of his creation. 'La Machine,' near Marly, is the modern development of Deville's idea, and sends the waters of the Seine to Versailles, not indeed by the sun-bathed arches of Louveciennes, but by the dark and hidden ways beloved of modern science.

But though Louis and his men failed to accomplish all they aimed for, it is none the less true that Versailles owes its existence to them. But for the mighty efforts exacted of a still undeveloped science by the 'iron will' of Le Grand Roi, and rendered possible by his bounty, Versailles would still be an obscure hamlet watered only by the tiny *ru de Gohie*.

Louis the Fourteenth might well vary his famous phrase and say with unquestionable veracity 'Versailles, c'est moi.'

ELIZABETH B. YEOMANS.

WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE

A REPLY TO LADY LOVAT AND MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

IN the July number of this Review, Lady Lovat quotes various writers, ancient and modern, in support of her skilful defence of the position she calls the old-fashioned side of the Women's Suffrage question. And indeed she has a wide range of choice, for probably there have been more theories advanced on this and kindred subjects than on any other in the world. To judge from folklore sayings and proverbs alone, women seem to have been the victims from the earliest times of the first crude efforts of the savage intelligence to make a generalisation out of a small and very narrow experience, and of the fatal facility that first enabled people to conceive of a great multitude of various human beings as one simple abstract personality, governed by easily attainable mechanical laws and called 'Woman.' 'Woman' in the abstract has indeed been the 'Aunt Sally' of the world's childhood, pelted by many missiles.

And age does not seem to stale the infinite variety of this exercise of the imagination. Since the days of Solomon's Proverbs to those of Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* these generalisations have been and still are the stock in trade of imaginative writers. Time has brought one change, however. In old days the subject was considered a simple one, and certain well-worn maxims were thought sufficient to meet all needs. Now everybody who is anybody is bound to have a different interpretation of 'Woman' and her place in the scheme of things. Thus to those who take such speculation and theorising seriously, the world is full of confusion and contradiction on this subject. But to anyone who is interested in the growth of thought and understanding among individuals or nations, the interest is mainly a psychological one, for it may be safely presumed that these theories reveal more of the mental calibre and nature of the theorist than of the unfortunate human beings who, since the world began, have been ceaselessly vivisected, with varying degrees of success, by everybody who is trying to be intellectual. Thus, when Solomon says that women's value is above rubies, whilst the Kaffirs decree a wife is worth ten cows, we are not so much struck with the truth or wisdom of either pronouncement as with the difference of the point of view between

Solomon and the Kaffirs. And when we hear that some Eastern nations believe women to have no souls, whilst a council of the Church decided by a small majority that they may really hope for a humble share of man's privilege of immortality, a woman may perhaps be pardoned if she thinks less of her own no doubt remote chances of salvation, than of that precious and enlightening sense of humour that seems to have been denied to so many learned and law-making assemblies of men. Souls are not thought so important in this generation, and we are allowed to possess them in peace; but when some men say women have inferior brain capacity, we can always comfort ourselves with the thought that so little do they believe this that they find it necessary to protect themselves legally and artificially from women's competition. As Mill said long ago, you do not have laws to prevent people without muscles being blacksmiths. Letter people who want to restrict women because they are inferior mentally are really those who believe no such comfortable doctrine, but are, in simple English, afraid of their competition. Just in the same way the men Trade Unionists who say women can never be as skilled as men, say it because they do not want them to be employed, and the masters who say they are neater and quicker are those who want to employ them. Schopenhauer, no doubt, had some good human reason for proclaiming that women were an 'undersized, broad-hipped, narrow-shouldered, short-legged race.' Lady Lovat may argue as the result of her experience that women's souls abhor the abstract. Against that dictum we must set the undoubted fact that some university professors affirm that women excel in mathematics and logic. But all these are simply matters of personal opinion and belief. It is certainly amusing to see that Solomon was more progressive in his views about women than Ruskin, and that his ideal lady could at all events speak with her enemy in the gate, while Ruskin's could only sit at home and arrange things, 'entering into no contest.' But these theories are too vague and random to be of any value except as they throw light on the character of the theorist. Ruskin's ideal of women was, of course, sentimental and impossible. What woman is there in the world, be she never so old-fashioned, who enters into no contest? And may Heaven defend us from people, men or women, who spend their lives in 'sweet ordering, arrangement, decision.' Indeed, it is that sort of thing that makes a great many of the world's worst fights, because, however ideal and womanly it may be, other people will not always stand being 'sweetly ordered and arranged.' Lady Lovat quotes Ruskin's saying that women should rule and not fight, and one is tempted to think how strange it was that Ruskin did not seem to know that, everywhere and in every sphere, physical, mental and spiritual, it is the hardest fighters who, in the end, rule, and must rule. Because the hardest fighters are simply those who are most in touch with the Divine Force.

As a refutation of the claims of women to political life, Lady Lovat quotes a very romantic speech of Portia's in the *Merchant of Venice*; but it is difficult to see that it has any bearing on the case, as even men have belittled themselves and called women their 'ladies and queens,' and other extravagant things, on similar occasions, when they were in love (especially in plays), and the rhapsodies of these ecstatic moments cannot be seriously debated as a basis for legislation.

In discussing the question of Women's Suffrage, it is not with Ruskin's Early Victorian ladies we have to deal, 'women who enter into no contest,' 'who are protected from all danger and temptation,' 'whose great function is praise.' Nor is it with the heroines of history or fiction. Portia would have been most certainly just as blatantly, in love with Bassanio if she had been a plural voter or a member of the Council of Ten. The serious charge brought by Lady Lovat against modern women is that they are, like Shylock, insatiable in their pound of flesh (the suffrage) and willing to pay a great price for it, the sacrifice of their present ideal position of influence and happiness, and especially their 'highest prerogative of educating children.' Also, oddly enough, she points to the medical profession as one of the splendid privileges due to the old order, a profession that has been forced open within the last fifty years by the unremitting and opposed efforts of Women's Rights women. As to the Education question, Lady Lovat quotes Plato in support of the view that to draw out the Divine Image in a human being is a greater work than the making of a beautiful statue. This is no doubt true, but there are few who would venture to assert that a man or woman of genius, an artist or a thinker, could not be as useful an instrument to awaken the Divine Image in another person's soul as an ordinary domestic person immersed in trivialities. Influence is no question of time. No women of any class really educate their children, they provide teachers for them or send them to school. Their own influence is confined for the most part to what they are and what they know—the real source of all power. If anyone wishes to have influence, let her not forget Maeterlinck's fable about the man in the lighthouse, who gave away the oil in his lamp to the poor, and thus lost his power to save great ships from destruction. And it is one of the enduring happinesses of life that everything we learn and every strength we gain makes our lamp burn brighter and thus enables us to help other people. If women are going to be great educators they must not shut themselves out from any human activity, for all inventive and creative activity is not only good for men, it is good in itself: in fact, it is the condition of full human development and right doing. The idea that one power crowds out another in the human mind is surely based on a very false conception of the working of the laws that make evolution by a gradual widening of mental outlook, and the receding of horizons before a determined effort of the will. Women who wilfully detach themselves

from the energies and struggle and fight of the living world around them to pursue an ideal of the gracious seclusion of the family, and the sanctifying influence of passive existence, will too soon find that they have nothing to give their children, and that the young will go elsewhere for the generous inspirations of courage and heroic living. But nobody can escape the battle in the end. And nobody should.

'The garden and the cloister' (quoted from John Morley by Lady Lovat) are no doubt necessary and delightful for us all, but so are 'the dust and burning sun and shouting of the days of conflict' to every human being, man or woman, who believes in the high destinies of the human soul, but more especially to those who would be the means to awaken the Divine Image of heroism and power and hardly won wisdom in the soul of a child.

For Love, Lady Lovat says, is the special prerogative of woman. ~~letter~~ There are no special prerogatives. The world as God made it is free to us all. It is useless to tell women that the active life is the special prerogative of men; as useless as it would be to tell men that love is the special prerogative of women. These things are not so, simply because the Power that made the world did not make them so.

In every contest since the beginning of history women have struggled ably, thought and suffered. In every great national movement, where large movements have come into the sphere of bloodshed and death, as in France, in Russia, in Italy, women have suffered and struggled and died in large numbers, and proved to the world a thousand times over by their deeds their possession of the heroic qualities of the active life.

As to love, surely it is a universal principle not to be narrowed down to any one section of humanity. Those who do not believe in the special prerogatives of sex can comfort themselves with the comprehensiveness of the ancient conception 'God is Love.' Lady Lovat allows that 'Love is the fulfilling of the law'; love is 'the only, the eternal foundation of the training of our race to humanity.' If these things are true, surely this Divine Principle, being her special prerogative, would prove nothing but the superiority of the spiritually enlightened woman's soul over the darkened soul of man. But this is not so; the sun shines on the good and evil and on the just and the unjust, and the great vivifying and purifying forces are the birthright of every human soul, irrespective of all accidents or 'prerogatives of sex.'

Now as to the present happy position and influence of women which is said to be threatened by their approaching emancipation. Lady Lovat thinks that what she considers the present ideal relations of men and women, and especially the private influence of women over men, are in danger. By all means let us render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but it is as well to remember that there are some things that are outside his jurisdiction. And our private relations

to one another are not settled by the House of Commons, but by the deep working laws of our own natures. Lady Lovat thinks that men should reverence women and keep them on pedestals far removed from the contests and difficulties that go to make up life. But women are human beings, and not meant to live on pedestals; their place is in the midst of contest and difficulty, and there are some of us, men as well as women, who do not admire or revere or even tolerate the type of character produced by this St. Simon Stylites attitude towards life, in man or woman. Anyhow, the doubtful privilege of a column is only possible for the favoured few of a leisured class. The mass of the female population have no time to dream of the very brittle influence which they are supposed to hide under a veil of weakness. They are not posing on pedestals, they are struggling and fighting through their lives, trying to earn their livings honestly and hold their heads above water in that world where there is no pity nor help for those who go under. If I venture to doubt Lady Lovat's generalisations of the great influence of politics on private life, I am also very far from sharing her opinion of the powerlessness of political forces to work out their results in the nearly allied world of industry. These forces are not so helpless as politicians would have us believe.

If Gladstone really thought that the 'terrible woes of this dark world' could not be effectually dealt with by the State, why did he elect to spend his whole life as a statesman? Surely, in face of the many importunate problems that surround us, if he had really seen a more excellent way he would have taken it. Let us take courage. The Franchise is not a new and insidious method of overturning the lives and traditions and sentiments of the rich. It is not even a question of one political party against another. It is simply a means by which the mass of women in the professional and industrial worlds can defend their interests and their right to work. Practically, working men do not, as Lady Lovat thinks, contest inch by inch the idea that piece-work rates should be the same for women as for men, because they do not like being undercut, and the sympathy of working men for the suffrage movement is very much on the grounds of the indirect influence of political status on wages. They realise in a way that the leisured classes cannot, that it is the present outcast position of working women that forces them to pull down the rate for everybody by accepting such very low pay. And, apart even from wages, never before in the history of this country have women had more need of political power to protect themselves against injurious legislation. At this moment over 100,000 women are being threatened by Parliament with the abolition of their employment. We are told that a day will be given by the Government to the discussion of Clause 20 of the Licensing Bill. It is by a sub-clause of this clause that the fate of these women will be decided. It seems that in a couple of hours' talk by unrepresentative legislators they will be deprived of their

occupations, their incomes and their reputations, through no fault of their own, but simply because of their helpless unenfranchised position.

The President of the Local Government Board says openly that one of the great remedies for unemployment is the enormous curtailing of the work of women. This ingenious method of robbing Peter to pay Paul has no doubt its charm for a Government that depends for its very existence on Paul's votes, and has nothing to hope for or fear from Peter. Attempts are being constantly made to turn women out of their trades and livelihoods, whether it is the barmaids, the circus riders and acrobats, the pitbrow women, the married women of Lancashire (73,000), the married teachers, or the Cradley Heath chainmakers. Sometimes these things are done quietly, as in the case of trades like printers or florists. Here a simple application of the Factory Acts is enough to turn the women out of work, as the minute manipulation of hours is quite impossible where the manipulation of perishable flowers is concerned, or where work has to be done at night, as in the printing trade.

The outlook is dark indeed for all working women, because the women's labour market is already overcrowded, and every displacement of labour simply adds to the competition in the lesser skilled trades, thereby making the supply of workers so much greater than the demand, and bringing down the already low rate of wages for all concerned. The franchise is a crying need to guard the interests of those who have to take part in the industrial struggle. It is easy to laugh at unmarried women for being faddists, and married women for being influenced by their husbands, but whether they are faddists or weak-minded people, if they are workers, they have need of the protection of the franchise, for they will have to fight their way in the world. Men are not disfranchised because they are faddists or because their wives influence them unduly. And Lady Lovat herself insists strongly on the tremendous influence of women over their husbands. Indeed, if a free mind were to be a qualification for voting, one imagines the electorate of this country would be reduced by a considerable number. In considering the question of adult suffrage, Lady Lovat says there are more women than men in this country. At first sight it seems a very odd contention to an ordinary mind used to democratic theories, that because a section of the populace are in the majority, that is a reason why they should not be represented in Parliament. The idea that all women would band together and vote against all men is absurd and inconceivable. Even in the present struggle for the suffrage, which you would think has been made entirely a sex question, by the exclusion of a whole sex, men and women have not been driven into opposite camps. There are plenty of men on the women's side, and doubtless many women who see no evil in the present state of things. The sentimental and speculative aspect of this subject has

had its full share of attention; but one would like to appeal to those intellectual people to whom the franchise is naturally rather a matter for philosophic discussion than a vital need, as it is to the working classes, for the sake of theories and traditions, not to range themselves on the side of those forces that are making life so difficult and so squalid to millions of the poorest workers of this country.

In the course of a speech made by Mrs. Humphry Ward in proposing the 'Anti-Suffrage' Manifesto and published in the August number of this Review, she added the weight of her testimony to Lady Lovat's, and attacked the position of those who claim that the possession of the franchise by women will result in industrial equality between the sexes—a very practical gain, as it will work itself out in adjustment of wages to natural ability and capacity irrespective of the present artificial sex handicap. Everybody who is interested in labour questions from the workers' point of view, be they men or women, must wish for this result. Because infallibly and mechanically, by the same law through which women are underpaid, men are undercut, and the lamentations of trade unionists on the competition of what they call 'unfair' female labour are the commonplace of labour meetings and reports. Mrs. Ward indeed allows that women's wages are generally lower than men's, but, like Lady Lovat, she clings to the belief that political enfranchisement would be powerless to affect the economic evil, which is caused, according to her view, by five different reasons.

(1) 'There are more women than men.' While not disputing this statement as applied to generalities, it is impossible to deny that as far as the labour market is concerned truth lies in its exact opposite. There are far more men than women competing. And this is because at present so large a proportion of women's work is absorbed in the unpaid activities of married home life. People are apt to think that there are more women than men in industrial life because the competition for work is doubtless fiercer among women; but it must not be forgotten that this added competition is easily accounted for by the fact that women's labour is forced into a few restricted channels, because so many trades are artificially shut to them, while with men '*la carrière est ouverte aux talents*'—the world of technical education and work is free to their competing abilities.

(2) Mrs. Ward gives as one of the most important causes of women's low wages the backwardness of the organisation of women's labour. Now this is a confusion of cause and effect. Women's labour is badly organised in those trades where they are doing little-skilled and low-paid work. The same rule applies to men. This is no sex question. Any trade union secretary will tell you that it is almost impossible to organise men in an unskilled trade. Where men or women are doing highly skilled work they are usually well organised into strong societies. But women's societies are fewer and poorer than men's,

because they are as yet excluded from the better and more highly-paid parts of most trades. And where they are well organised the trade unions are crippled by their want of political status. It is not only the unskilled unorganised among women that do not get industrial justice. For instance, in every town in England the teachers employed in the elementary schools are paid by a fixed rate from the head master and the head mistress down to the pupil teachers, in which it is carefully calculated, that, training and qualifications and hours being equal, a man gets so much more for being a man and a woman so much less for being a woman. And yet there are 30,000 women in the National Union of Teachers. Mrs. Ward considers low wages among unskilled men to be a proof that wages are not influenced by political forces. Nobody denies that among men skilled labour is, speaking, highly paid and unskilled labour poorly paid. But the work of the political forces is to be found in the different payment obtained for the same or equally skilled quality of work by men and women. If the average of agricultural labourers' wages is low at present, it must be remembered that in 1872 8s. to 12s. a week was the amount given by their leader, Joseph Arch, as a fair estimate of their ordinary earnings. After their enfranchisement their trade union, but the uncertainty attending all such organisations, gradually ceased to exist. The unquestioned improvement of the minimum 8s. to 15s. in the face of the industrial disaster like the collapse of the union can be traced to their improved political status. Just as so much of the amelioration of their social and industrial condition can be traced to the possession of what Joseph Arch called the 'political telephone of the vote' and in the working of those political forces in which he had such faith. Indeed, nowadays there is growing to be little doubt among trade union men as to the value of votes in the industrial world, and to this slow-growing conviction is due the modern development of the labour representation movement. Experience teaches, and it is noteworthy that the trade unions that fifty years ago received all suggestions of political action with cries of 'No politics' are now running their own special candidates for Parliament.

(3) Mrs. Ward says that marriage and the expectation of marriage affect the industrial value of woman's work unfavourably. There are two sides of this question. In trades and professions where women are stopped working on their marriage, and married women are not employed, such regulation no doubt takes the quality of stability from their work, and tends to the employment of very young girls, which is always a misfortune from an industrial point of view. But there are very few of these trades, and married women are specially useful members of trade unions (if their husbands are earning), as in times of industrial dispute they have something to fall back upon and this gives them independence and power. The same applies to their husbands, and many a man has been tided over times of struggle

or unemployment through the help of his wife's earnings. Two incomes in a family lend security to the industrial position of its members.

(4) 'There is far more competition for men's labour' is Mrs. Ward's fourth reason for women's low wages. This is rather a cryptic saying, as competition varies so much in different trades, and in cases where it is a real factor it will usually be found to be due to easily removed causes, such as either the debarring of women from technical training, or the old but fast dying tradition of women's inferiority as workers or human beings—a tradition which made it, a few years ago, a distinct and marked descent in the social scale to employ a maid instead of a footman. So we come back again to the real root of all the economic mischief, the need of the mass of women for political life and energy to widen out this industrial outlook and strengthen their economic power.

(5) 'Men are stronger than women.' This is a generalisation elusive and hard to test, for to measure strength is indeed a difficult task. The bearing of this statement on the problem of women's low piece-work rates is hard to understand, because the strength of the worker, though it may affect the amount of his or her output, could in no way affect the value of the work per piece, provided that it is up to the standard of excellence required. If the employer's standard is satisfied, the solution is easy; the incompetent worker, man or woman, is dismissed to make room for a more competent one. But, apart from the industrial point of view, this question of relative strength, and especially of physical strength, is a very important one, for here we come to what I would venture with all respect to call the root error of the 'Anti-Suffragists.' 'The modern State,' says Mrs. Humphry Ward, 'depends for its very existence on the physical force of men.' Now you might say with equal obviousness, 'the modern State depends for its very existence on the physical capacity of women.' Without going so far as the Christian Scientists, who tell us that matter does not exist, surely such a material point of view is hard to maintain in face of the accumulated thought and energy and will that has built up the difference between our own imperfect civilisation and the rude and brutal life-customs of a savage tribe.

Meanwhile we all know practically in our own lives that it is on our wills and our presence of mind, and not our fists, that we rely in any extremity. If it had not been so, the world might have been ruled by lions and tigers or even elephants. But the human will has conquered and rules over physical force, and the divine power of thought is the greatest power in the world. It is not even true that physical force, ruled and organised by will, controls our affairs. We do not choose our Prime Ministers and Governments because they know how to lead armies and win battles, and when our successful Generals come home from the war we may load them with honours and applause,

but we do not entrust to them the destinies of the nation. The days of Napoleon and Julius Cæsar and Alexander the Great have passed, and all who found their claims to rule on their superior physical force are building on the sand, and their claims must in the course of evolution crumble away into the same ruin, as the claims of the lion or the pack of wolves to terrorise the human race. We all know in our individual lives that will power is no respecter of sex ; women have the same capacity for strength as men ; where they have not developed it as individuals or nations, they have been subjected through the hypnotism of fear and ignorance, and the penalties of such subjection are surely leading the way to a higher wisdom. It is wide of the mark to talk about the trained and specialised knowledge that men alone are able to get as a reason for women's low wages. With equal truth it ~~has~~ ^{has} been said when women were not allowed to qualify as ~~letter~~ ^{letter} that it was impossible for them to practise because men alone were able to get trained and specialised knowledge. Monopolies in technical education are most certainly doomed, and even now this barrier is breaking down on all sides, and it will not be disputed that women are gaining trained and specialised knowledge and qualifications in many ~~of~~ ^{of} various fields. In politics, Mrs. Ward says, ' women are debarred by ~~public~~ ^{public} ~~where~~ ^{where} sex from that practical political experience which is at ~~all~~ ^{all} ~~ways~~ ^{ways} open to men.' And she does not see the curious working of the law of reaction or compensation by which it happens that this very debarring and shutting out of women from politics has given them a practical experience almost unknown among men. Just as, in a nation, want of success in war means concentration of national energy on questions of Army Reform, so the long political struggle against fearful odds, though it may have developed a tendency to disorder and mafficking among the less sober, has also given unique opportunities for political experience, and developed political faculties among the working and organising part of the female population, faculties that cannot be crushed by physical force, for they are the stuff of which the political will to live is made, and as such they are a necessary part of the national life and carry in their very existence the complete assurance of their final victory.

In answer to the claim that it is inexpedient that what Mrs. Humphry Ward calls hygienic regulations should be imposed on the work of women, especially married women, without their own consent, she uses the curious argument that though the women concerned have no voice in the matter, other women who have neither worked in mills themselves nor been chosen by the workers to represent them have been consulted in the making of these laws. And here many of us would emphatically protest against the extraordinary theory that in political matters, while men must choose their own representatives, any woman can choose herself to represent all other women and no questions will be asked. The Anti-Suffrage Manifesto speaks of

'representative women' being brought into closer touch with Government departments. But, as far as Government is concerned, there are no representative women. There are no women with a mandate from their fellows to represent them in political matters. Whilst women have no votes they cannot have accredited political representatives. Labour questions are involved and difficult, and when factory laws are ignorantly and theoretically drafted, without due regard to the practical interests of some section of workers, it is no comfort to those workers to know that some 'distinguished' woman favoured among politicians has been consulted about their affairs. This sort of so-called representation is no safeguard to anybody; if it were, men would never have felt the need for democratic institutions, and England might still be peaceably governed by irresponsible rulers who, by right of birth, consider themselves and one another fit to rule a multitude for their good. Practically we recognise, as far as is concerned, that the only safety for the governed lies in the fact that their governors in some way depend on them, and are therefore sensitive not only to their needs but to their judgment. A politician must have the countenance and support of his constituents, and it is to his constituents that in the last resort he must make his appeal. Without constituents you cannot have representation. Under a fair system if a woman wanted to be representative of the aspirations of a factory population she would have to be prepared to stand up for what they really wanted, not her theories of what they ought to want, unless of course she could convert them to her theories. But until women have votes it is impossible that they should get true and honest representation from other women, who, however wise and cultured and distinguished they may be, can only have any influence as long as their views please the men in power. One of the lesser evils attendant on the present voteless condition of women is the fact that there is no test for the working value of women politicians, no means of gauging their influence and claims to be representative of other women. The truth is, the power of the few women of the upper classes who by their position and social influence are able to keep in touch with legislation is no comfort at all to the mass of the working women, who want to be governed by people who are responsible to them, and to whom it will therefore come as a matter of course to consider their interests and consult their intelligence, and the fact that men will anxiously consult distinguished and philanthropic ladies does not touch the point at issue. Nor does the example of American institutions. The strange thing about America is that it is often quoted to us as an ideal country where public opinion has such a high standard that barmaids would not be tolerated, and anti-suffrage societies flourish. And most splendid of all, the highly cultured and advanced State of Oregon has just defeated a woman suffrage resolution by 10,000 votes. But when one comes to inquire into the actual political and moral con-

dition of American towns one begins to wonder whether anti-suffrage societies, barmen, and an enlightened masculine electorate are to be wholly congratulated on their political results, one hears bitter complaints of the public-houses as centres of political and moral corruption, and of the masses of ignorant and often alien voters whose vote and interest is for sale. The consumption of spirits per head is much larger in the United States than it is in England; over and over again lurid flashes of light have been thrown on the social and economic condition of the great American cities, a condition which is usually attributed by Americans to the influx of ignorant emigrants and the enormous foreign and often very retrograde element that has thus been introduced into the electorate. It is inaccurate to assert that the American women-suffrage agitation has been defeated, because it is only partially successful; victory in four States may seem a little small thing, a little result for forty years' work, and yet this is perhaps a short-sighted and impatient view. Some of us were tempted to envy the swift revolution by which the Finnish women gained complete political freedom. But it may well be that here in England what we lose in speed we gain in stability, and Englishwomen who slowly working forward towards the greater life may comfort themselves with the thought that much of the work of a rapid revolution may be undone by the inevitable reaction that dogs its steps, whilst the work of evolution, plodding steadily on through the storm of its own reactions, is founded on an everlasting basis of security.

EVA GORE-BOOTH.

A MINIMUM WAGE FOR HOME WORKERS

THE problem of what are usually, but very vaguely and by no means always accurately, described as 'Sweated industries' is one which has forced itself upon the attention of several of the great countries, and also of Australia and the United States of America. In almost all thickly populated districts, and especially where, as in old countries, women are at least as numerous as men, there are a large number of people who depend for their livelihood upon earnings which are pitifully small and often irregular and uncertain.

Many attempts have been made to give a precise definition of the word 'sweating.' My own view is that the term should only be applied to the employment of people under conditions and at rates of payment which, in addition to being extremely low, deprive them of a fair and reasonable share of the price which the employer obtains for the articles which are produced. 'Sweating' appears to involve that an employer is obtaining an excessive and unfair profit by squeezing down to an altogether inadequate figure the payment which he makes for his work, or that an intermediary or middleman steps in between the original employer and the actual worker, and 'sweats' the payment which was really intended to be made for the work by retaining in his own hands a much larger proportion of the original payment than any service he may render can be said fairly to entitle him. If there be 'sweating,' there must be a 'sweater.' To describe a man as a 'sweater' is to use a term of opprobrium. It implies that he is taking undue advantage of those whom he employs by paying them much less for the work they do, and the time they work, and also probably providing them with far less satisfactory conditions under which they work, than the price or payment which he receives, or the terms and conditions under which the work could and should be done, render necessary. In a word, he 'grinds the face of the poor,' takes advantage of their necessities and ignorance, and imposes upon them rates of payment and conditions of work which are extremely meagre and unsatisfactory, in order that he may obtain an exceptional profit. That is 'sweating' pure and simple, as I understand the term. Were this really the problem which had to be dealt with, were it even the chief part of it, its solution would be comparatively simple. But as

the Select Committee of which I had the honour of being Chairman, which was appointed by the House of Commons early last year to consider the conditions of labour in trades in which home work is prevalent, say in their Report which was issued as Parliament rose for the summer recess :

If the term 'sweating' is understood to mean that the employer 'grinds the face of the poor' by making an altogether inadequate payment for work upon which he obtains a large and quite disproportionate profit, your Committee are of opinion that, although there are cases of this kind, sweating of this description is not the most important factor in the problem which they have had to consider.

* Only those who have little or no direct and personal practical business experience can doubt that it can only be in special and exceptional cases and circumstances that the operation of the ordinary business competition will fail to reduce the profits of manufacturers, merchants, contractors, dealers, and shopkeepers to an average percentage, which experience has shown to be usual and reasonable, when all the conditions under which the business is carried on are taken into consideration.

The real problem is the serious and deplorable fact that, as the public we say :

The earnings of a large number of people—mainly women who work in their homes—are so small as alone to be insufficient to sustain life in the most meagre manner, even when they toil hard for extremely long hours. The consequence is that, when those earnings are their sole source of income, the conditions under which they live are often not only crowded and insanitary, but altogether pitiable and distressing.

The Committee refrained from expressing any opinion as to whether the evil is greater now, either actually or relatively to population, than it was when a House of Lords Committee reported on the subject in 1890. No conclusive evidence on the point is available, and the testimony of individuals is for the most part of very little value. Few of them have had precisely the experience which would enable them to express a reliable opinion ; fewer still possess the very rare faculties of accurate observation and memory and unbiassed judgment which, in the absence of carefully recorded facts and statistics, are essential if anything like a trustworthy comparison is to be made between the conditions which prevailed twenty years ago and now. Those who are engaged in agitating for reform usually have the evils brought so frequently and prominently before them that they are apt to form an exaggerated view of their extent and prevalence, and to think that they are greater and wider spread than ever before, when the truth is they have only been more fully investigated and exposed, and consequently they bulk more largely in their eyes and in those of the public. When at the same time an energetic propaganda is being carried on by two such active bodies as the Tariff Reformers and the

Socialists, who have convinced themselves that what our country needs is a revolutionary change in our commercial system on the one hand and in the economic basis of the social fabric on the other, and who, consequently, are constantly unconsciously yielding to the temptation to seize and drag to the front and exaggerate anything and everything that will lend itself to the suggestion that the social and economic condition of the people is deplorably bad and is steadily growing worse, we need to be carefully on our guard against the blinding of our eyes to obvious facts, and the warping of our calmer judgment which may result from being compelled to listen to the constant jeremiads and the persistent pessimism of these modern Jeremiahs. My own impression, for what it may be worth, is that Miss Squire's opinion that there has been a considerable improvement since Lord Dunraven's Committee sat is well founded.' There are few people who are more capable observers and more competent to form an opinion on this subject than Miss Squire of the Home Office, and I am disposed to attach greater weight to her judgment and that of Miss Collet, of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, on points like this than to the testimony of others whose opportunities of obtaining accurate information are less extensive, or whose positions and interests render them, unconsciously, less impartial observers. It is that as it may, it is certainly true that, to quote the words of the Report of our Committee,

If 'sweating' is understood to mean that work is paid for at a rate which, in the conditions under which many of the workers do it, yields to them an income which is quite insufficient to enable an adult person to obtain anything like proper food, clothing, and house accommodation, there is no doubt that sweating does prevail extensively. . . . It still exists in such a degree as to call urgently for the interference of Parliament.

The Report of our Committee sounds a note of warning on one or two points which should be clearly understood and always borne in mind. All statements as to rates of payment, earnings and number of hours worked, should be received with great caution; this is especially so when they are made by anyone but the actual worker. Even when the information is obtained direct from the worker, the possibilities of misconception are great. The inquirer and the informant are apt to assume, often erroneously, that each understands precisely the meaning which the other attaches to phrases and terms which are

It is worthy of note that, in spite of the greater extent to which, during the last twenty years, young women have become teachers, clerks, typists, nurses, etc., the census returns showed that a smaller proportion of females over ten years of age were employed in occupations, in England and Wales, in 1901 than in 1891. It was satisfactory that the decrease was between the ages of ten and fifteen, and from twenty-five upwards. Notwithstanding the fact (which is all to the good) that there were considerably fewer boys under fifteen and men over sixty-five employed in 1901 than in 1891, there were, in proportion to population, more males over ten years of age employed in 1901 than in 1891. That was as it should be—more men and fewer women employed in occupations other than domestic duties.

used, and that both are perfectly clear as to the conditions and qualifications which make all the difference between an accurate and an inaccurate understanding of the statement. Few of the workers who live and work in the pitiable and distressing conditions under which many of these people pass their lives can be expected to possess that faculty of clear, complete, and accurate statement which is rare among more favourably placed and better educated people. When the inquirers are extremely sympathetic and, possibly, emotional persons, whose hearts are very naturally wrung by the misery which they see around them, and they have had no practical business experience of any kind whatever, nor any training in the art of getting at the bottom facts of problems which are often very different from those which appear on the surface, and when they approach the investigation from the point of view that employers are, as a rule, better off, grasping and unsympathetic, and that the people whose lot they are considering are almost invariably thoroughly competent and industrious, and well equipped for their work, and especially when this attitude of mind is accompanied by views regarding the economic basis of the social fabric which have led them to the conclusion that society needs reconstructing on a new foundation, we doubt if the conditions that may be expected to produce statements, which are striking and sensational, but not always sufficiently accurate and complete to render them really informing and useful.

There are one or two points to which our Report refers on which misunderstanding is very probable unless close inquiry be made and precise replies be obtained :

The circumstances and earnings of home workers vary very considerably. Great caution is required in receiving statements as to rates of payment, net receipts, and number of hours worked. The evidence which your Committee have received has sometimes been conflicting. The price paid for doing part of the work required to produce an article or garment may be thought to be the payment for the whole of the work, unless the various sub-divisions of it be understood, and it be clearly stated that only one of the processes is referred to. There is also often great uncertainty as to the number of hours worked per day in cases where the worker is a wife or daughter, who has her household and family to look after, and, in some cases, an invalid husband or father to attend to. A week's earnings may or may not represent a full week's work. In some cases it represents only such time as can be spared from other duties. In others it represents almost ceaseless toil during all the hours the workers are awake from Monday morning to Saturday night.

Mere statements of the amount earned per week, even when it is added that long hours are worked, are not sufficient and conclusive. Sometimes the workers are old or crippled, or in feeble health, and quite incapable of reasonably rapid and efficient work. In other cases they are inexperienced, slow, and incompetent. Many are, from one cause or another, industrial, physical, and social wrecks. If cases be investigated with the assistance of a relieving officer, a very different impression will be created than the one that will result from visiting those to whom any large employer of home workers will introduce an inquirer.

By one method the most exceptional, pitiable, and distressing cases, and, incidentally, usually the least capable, and less regularly and fully employed workers, will be discovered. By the other, the most reliable, satisfactory, efficient, and constantly employed will be met with. Neither group of cases will represent the average. The conditions and earnings of the great majority will be found to lie between the two.

A great diversity in the rate of actual earnings per week will be found among persons who are receiving the same rate of pay per article or per process. Some are much quicker than others. There is a considerable difference in the extent to which workers have the most efficient tools and appliances. Sewing machines vary considerably in speed and time-saving fittings. Workers vary in the speed at which they can continuously drive them. The class of work also varies. Low-class work at low rates often gives larger earnings than better work at higher rates. Some articles or garments are, so to speak, 'blown together.' Others of the same kind, but different quality, have to be carefully made and finished. That one rate is lower than another does not by any means necessarily prove that it is a less remunerative rate.

There is another feature of this phase of the problem which should not be overlooked, as it goes to the root of much of the employment of home workers at rates which yield them miserable earnings. I cannot do better than again quote the Report of our Committee :

A large proportion of home workers are engaged in the production of articles in competition with machinery, and the cost of making the articles by machine fixes the rate which can be paid to them. Powerful sewing machines, with the latest improvements, specially adapted for each particular class of work, and driven by steam power will turn out four times as much work, in an hour, as can be done by an ordinary treadle machine, and with far less physical strain upon the worker. If the same rate per article be paid to the two classes of workers, the home worker will be able to earn only one-fourth as much per hour as the factory worker. The weekly earnings of the home worker may be pitifully small, while those of the factory worker may be fairly good. In such cases, the trouble is not that the rate of pay is unduly low, but that the home worker is handicapped by her conditions and appliances. It is very largely a repetition of the old difficulty of the hand-loom weaver in his room at home competing with the power loom in the factory. Clearly, the rate of payment per article cannot be increased substantially beyond the price paid for doing the same work under superior conditions in the factory. Either the whole of the work must be done in well-equipped factories, or the earnings of home workers who make the same articles must remain much lower than those of factory workers. These remarks apply especially to the ready-made tailoring and the box-making trades.

The truth of this is obvious, but the question which naturally arises in connection with it is, How is it that the whole of this work is not done in factories? Why do people work at the same or similar rates under less favourable conditions? This opens out the whole question as to who are these workers whose earnings are so miserably small, and why they accept such inadequate payment for the time they spend over the work.

A large majority of those who work for exceedingly low earnings are women. Of those who so work at home the proportion who are women is so large that for practical purposes the position of the women home workers may be regarded as the problem with which we

have to grapple. The Report of our Committee explains who these women home workers are, and classifies them in three groups, thus :

(1) Single women, widows, wives deserted by or separated from their husbands, and wives whose husbands are ill or unable to work. These are usually regular workers. They vary much in age, skill, and efficiency, in the class of the work they do, and the amount they are able to earn.

(2) Wives who obtain work when their husbands are out of employment. They are more or less casual workers ; some of them have not had any real training, and are unskilled. They have to take such work as is available at the moment, on such terms as are offered to them.

(3) Wives and daughters of men in regular employment, who wish to increase the family income. They usually select pleasant work, and do not ordinarily work very long hours.

Some explanation why so much work of a certain class is done in workers' homes, and why there are so many women ready to undertake it, although they receive very small payment for it, is given in the following extracts from our Report :

Much of the work is sewing, and requires no or very little previous training and experience. It is consequently work to which almost any woman who is able to sew can turn at once, when the necessity of earning her livelihood is put upon her, or employment in any other occupation to which she has been accustomed fails her.

As the work can be done at home, it is desired by a large number of women, and the circumstances, household duties, feeble health, age, invalid husband, parents, or children, render it impossible or difficult for them to undertake regular work in factories. It is preferred by others who dislike domestic service or regular work for fixed hours under supervision in factories or workshops. It is also sought after by the daughters of men in work and their wives who have no family, or who have time on their hands, and desire to augment the family income by doing work in their spare time.

As the payment for home work is necessarily at piece rates, those who are slow, owing to age, feeble health, inexperience, incompetence, or lack of power, energy, or disposition to work, and those who for any reason find it difficult to secure and retain employment elsewhere, find it more easy to obtain this kind of work than any other, and they drift into it and settle down to it as a method of earning a livelihood.

There are also considerations which lead employers in some trades, and certain classes of employers in others, to prefer to employ home workers rather than provide factory accommodation with a regular staff of permanent hands. In some seasonal trades the employment of a number of additional hands as home workers while the rush is on enables the employer to avoid the cost of providing premises which would only be occupied a portion of the year. In this way, where the supply of the required home workers is abundant, as it mostly is, the employes have to bear more than their share of the consequences of uncertainty and irregularity in the trades in which they are engaged. In some trades the employment of home workers renders it possible for men of small capital to commence and carry on business as employers who would be unable to do so if they had to rent factories.

and fit them up with machinery and plant. A third class of employers, which includes many of those in the two groups just referred to, consists of those who desire to avoid compliance with the requirements which Parliament imposes upon owners and occupiers of factories and workshops, and to escape the visits and supervision of the inspectors who are appointed to enforce them.

A further factor in the problem is the abundance and elasticity of the supply of women home workers. The number of women who, while not absolutely compelled by pressing necessity to do so, are quite willing to earn a very welcome addition to the family income by doing work at home is so large that in those trades where the work is clean and inoffensive, and such technical skill as is necessary can easily be acquired, it may be said to be almost unlimited. In some parts of the country work of this kind is sent out from the towns to a large number of home workers in villages and hamlets many miles off. The poorest class of women home workers who depend upon their earnings from it for their livelihood are, owing to their poverty and their necessities and the fact that they work separately, a peculiarly helpless class. They are altogether unorganised, and, because the supply of such labour as theirs is abundant and very scattered, it has been found to be impossible hitherto for them to act together to promote common interests and secure better and uniform rates of payment. The consequence is that they are powerless to resist the tendency to reduce rates which results from the competition of employers to undersell each other. The pressure which the smaller employers are under to reduce the rates of pay to their workers is very great because their lack of capital, and their consequent inability to buy their materials on the best terms and occupy factories equipped with the most efficient plant, drives them to look for a reduction in their cost of production that will enable them to undersell the larger and more favourably circumstanced firms by reducing the rates of payment to those of their workpeople who are least able to resist the pressure. When one employer reduces the rates of payment made to his workpeople, and is thereby enabled to quote lower prices for his goods than his immediate competitors can, they in turn are compelled to seek further economies somewhere. Thus the process goes on until everything—profits, wages, quality—is, so to speak, ‘cut to the bone.’ With an abundant supply of exceptionally helpless and totally unorganised workers, it is inevitable, under present conditions, that their rates of payment should be driven down to extremely low figures.

When the task of suggesting practical remedies for this condition of things has to be faced, the difficulties of the situation are speedily realised, except by the most optimistic, happy-go-lucky, cocksure, pills-for-earthquake reformers of the human race and the body politic. The Select Committee of the House of Lords—Lord Dunraven’s Committee—to whose Report, made in 1890, reference has already been

made—collapsed, for all practical purposes, when it reached this stage of its work, the real object for which it was appointed. Its summary of the evidence which had been submitted to the Committee describing the then existing condition of things was admirable, but the recommendations which were based upon it were feeble. Briefly stated they were :

- (1) That all workshops should be treated as factories for sanitary purposes.
 - (2) That a list of all home workers should be kept by every occupier of a factory or workroom.
 - (3) That all work places should be more thoroughly inspected.
 - (4) That the provisions of the Truck Act should be more strictly enforced.
 - (5) That girls should not be allowed to use heavy sledge hammers or make thick chains.
 - (6) That the Government and other public bodies should take steps to prevent sweating in connexion with contracts given out by them.
- Sundry expressions of opinion in commendation of 'the extension of co-operative societies,' 'combination amongst the workers,' 'technical education,' and 'efforts now being made to encourage thrift, promote temperance, improve wellings, and raise the tone of living.'

There was extremely little definite and practical guidance for Parliament in all this. It was good and sound so far as it went, but it went a very little way. The real crux of the problem is that considerable quantities of articles are being produced in our midst under conditions and at rates of payment which barely enable, and in many instances are quite insufficient to enable, those who make them to sustain life even in the most meagre fashion, although they work for excessively long hours. The lime-washing of workshops, domestic and other, and the prevention of overcrowding in them, would not and has not altered the conditions in these respects of the homes of the home workers who work in their own rooms, where they do not employ anyone else, and which are consequently not technically 'domestic workshops.' It is also useless to talk to these poor people about co-operative societies, combination among the workers, thrift and raising the tone of living. What they need is better payment for a day's work. Given that, all the rest is possible through wise legislation and combined and individual effort, but without it they are helpless and hopeless. Consequently the problem to which we are driven back is, How can the earnings of these people be improved ?

An instructive illustration of the way in which the efforts of Government Departments and other public bodies to secure the payment of better rates to the workpeople in connexion with their contracts may be frustrated was given in evidence before our Committee. When these bodies embody in their contracts a condition that the workpeople shall be paid certain rates, some employers who secure the work make the payment of the rates specified a means of requiring the workpeople to do other work for other customers at less than the usual rates. That is to say, as a condition of obtaining some of

the better-paid work the employé has to do a quantity of other work at exceptionally low rates. Thus his total earnings are no better or very very little better than they would have been if the public work had not been paid for at better rates. Some public bodies require all the work on their contracts to be done in factories. Obviously that does not increase the earnings or in any way improve the position of the home workers.

The prohibition of home work, by which is meant the prohibition of the employment of persons who, in the rooms in which they live, work at the production of articles for sale, is advocated by some. It is contended that it is the home workers who do not always depend on their earnings for their livelihood, who work irregularly or regularly to supplement the family income, and those who have to work at home and have to take such rates of payment as they can get ~~because~~ are feeble, inefficient, or have children, or invalids, or aged persons to look after, who keep down the rates of payment, and render it possible for employers to get their work done without incurring the cost of renting factories and putting down plant and machinery, which would make the piece rates paid yield better earnings because the output of the workers with efficient appliances and steam power would be much greater. It is urged that so long as employment of workers at home is allowed, the number of wives and daughters, whose husbands and fathers are in employment, who will be willing to add to the family income, and of others who are incapable of, or unsuited for, or are unwilling to undertake regular and constant factory work, will be so great, and so capable of almost indefinite increase, that it will be impossible to drive all the work into properly equipped modern factories in which the articles can be most economically produced and much better earnings for the workers rendered possible. The advocates of prohibition say, and with great truth, that much of this home work represents the survival of an obsolete and antiquated system of production which is only kept in existence at the expense of a great amount of misery to a large number of people, and that it would be really kindness to the workers as a whole and in the long run to put an end to it. It was felt, however, by our Committee that this would be a very drastic step. There is a large amount of work done by women in their own homes which is not attended by any of the distressing conditions which it is desired to abolish, and where the earnings are an extremely welcome addition to the family or personal income. In many rural districts in various parts of the United Kingdom a considerable amount of home work is done in spare time under conditions which are decidedly healthy. Its prohibition could only be justified under such grave public necessity as has certainly not yet been proved.

A proposal has been made that it should be rendered illegal to give out work to be done at home unless the worker had obtained a

licence, the conditions of obtaining and retaining which would be that the premises in which the work was to be done were clean and wholesome, properly lighted and ventilated, and would not be overcrowded by the number of persons who would work in them. What is the precise real object of this proposal is not very clear. On the face of it it appears to be calculated to accomplish either too much or too little. If the real object be, as seems probable, to abolish home work in the houses of the very poor, it is a very drastic step and this seems to be a clumsy way of doing it. If the step were a desirable one, it would be better to take it frankly by direct enactment. On the other hand, if the ostensible object be the real one and the aim is to secure better sanitary conditions in homes where work is done, the desired end can be accomplished in a simpler way and with far less inconvenience, loss, and anxiety to a class of people whose difficulties need not be increased unnecessarily.

The Report of our Committee suggests a simple method by which a complete list of all home workers in each locality can easily be obtained at a minimum of trouble to all concerned, and it points out that :

If the provision of Section 9 of the Public Health Act, 1875, with respect to premises and workshops which are not kept in a cleanly state, or are ill ventilated or over-crowded, were extended to rooms in which home work is done, much good would be done. If these provisions were accompanied by power being given to the Inspectors of the Local Authority and the Factory Inspector to inspect rooms in which home work is done, a great improvement in structural and domestic cleanliness would be brought about.

But none of these suggestions grapple with the real difficulty—the smallness of the earnings. The most stringent regulations as to the issue of licences based on compliance with requirements as to cleanliness, ventilation, &c., might easily put a stop to home work for which the pay is by no means extremely poor, and permit it to continue in numberless cases where a poor woman works for a miserable pittance in a spotlessly clean living room ; but there is no reason for thinking that they would increase the earnings of a single home worker.

The proposal to which the most public attention has been directed is one for establishing Wages Boards in selected trades and giving them power to fix the minimum rates that may be paid to workers in those trades. The payment of a lower rate than the one fixed to be a punishable offence. The boards would be composed of representatives of employers and workpeople in equal numbers, with an independent chairman. A Bill (the 'Sweated Industries Bill') embodying this proposal passed its second reading in the House of Commons this year, and was referred to the Select Committee from whose Report I have already quoted freely.

The clause in the Bill which defines the 'manner of calculating the minimum rate of wages' runs thus :

(1) The minimum rate of wages fixed by a Wages Board may be calculated either by time or by piece work, or so as to give an employer the option of paying either by time or by piece work, except that in case of work given out from a factory or workshop or other place to be done elsewhere it shall be calculated by piece work only.

(2) The minimum rate of wages may be fixed for any kind or kinds of work in a trade, and may be different for different kinds of work and for different parts of the district, as the board think fit.

(3) The minimum rate of wages may be fixed for any class or classes of persons employed in a trade, and may be different for different classes of persons employed, as the board think fit.

The particular phase of the underpayment or insufficient earning question which has impressed itself most vividly on the public mind is that of the home workers, and especially the women home workers. There, undoubtedly, we have the problem in its most aggravated form. It is there also that the workers are the most helpless and the most difficult to organise—indeed, under present conditions, it is practically impossible to organise them effectively, or in any way to help them or place them in a position to help themselves. Theirs is the most pressing and urgent phase. Theirs is the case which the Select Committee was specifically appointed to consider, and it is with special reference to the circumstances and difficulties of their position that the practicability and probable success or otherwise of any suggested remedy must be investigated. The possibility and prospect of improving their lot and condition is the test to which proposals should be submitted.

Would Wages Boards, as proposed in the Sweated Industries Bill, be a practicable and effective remedy for the evils with which they are designed to cope? An important feature of home work is that, necessarily, it is piece-work. Payment by time is obviously impossible when the work is done away from the premises of the employer and no check can be applied to any statement of the time alleged to have been worked. But fixing piece rates is very different from and much more complicated and difficult than fixing time rates. For piece-work, rates of payment would have to be fixed for every variation of every process, of every size, of every design and pattern of every description and quality of every article. In some trades, especially where fashion is the dominating factor, these are not only almost innumerable but are constantly changing. A further serious practical difficulty is that an extremely important phase of the competition between employers in many trades is the incessant endeavour to produce new designs, shapes, and patterns, and get them into the hands of their customers before other makers have an opportunity of seeing them and imitating or rivalling them. Clearly, it would be impossible to require these new ideas, designs, and patterns to be submitted to a Wages Board on which competing employers and work-people in the employ of rival makers were sitting. On the other hand, if the fixing of rates of payment for new articles, designs, and

patterns were deferred until they had become known on the market, it would be found that in most trades an opening had been left in the Act through which a coach and four could easily be driven. When the time arrived for fixing the rate of payment it would frequently be found that if further new designs &c. were not already supplanting the previous ones, some slight alterations and variations would be introduced which would make the pattern technically and legally, though not actually, a new one.

When this phase of the subject is being considered it is essential to bear in mind that there is a great difference between an arbitrator or a board of conciliation fixing piece rates for a trade, in which both the employers and the workers are organised and have mutually agreed to the settlement of rates of payment, and a board dealing with unorganised trades and fixing rates which would have to be enforced in a court of law. In the one case evasion would not be tolerated. It would be a breach of honour and good faith, and would lead to an abandonment of a mode of settlement which both sides value and desire to retain. In the other case those who desired to evade the decisions—to which possibly they had personally not been parties either directly or indirectly, and which they only felt bound to obey in their strict legal interpretation and because they were compelled to do so—would probably find it easy so to vary the size, quality, or pattern, by omitting or altering some trivial details, as to make it difficult to prove in court that the lower rate which was being paid was, in fact, a payment for precisely the article and work for which the Wages Board had fixed a higher rate.

It was these considerations which induced me to suggest to our Committee, in the Draft Report which I prepared for their consideration and was unanimously adopted by them as the basis of their ultimate Report, that we should recommend that Wages Boards should be established for certain selected trades, and that the fixing of a minimum time rate of payment for the whole of the home workers in the trade in the district for which it acted should be the foundation of the work of each board and be practically its first duty.

In my opinion, this recommendation of a minimum time rate is fundamental. It is probable, if not indeed certain, that upon its adoption depends the success of the experiment of Wages Boards as applied to those home workers with whose lot our committee was mainly, and the legislature should, I think, primarily, be concerned. The conclusion seems to be unavoidable that unless there be, as a kind of solid bottom or foundation to the whole system, a clear and easily applied test of a minimum rate of payment below which no piece rates shall be allowed to fall, it will be impossible in many trades to construct any scale or log of piece rates that will form a net so closely woven and so comprehensive as to prevent any number of devices and evasions slipping through its meshes.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

IN the annals of the Catholic Church in this country, the Eucharistic Congress will take rank as an event of historic importance. In the memory of those who took part in it, it will live as the wonderful week in which they have gazed upon scenes such as have never been witnessed by their fathers even from the days of St. Augustine. For the first time in history seven Cardinals—one-tenth of the whole Sacred College—have met together in England. Their meeting had for its setting a combination of all those elements which stir most deeply the religious feelings of Catholics. The presence of a Papal Legate; the multitude, from all lands, of bishops and clergy in which were mingled home and foreign, East and West, Latin and Teuton; the splendour of the Liturgy which included the Byzantine rite as well as our own; the enormous concourse of the faithful, not only filling the vast cathedral but flooding far and wide the streets around it; the crowded sectional meetings at which were read such excellent papers as those of Abbot Gasquet and Dom Chapman and Lord Llandaff; above all, the faith and fervour which went forth in devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and loyalty to the Holy See, and tuned in the deepest of all harmonies the hearts of all from the stately Cardinal-Legate down to the tiniest child that bent lowly its infant head at the '*Veneremur cernui*'—all these are parts of a picture which is never likely to be forgotten by those who beheld it. Even the dramatic element was forthcoming in the startling incident of the Government intervention. Albeit a circumstance of an external and secondary order, it seemed to be psychologically timed by Mr. Asquith so as to produce the maximum effect of public prominence, and the awakening of a deep thrill of passionate resentment, in which the wounded sense of liberty and citizenship and patriotism was blended with that of religion. It can only be said that the Prime Minister in taking such a step was building more wisely than he knew for the complete success of the Congress.

By those who know most of such Congresses in the past the success of the one which has just been held is regarded as phenomenal. The Eucharistic Congresses assemble for the renewal and expression of

devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and it is intelligible that there should be between Catholics in various countries something of a pious and laudable rivalry in the attainment of that object. Eighteen previous Congresses have taken place in different parts of Catholic Christendom, and they have all been in their measure marked with an international character. It is at this moment a matter of holy pride to the Catholics of England that in the number of prelates, clergy, and faithful united in homage to the Eucharist, the Congress in London has eclipsed all others, and, be it added, with this pride, they have felt in no small degree a deepening of their pride in their country and in their fellow-countrymen, recognising as they do that in no other land could the work of the Congress have been carried out amid more courteous and generous expressions of sympathy upon the part of the general public than it has been here in the midst of the capital of the British Empire. Were it only for this drawing together more closely of the ties of national fellowship, Catholics would still owe a debt of gratitude to the Eucharistic Congress.

The success of the Congress has been many-sided, but whatever be the advantages which we may enumerate as accruing from its assembly, undoubtedly that which is first in our gratitude, as it was first in the purpose of its promoters, is the spiritual good which has been wrought by it. No thoughtful mind will undervalue the edification which is given by the spectacle of tens of thousands of people joining in a public act of faith and worship, nor the helpfulness of a majestic ritual and uplifting Church music, nor the imposing effect of stately surroundings, and least of all of the manifold evidences of Unity and of Catholicity, which thrill the worshippers with that sense of reality which is too deep for words. But however beautiful and dignified was this outer and visible accompaniment, precious above and beyond it is the work of the Holy Spirit which is wrought within souls. It is in this, the interior and spiritual good, that, first of all and most of all, we count the gain of the Eucharistic Congress. The Congress with its wonderful vision of Cardinals and clergy and kneeling crowds has come and gone, but there remains with us the conviction that multitudes of the Catholic people have been drawn more closely to Christ and stand nearer to Him to-day as the Bread of their life, and the Source of their spiritual strength, and the Friend of their earthly pilgrimage. Every Catholic altar in the land has its group, more or less numerous, of fervent and frequent communicants, and those who are engaged in the ministry of souls have in their daily experience plentiful proofs of how strongly and deeply rooted is the belief and devotion of the Holy Eucharist in the souls of the Catholic people. But, even to them, the events of the Congress have come as a revelation. Men and women and children in thousands have pressed forward to the altars for Holy Communion, and never in the whole history of the Church in this country has there been a greater outburst

of love and devotion to the Mass and to the Blessed Sacrament. We love to think that such a renewal must be to some extent a national as well as an ecclesiastical advantage. Directed as it is to what Catholics hold to be the very fountain source of essential strength, its effect ought to be, in the measure of their sincerity, to invigorate the fibre of their Christian character, and to make them good citizens as well as good Catholics. A movement which brings them to use more fervently the great Sacrament of Peace and Love ought, in uniting them more closely to Christ, to fill them more abundantly with the spirit of charity and loyalty, and goodwill towards their fellow-countrymen. I venture thus to express what I may call the primarily Catholic view of the Eucharistic Congress, because it seems to me that, rightly understood, such great Eucharistic gatherings, wherever they may be held, cannot but have a civic as well as a spiritual beneficence, and also because it is a satisfaction to think that the generous attitude of the public at large, who have looked on respectfully if not sympathetically from without, should have a return in the form of a benefit which all can appreciate. Here if the advantage is thus appraised on what may seem a lower plane of value, it is not meant for a moment to exclude its higher aspect. The heart of England is still Christian and religious, and Catholics, while realising how much there is in their faith that fundamentally differs from that of the majority around them, feel that they can trust their fellow-countrymen well enough to be sure—more sure than ever—that this nation is never likely to quarrel with them because they practise an act of their religion, and especially an act of love and homage to Christ in the Holy Communion. On the contrary, they know well that there are many who, while they cannot follow us in faith, reckon that every act of religion sincerely practised must be a gain to the religious feeling of the nation as a whole, and welcome every honour paid to Christ with sympathetic appreciation. The spiritual and the religious fruit of the Congress is thus paramount in the mind of the Catholic body, and no other considerations in the after-glow may be allowed to dim or depreciate its significance.

Compared with this, the real work and the real success of the Congress, the intervention of the Government in regard to the procession may be described as a ripple upon the surface. No doubt the ripple was one of deep indignation, for religious indignation is the deepest of its kind, and those who watched the faces of the mighty audience at the Albert Hall on Saturday evening, or heard the emphatic comments which passed freely from lip to lip amongst the crowds waiting outside the cathedral on Sunday morning, will gauge how deeply the feeling of the Catholic body has been stirred by what it has felt to be at once a violation of its rights and an indignity offered to its religion. In the outer domain of Catholic action, the incident is much too important not to be followed up to its con-

sequences, but here it will be sufficient to note the precise position which preceded so unexpected and so regrettable a development.

The Eucharistic Congress which has just taken place is but one of a series which has been held year by year in various parts of Christendom, and in all such meetings the acts of devotion to Christ in the Holy Eucharist have been appropriately crowned and completed by a public procession of the Blessed Sacrament. When it was decided that the Eucharistic Congress of this year should be held in London, it became a question of how far, and in what manner, this part of the programme would be practicable. The very reason why the Church allows the Blessed Sacrament to be taken out of the sanctuary, and carried publicly along the highways, is that, especially in Catholic lands, she is dealing with the multitudes of the faithful far beyond the number that could be accommodated even in the largest church, and she naturally wishes that these should have an opportunity of taking their part in the homage offered to the Holy Eucharist. That may be taken as one at least of the *raisons d'être* of her public processions. From this it naturally follows that in the mind and intention of the Catholic Church such processions, by their very meaning, postulate that they shall take place in the midst of a Catholic people, and that they shall pass through the believing and adoring multitude from whom Christ in the Blessed Sacrament shall receive the tribute of Faith and worship. On the other hand, it never could be either the purpose of the Church, or the interest of religion, that the Sacred Host should be obtruded or paraded in the presence of a public which in its overwhelming majority has ceased to believe in the Real Presence, and therefore cannot conscientiously render to it that honour which those who do believe feel as conscientiously to be its due. Such an obtrusion would be as repugnant to the soul of the Catholic as it would be both inconsiderate and unfair to the conscience of the non-Catholic. The more so, as in the mind of the Church the procession of the Blessed Sacrament is not only an act in which the people do honour to the Real Presence, but pre-eminently one in which the Real Presence confers an honour, beyond all words, upon the people, and such honour plainly presupposes conditions of corresponding faith and devotion. These elementary principles of Catholic belief, which are those of good sense and good taste as well, are sufficiently obvious to all, and if they are mentioned here it is only to indicate how utterly beside the mark is the suspicion entertained, apparently by a mistaken few, that the Catholic Church in this country had organised the proposed procession of the Host in the spirit of ostentation or bravado, or with a view of thrusting her sacred mysteries upon the attention of a Protestant public. In truth, one could hardly conceive anything which is farther from the mind of the Catholic authorities than such an obtrusion, or anything which they feel would be more fatal to the spirit and work of the Church in this country.

Needless to say that the Sacred Host is to us much too sacred, that we should seek to put it in the front of the denominational fray, and that, whatever be our warfare, we shall know how to strengthen ourselves in its strength, without borrowing the methods of the 'Battle of the Standard.'

It will then be asked, If this be the case, why was the procession of the Host made a part of the programme in the recent Congress?

The answer is that it was so arranged because the holding of such a procession was felt to be quite in harmony with the principles just mentioned, and this, I think, may be made plain by a simple statement of the facts.

In the first place, when it was proposed by some over-zealous promoters that the procession should take place in Victoria Street, or some of the greater thoroughfares near the cathedral, the Archbishop of Westminster at once vetoed the proposal. On the other hand, as the work of organisation developed, the necessity of holding such a procession for Catholics outside the limits of the cathedral itself became more and more apparent. The unprecedented demand for Congress tickets already assured the committee that the cathedral would be filled up to its utmost capacity by some eight thousand people. Besides this, the Archbishop had a notification that more than 70,000 Catholics would come to take their part in the act of homage to the Blessed Sacrament. As a matter of fact they were joined by Catholics arriving by special trains from many parts of England and abroad, so that the crowd assembled on Sunday evening, the 13th, has been estimated by some at more than 150,000. It became a question of finding room for this multitude of Catholics, and of arranging some way by which they could fulfil their desire of joining in the worship of the Blessed Sacrament. They were practically the overflow of the congregation assembled inside the cathedral, and there was no alternative but to allow them to occupy the cathedral precincts and the streets adjoining. Fortunately, those streets lent themselves very aptly to the purpose. While the Archbishop most wisely forbade any occupation of the main streets, or anything which could inconvenience the public traffic, it so happens that around the cathedral there are a number of smaller streets, which on Sundays are all but deserted. Into these it was arranged that the overflowing multitude of Catholics should be directed, and it was decided that the procession of the Blessed Sacrament which would be held in the cathedral should then issue from its walls, and pass amongst these thousands of the faithful in order that they too, as well as their more privileged brethren within the cathedral, might satisfy their devotion and have their share—many of them had travelled all night for it—in paying homage to their Lord in the Holy Eucharist. Their right as citizens to pass into these streets was beyond doubt, and further, the police authorities, whose conduct throughout has been beyond

praise, and whose knowledge of the whole district is unquestionable, had assured the Committee that no difficulty would be found in the maintenance of order. At the same time similar assurances were forthcoming from many residents along the proposed route that, far from offering any opposition, they would welcome gladly the spectacle of a procession in their neighbourhood. It was under these conditions, with every issue maturely weighed, and every precaution duly taken, that the Committee obtained the Archbishop's sanction for the procession of the Host to be held within the limits of the restricted area of quiet side-streets surrounding the cathedral. Such a procession was clearly an extension of the procession in the cathedral made to meet the wants of an overflowing Catholic congregation. It might be said that for the moment the circumstances of the most Catholic country were in a manner reproduced in miniature in and around the cathedral, and, in view of the fact, it was felt that it would be a harsh and cruel course to deprive so many thousands of Catholics of their part in an act of worship to which they had so fervently looked forward.

There may be indeed various opinions upon the desirability of holding, under any circumstances, processions of the Blessed Sacrament in the streets of London, but in the specific case in point it would be difficult to see how the Committee could well have acted otherwise. Certainly it would be unjust to suppose that their action was inspired by any wish to obtrude a procession of this kind upon the general public. It was never meant for the general public, but for the multitude of the Catholic faithful who, in their tens of thousands, could not find room inside their cathedral. Such, I take it, is the presentment of the facts as gathered from those who are best qualified to know, and it is in their light that one can best form a judgment of the events which followed.

Mr. Asquith, in yielding to the influences which urged him to prohibit the procession, took his stand upon its supposed illegality. It is well known that in the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act nearly eighty years ago, several grudging reservations in the shape of certain disabilities were allowed to survive by way of concession to the fears and prejudices which lingered in the minds of the opponents of the measure. It is not easy to imagine that there are men who still exist in the atmosphere of that period, and for whom in that respect the progress of the last eighty years seems to count for nothing, and thus Catholics generally had come to believe that most of these relics of penal days had long since become obsolete by their simple and utter anachronism. They felt that to believe otherwise would have been to do an injustice to the good sense of their fellow-countrymen. Now it appears that these provisions, bolstered by a proclamation of 1852, are galvanised into vigour and are invoked to interdict processions of the kind that had been arranged for at the

recent Congress. Whether they are obsolete, or, as some say, only obsolescent, is a matter which may be left to the lawyers. While law is law, and not against conscience, Catholics will obey it. But if the disabilities in question are still to be dignified by the name of law, then Mr. Asquith has done good service in pointing out—in what was surely the most telling way which he could have chosen for the purpose—such a blot upon the Statute Book, in order that public opinion may be aroused to the fact, and that the law may be speedily altered. The case from the Catholic standpoint is too plain to need proof, and it has been stated with admirable clearness and force in the letter of the Archbishop to the Premier. Catholics give to the Crown and the Constitution the same support, and certainly the same loyalty, as their fellow-subjects, and, doing so, they claim to have the same protection and the same rights, and that in the exercise of these rights the law of the land shall not discriminate against them. That is only to say that, giving all that others give, they claim all that others claim. They cannot ask more, and in self-respect they cannot accept less. Nor can one suppose for a moment that the public opinion of the country would wish them to do otherwise. The nation's honour lies quite as much in righting us as ours lies in being righted.

In the meantime, the incident of the Government prohibition was not without a certain diplomatic interest. To prohibit the procession pure and simple would have been for the Government itself to go beyond the limits of the law, and would have placed it in a false position. It would have also created a very grave danger, for if the resentment of the tens of thousands assembled in the streets of Westminster was at the mere change in the procession all but uncontrollable, one can readily imagine what it would have been had they been told that there was to be no procession at all. From both the false position and, as far as possible, from the danger, the Prime Minister was rescued by the statesmanlike action of the Archbishop. By a wise alteration in its character the procession was brought within the technical provisions of the law, and at the same time was enabled to be held in such a way as to appease at least in some measure the angry disappointment of the crowd, who happily vented in the acclamation of the Legate the pent-up feelings which otherwise would have shaped themselves into anything but blessings on the Premier. What would have been, and ought to have been, a quiet and devotional procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the Catholic multitudes kneeling in silent adoration as it passed, became a triumphant ovation to the Papal representative, amid wild enthusiasm and frantic cheering by the thousands who lined his path. If all is well that ends well, there must have been many who in witnessing the touching scenes of Catholic fervour along the route of the procession will have more than half forgiven Mr. Asquith in the silence of their hearts.

In a way, it is encouraging that Mr. Asquith should have appealed to reasons of law, even though the law be a somewhat spectral one. It reminds us that we are living in a country which happily possesses the highest and healthiest conception of liberty, and of law as the national assertion of individual right. In that conception, there are rights, and amongst them those of meeting and of peaceful procession, which are held to be naturally and inalienably vested in the constituent individuals. When law is in technical conflict with such rights, sooner or later right asserts itself, and if the law is wrong it can be rectified. Amongst a people possessing as their birthright this conception of freedom, everything is to be hoped for. It stands out in refreshing contrast to these Statolatrous doctrines obtaining in certain countries abroad which make for civic servility, and place all public action, and in it, the natural right of men to meet or to walk together, at the mercy or good pleasure of the Civil Power, represented by the Government of the day. At least Mr. Asquith has not come to that, and we have the breadth of the Channel between us and such degrading theories. In the long run it is more desirable that things should be regulated by even a bad law than by the caprice of a Minister. If the law is bad, it can be bettered, and Mr. Asquith's action will unwittingly have done more than most things in that direction.

Be that as it may, it is allowable to think that it is not in connexion with this episode of Government intervention that the Eucharistic Congress in London will be longest and best remembered. The strenuous struggle and vindication of freedom and equality in matters of civic right is, no doubt, all that is laudable and inevitable, but there is quite another mentality amid the beautiful ways of peace which we associate with our devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. It is rather upon the scenes which gather around it that the memory will linger in recalling the wonderful week of the Congress. The Wednesday evening, with the solemn entry of the Cardinal-Legate proceeding under the silken canopy up the nave of the densely thronged cathedral—the six Cardinals enthroned upon the dais and representing Spain, Milan, France, Belgium, Ireland and America—the hundred bishops in the chancel standing up with mitres lowered in reverence at the reading of the Apostolic Brief—the weird glory of the Byzantine liturgy with its object-lesson of Rome's far-reaching breadth of ritual comity, and its harking back to the centuries of our early Christian origins—the charming procession of the schools in which the little children cheered in their own shrill way, and fairly danced with glee as they waved their handkerchiefs in defiling before the Legate—the wonderful fervour of the faithful massed together on the early Sunday morning in the enormous throng around the cathedral doors, singing from time to time their favourite hymns to the Blessed Sacrament to while away the long hours that must elapse before the opening—the Pontifical High Mass sung by the Cardinal Legate girt by

hundreds of the Episcopate and clergy and a concourse of some eight thousand souls—the solemn bestowal of the Apostolic Blessing and its proclamation in Latin and in English to the vast congregation—and last of all, and perhaps most of all, the thrilling moment on that September Sunday evening, when the Host was carried in procession out of the cathedral towards the sea of eager faces that were waiting eagerly without; when the thousands inside heard and caught up the strains of the *O Salutaris Hostia* which was being sung by the tens of thousands outside, and when amid the sacred silence which spoke, as words never can speak, a multitude's faith and adoration, the Cardinal gave the Benediction from the loggia over the great porch of the cathedral;—these are the things that are still most in our thoughts, and that the little ones who were held up in arms to witness them will tell to their grandchildren in the long years to come. Little marvel if amid such impressions we find that, with the best will in the world, we are forgetting to think about Mr. Asquith.

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CAN ISLAM BE REFORMED?

THE many liberal movements which for more than a quarter of a century have been smouldering in the Muhammadan world have suddenly blazed up into the light of day, and Europe has been taken by surprise at the sight of Turks and Persians demanding a constitutional government; but to those who have had an opportunity of watching the progress of liberal and modern ideas among Muhammadans it has long been evident that some such attempt to arrest the imminent decay of Islam would soon be made. Not only in Egypt and India, where Moslems are most directly exposed to the influence of European thought, but in Asiatic Turkey and Persia, and even in Afghanistan, Moslems are being affected by ideas which are in their origin European, however much their presentment may have been changed to commend them to Oriental audiences. I am not afraid to say that in the best minds these ideas have found a welcome upon their own merits, from their innate superiority over the ideas which they dispossessed. But their acceptance by the generality has undoubtedly been enormously stimulated by the desire to escape from the ruin, which is impending over the Muhammadan world. 'The sword has departed from Islam' is a phrase which I have frequently heard upon the lips of Indian Muhammadans; and we may well believe that wherever Muhammadans are gathered together, whether in the bazars of Kabul, or the caravanserais of Tripoli, or beneath the shadow of the Ka'bah, this is the absorbing subject of conversation; and when stories have been exchanged of the successful aggressions of the French, the English, and the Russians, the question must often be asked, 'How have the Franks succeeded in achieving such preponderance as to be able to triumph over the Faithful?' Here and there an intrepid thinker, like my friend Mr. Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, will lay bare the true source of the disease and say frankly to his people, 'We lost the qualities which gave us empire long before we lost empire itself.' But these bitter truths cannot be relished by the masses; it is more congenial to national self-love to believe that it is not moral or intellectual superiority which has given Christendom its predominance, but rather that this predominance is due to some specific contrivance or artifice of which the Franks have the secret,

and that if the Moslems could but learn the trick of it they would be able to make head against Christendom as easily as they did of old. And what more natural than to suppose that Parliamentary institutions are such a device? How plausible it must appear to a people whose affairs are mismanaged by a self-indulgent despot that the reason of Western supremacy is that in Europe public affairs are directed by a council composed of the best and wisest elders of the nation, and that by this means the favouritism and corruption which have brought the Islamic kingdoms so low are avoided. The leaders are not victims of these facile delusions; they know that the Moslems have a long and weary way to go before they can come up with the van of European progress; none the less, these delusions have helped the cause of reform, for the new ideas would have made but slow progress did they not commend themselves to the people as specifics for the malady from which they were suffering.

Can the leaders bring their movement to a successful issue? Can the social structure of Islam be brought into harmony with modern ideas? This is a question in which half the Chancelleries of Europe are vitally interested, inasmuch as a constitutional government is an obvious impossibility in Moslem countries if Moslem society is incapable of reform. Lord Cromer, who has been in close contact with Muhammadan statesmen, who can write of them with genuine friendship, does not hesitate to answer this question with an emphatic negative. 'It should never be forgotten,' he says in the second volume of *Modern Egypt*, 'that Islam cannot be reformed. That is to say, that reformed Islam is Islam no longer.' This is not a chance phrase, an *obiter dictum* of secondary importance; it is the bed-rock upon which his conclusions regarding the future rest. 'Islamism,' he says elsewhere, 'as a social and political system, though not as a religion, is moribund.' The concern of Muhammad Beyram to bring Islam and its ways into harmony with modern society he describes as an attempt to square the circle, and he closes his admirable portrait of him with these gloomy words:

We may sympathise, and for my part I do heartily sympathise, with the Muhammad Beyrams of Islam, but let no practical politician think that they have a plan capable of resuscitating a body which is not indeed dead and which may yet linger on for centuries, but which is, nevertheless, politically and socially moribund and whose gradual decay cannot be arrested by any modern palliatives, however skilfully they may be applied.

This, of course, is a conjecture about the future which time alone can prove or disprove, but it is presumably based upon observation of the present; indeed, it is but another way of presenting a charge which has often before been brought against Muhammadans, the charge, namely, that Islam is rigid and inelastic, incapable of change and therefore incapable of reform. Lord Cromer himself shares this popular opinion. 'Islam,' he asserts, 'speaking not so much through the Koran as the traditions which cluster round the Koran, crystallises religion and law into a fixed and immutable whole, with the result that all

elasticity is taken away from the social system.' Here, then, is the root of Lord Cromer's pessimism and the source of many other prophecies about the imminent decay of Islam. Never was there a generalisation made in more flagrant defiance of the facts. Far from being inelastic, Muhammadan opinions have changed in the past, are changing now, and will presumably continue to change in the future. The alleged rigidity of Islam is a European myth, for the groundlessness of which there is overwhelming evidence. The myth, it is charitable to suppose, arose from the fact that Muhammadans themselves are averse to such an expression as the 'reform of Islam.' Islam is the name of a divine revelation, and the suggestion of reforming it gives them something of the shock which a Christian would experience on hearing of a proposal to 'amend the Gospel.' But has this horror of 'amending the Gospel' ever stood in the way of reform in Christendom? The infallibility of Holy Writ must be the starting-point of all reformers. Those who go further and pretend to a new revelation, like the Mormons or the Babis, are founding a new religion, not reforming an old one. From Wyclif to Tolstoi every Christian reformer has claimed not to amend the Gospel, but to bring to light its true meaning, which the Churches had perverted or misunderstood, and in the same way the Muhammadan reformer has claimed not to 'reform Islam,' but to show his people the error of their ways, and bring them back to the practice and understanding of the true faith, as it was practised and understood by the companions of the Prophet; his professed object has not been to alter but to restore, a formula under which the greatest reforms in all ages have been accomplished. Protestants, at least, should not find it hard to understand his position, for the great reformers of the sixteenth century appealed exactly in the same way to Scripture, to the early Fathers, and the practice of the primitive Church against the errors of Rome.

A convincing proof that Muhammadan opinion is susceptible of change, and therefore of reform (under a conservative formula) is to be found in the number of sects or heresies into which the Islamic world is divided; for what is a heresy but an attempt at reform? If the attempt fails, the reform is confined to a sect, it remains a heresy. If it is accepted by the majority of the believers, it becomes the orthodox faith, but in any case the movement was, in the eyes of the founders, a change for the better—that is, a reform. The power to throw out new sects is a vital function. It indicates that thought is not stagnant, but that the people are adapting their religious beliefs to the changing ideas of the age. Islam has never for long lost this vital power. As early as the third century of the Hijra it was believed that Islam was divided into seventy-two (or seventy-three) sects, and though in the sixth century the celebrated theologian Fakhraddin al-Razi (quoted by Dr. Goldziher) maintained that the number of divergences upon the fundamental dogmas of religion was not so great, he yet recognised that if differences of

and that if the Moslems could but learn the trick of it they would be able to make head against Christendom as easily as they did of old. And what more natural than to suppose that Parliamentary institutions are such a device? How plausible it must appear to a people whose affairs are mismanaged by a self-indulgent despot that the reason of Western supremacy is that in Europe public affairs are directed by a council composed of the best and wisest elders of the nation, and that by this means the favouritism and corruption which have brought the Islamic kingdoms so low are avoided. The leaders are not victims of these facile delusions; they know that the Moslems have a long and weary way to go before they can come up with the van of European progress; none the less, these delusions have helped the cause of reform, for the new ideas would have made but slow progress did they not commend themselves to the people as specifics for the malady from which they were suffering.

Can the leaders bring their movement to a successful issue? Can the social structure of Islam be brought into harmony with modern ideas? This is a question in which half the Chancelleries of Europe are vitally interested, inasmuch as a constitutional government is an obvious impossibility in Moslem countries if Moslem society is incapable of reform. Lord Cromer, who has been in close contact with Muhammadan statesmen, who can write of them with genuine friendship, does not hesitate to answer this question with an emphatic negative. 'It should never be forgotten,' he says in the second volume of *Modern Egypt*, 'that Islam cannot be reformed. That is to say, that reformed Islam is Islam no longer.' This is not a chance phrase, an *obiter dictum* of secondary importance; it is the bed-rock upon which his conclusions regarding the future rest. 'Islamism,' he says elsewhere, 'as a social and political system, though not as a religion, is moribund.' The concern of Muhammad Beyram to bring Islam and its ways into harmony with modern society he describes as an attempt to square the circle, and he closes his admirable portrait of him with these gloomy words:

We may sympathise, and for my part I do heartily sympathise, with the Muhammad Beyrams of Islam, but let no practical politician think that they have a plan capable of resuscitating a body which is not indeed dead and which may yet linger on for centuries, but which is, nevertheless, politically and socially moribund and whose gradual decay cannot be arrested by any modern palliatives, however skilfully they may be applied.

This, of course, is a conjecture about the future which time alone can prove or disprove, but it is presumably based upon observation of the present; indeed, it is but another way of presenting a charge which has often before been brought against Muhammadans, the charge, namely, that Islam is rigid and inelastic, incapable of change and therefore incapable of reform. Lord Cromer himself shares this popular opinion. 'Islam,' he asserts, 'speaking not so much through the Koran as the traditions which cluster round the Koran, crystallises religion and law into one inseparable and immutable whole, with the result that all

elasticity is taken away from the social system.' Here, then, is the root of Lord Cromer's pessimism and the source of many other prophecies about the imminent decay of Islam. Never was there a generalisation made in more flagrant defiance of the facts. Far from being inelastic, Muhammadan opinions have changed in the past, are changing now, and will presumably continue to change in the future. The alleged rigidity of Islam is a European myth, for the groundlessness of which there is overwhelming evidence. The myth, it is charitable to suppose, arose from the fact that Muhammadans themselves are averse to such an expression as the 'reform of Islam.' Islam is the name of a divine revelation, and the suggestion of reforming it gives them something of the shock which a Christian would experience on hearing of a proposal to 'amend the Gospel.' But has this horror of 'amending the Gospel' ever stood in the way of reform in Christendom? The infallibility of Holy Writ must be the starting-point of all reformers. Those who go further and pretend to a new revelation, like the Mormons or the Babis, are founding a new religion, not reforming an old one. From Wyclif to Tolstoi every Christian reformer has claimed not to amend the Gospel, but to bring to light its true meaning, which the Churches had perverted or misunderstood, and in the same way the Muhammadan reformer has claimed not to 'reform Islam,' but to show his people the error of their ways, and bring them back to the practice and understanding of the true faith, as it was practised and understood by the companions of the Prophet; his professed object has not been to alter but to restore, a formula under which the greatest reforms in all ages have been accomplished. Protestants, at least, should not find it hard to understand his position, for the great reformers of the sixteenth century appealed exactly in the same way to Scripture, to the early Fathers, and the practice of the primitive Church against the errors of Rome.

A convincing proof that Muhammadan opinion is susceptible of change, and therefore of reform (under a conservative formula) is to be found in the number of sects or heresies into which the Islamic world is divided; for what is a heresy but an attempt at reform? If the attempt fails, the reform is confined to a sect, it remains a heresy. If it is accepted by the majority of the believers, it becomes the orthodox faith, but in any case the movement was, in the eyes of the founders, a change for the better—that is, a reform. The power to throw out new sects is a vital function. It indicates that thought is not stagnant, but that the people are adapting their religious beliefs to the changing ideas of the age. Islam has never for long lost this vital power. As early as the third century of the Hijra it was believed that Islam was divided into seventy-two (or seventy-three) sects, and though in the sixth century the celebrated theologian Fakhrud-din al Razi (quoted by Dr. Goldziher) maintained that the number of divergences upon the fundamental dogmas of religion was not so great, he yet recognised that if differences of

secondary importance were reckoned this number should be more than doubled. Since Fakhruddin died (606 A.H.) many sects have decayed and many others have sprung up in their place. The great Wahabi movement of the eighteenth century of our era, which came into being in the very cradle of Islam itself, is alone sufficient indication that the capacity of reform resided in Muhammadan society, and was not dependent upon external inspiration. In modern times, under the stimulating influence of European ideas, new sects are multiplying with amazing rapidity under our eyes. In Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam* authority is quoted for the assertion that there are no fewer than 150. In the Panjab, that fruitful nursery of religious dissent, Islam is honeycombed with sects of which very few have ever come upon European records. They are of every variety. At one end of the scale are the Ahl-i-Koran, the people of the Koran, who reject the traditions and interpret the Koran by the Koran itself, which means in practice that they put the spirit above the letter of Holy Writ. At the other extreme are the Ahmadiyya Musalmans, or followers of the recently deceased Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Kadian, who styled himself 'the Promised Messiah'; these sectaries were prudent enough to send a synopsis of their beliefs to the compilers of the census of 1901, from which it appears that 'the characteristic mark of this sect is that it not only reprobates the doctrine of the *jihad* (Holy War) with the sword, but does not even look forward to its enforcement at any future time. Wars undertaken for the propagation of religion it regards as absolutely unlawful.' This, no doubt, was comfortable doctrine to the English officials who had to compile the census, but perhaps the most characteristic teaching of the sect is the emphasis laid by them upon peace and good-will, which the name Ahmadiyya is supposed to indicate. I have purposely selected for mention sects which have grown up in the lap of Islam itself, and which cannot, like the Nechari doctrines of the late Sir Sayyid Ahmad, be traced to a European source; but even in this case the influence of Europe may easily be overrated. The term Nechari is, indeed, derived from the English word 'nature,' and connotes the modern scientific conception that God does not interfere with the course of Nature, for Sir Sayyid was no believer in miracles; but it should not be forgotten that he knew very little English, and that his first impulse to heterodoxy was not given by European speculation but by the teaching of the Wahabis, and that to the end his mind moved in Oriental and not in Western channels of thought. The growth of new sects in Muhammadan India has no doubt its parallel in Persia and Turkey, though where the press is not free such movements long escape observation and record; but in Egypt Lord Cromer has himself observed that the teaching of the late Mufti Muhammad Abduh forms a striking parallel to the teaching of Sir Sayyid Ahmad.

I am tempted to lay stress upon the multiplication of new sects

because evidence of this kind is positive and palpable. The mere number of new sects is in the nature of a statistical criterion of the capacity to reform; but it is a very imperfect measure of the extent to which Mussalmans are adapting their religious opinions to the spirit of the time. To join a distinct sect is to make a public profession of a change of view; it is an extreme sacrifice which every man whose opinions have been modified does not feel called to make. Perhaps the greatest changes of all are those which take place almost imperceptibly and without any violent wrench. Men who have imbibed something of modern thought re-read their Scriptures in the light of their new acquirements; those parts of Holy Writ which do not correspond with their present needs make but a slight impression, and fade into the background of their mental vision. Whereas other parts, to which they had perhaps hitherto paid little attention, give a direct answer to the immediate wants of the soul. These are read and re-read, and become of supreme importance. The Scripture indeed remains the same, but the emphasis laid upon its various passages is altered. It would not be just to say that men pick out of Scripture the passages which suit them and disregard the rest, for the process is performed unconsciously. But the result is much the same as if they had done so. The texts which were most commonly in the mouths of the Fifth Monarchy men were obviously not those from which James Martineau drew his inspiration, because the spirit in which they read the Bible was so different from his; and a similar change has come over the Moslem world. In the twentieth century it is natural that Muhammadans should be most attracted to those passages in the Koran in which the spiritual side of Islam is most emphasised; to an outsider it appears as if the whole creed by this re-reading had become more humane. In India a not inconsiderable number of my Muhammadan acquaintances believe that

- (1) The use of force for the propagation of the faith is forbidden by Islam.
- (2) That Islam enjoins monogamy.
- (3) That slavery is inconsistent with Islam, which asserts the brotherhood of man.

These opinions indicate a stupendous advance. Half a century ago no friend of the Muhammadans, however sympathetic, would have believed in the possibility of their existence. Hughes, in his *Dictionary of Islam* (published in 1885), declares that Muhammadanism teaches the exact opposite in all three cases. Other departures from that rigid code which Europe persists in ascribing to Islam occur to me, such as

- (1) Moslems ought to welcome science and knowledge from whatever source.
- (2) The sacrifice of animals is undesirable and not obligatory.
- (3) Islam does not impose the dogma of predestination.

The last, indeed, was a doctrine of the Mutazilah (founded in the second century of the Hijra), who contended, among other things, that man was a free agent; in many respects the young generation, as Mr. Ameer Ali has said, is tending unconsciously towards these Mutazalite doctrines. The point however which I wish to emphasise is that these opinions are not peculiar to Europeanised Moslems, but are held by many who are scrupulous in the observation of fast and prayer, and who have never cut themselves off from the communion of the orthodox. I have known a case in which the more modern, or liberal, view was defended by a Muhammadan who knew no European language, and was attacked by a man educated in Europe. A Turkish doctor, who had come to India to study the treatment of cholera, once came to lunch with me at Aligarh, and I asked the distinguished Indian scholar, Maulavi Shibli Nomani, to meet him. Our conversation dragged a little at first because it had to be conducted in three languages, French, Persian, and Urdu, but it happened to fall upon the question of polygamy, and then it became brisk enough. The Turkish doctor, in defence of his views, was explaining to me in French what charm there was in variety, and, pointing to some roses on the table, he remarked how much more pleasing it was to have a bunch of them than a single flower. Maulavi Shibli, who knew just sufficient French to understand the drift of our remarks, grew visibly more agitated as we proceeded. At last he broke forth in indignant reprobation, rained upon the unhappy doctor a shower of texts from the Koran and the Hadis, and triumphantly demonstrated that the views he held were directly repugnant to the true faith; the man of science was completely discomfited and had to withdraw under cover of the excuse that he was no theologian. Examples such as this could be multiplied indefinitely, and show to my mind that the reform of Muhammadan opinion which is said to be impossible is actually taking place in India. From all I can learn, the same change is taking place in other civilised Muhammadan countries, and I was not surprised to observe that one of the demands presented by the populace to the Sultan of Turkey during the revolutionary crisis was that he should put away his liberal establishment and restrict himself to one consort in the future.

I know that some Christian controversialists say, 'Oh, if Islam is so changed as to tolerate liberal ideas, it is no longer Islam.' Why not? If the people continue to call themselves Moslems and continue to derive their inspiration from the message of Muhammad, I cannot see how they can be denied the name. No religion is ever an unchanging body of doctrine; from generation to generation it is readjusted to satisfy the changes of human thought. Christianity can rightly boast that it has always shown itself singularly capable of such development, and that in spite of Ecumenical Councils its real creed has never been stereotyped. Had an observer as intelligent as Lord Cromer visited Europe in the fifteenth century, he might with great

plausibility have argued that Christianity without a priesthood was Christianity no longer; but would anybody in the twentieth century dream of asserting that Presbyterians are not Christians? For my part I would not deny the epithet Christian to any one of the links in that long chain of ideas which connects General Booth with Calvin and Hildebrand, and for the same reason I do not withhold the name Moslem from any body of men who express their outlook upon the universe in terms of Islam. I confess I look forward not only with hope but with confidence to a great reform in the Muhammadan world, to 'the regeneration of a fallen people,' as we say at Aligarh. I see that the Muhammadans find no obstacle in their religion, rightly conceived, to the adoption of European education and scientific ideas; that the men who hold these views are not only intellectually but morally superior to their forefathers; and that, though there has been a loosening of the hold which their faith has upon some of the young men, a large proportion of them retain an unquestioning belief in their religion, and all of them, including even the agnostics, cherish a singularly warm affection for the Prophet Muhammad and a pride in their Moslem heritage.

I see, then, no reason for accepting Lord Cromer's dictum that Islamism as a social system is moribund; but, for reasons which are in no way connected with the Muhammadan faith, I fear that many obstacles will be found in the path of political reconstruction. It is true that social reform is an indispensable condition of political reform, but the possession of the domestic virtues does not necessarily imply political capacity; it cannot be pretended that because a people are virtuous in private life they are therefore capable of originating and working political institutions competent to replace the despotism by which all Muhammadan countries have hitherto been governed. That Turks and Persians should desire to start some sort of Parliamentary government is natural. The evil against which they are for the moment most anxious to protect themselves is arbitrary despotism, and as Mr. Reshid Sadi said in the *Times* of August 4, 'human ingenuity has so far devised no efficacious means of controlling such sovereign power but parliamentary institutions.' But parliamentary institutions cannot be established and put at work as machinery can be erected and set running; they depend for their success upon the people who have to work them—that is to say, upon a great mass of individuals who have had no previous experience of politics. If it were merely a question of reforming the public services, and even of nominating a capable assembly, that would not present a very grave difficulty. There must be patriotic and educated Turks in sufficient numbers to fill all these places. But representative institutions postulate that this patriotism and this education and capacity for dealing with public questions should be diffused among the people at large. The whole

body of the people, or at least the whole electorate, must have the capacity to associate together for public ends, and this capacity is not so much a matter of intelligence or even honesty as of temper and habit. Men who have been used to work together, in whatever public cause, it may be only to collect subscriptions or to run an orphanage or to safeguard a threatened interest, learn to give and take, to subordinate private to public interests, to trust each other, to follow a leader, in one case to guide opinion and to take responsibility in another; they acquire rather by practice than precept the temper necessary for working political institutions.

It must be confessed that Muhammadans have hitherto had little practice in this association for public purposes. Arbitrary monarchs have always been jealous of the existence of power in local bodies, and, indeed, of any power that was not derived from themselves. Louis XIV, as Saint-Simon tells us, was jealous of the few privileges which remained to the French nobility, because

il ne vouloit de grandeur que par émanation de la sienne. . . . Il sentoit bien qu'il pouvoit accabler un seigneur sous le poids de sa disgrâce, mais non pas l'anéantir ni les siens, au lieu qu'en précipitant un Secrétaire d'Etat de sa place ou un autre ministre de la même espèce, il le replongeait, lui et tous les siens, dans la profondeur du néant d'où cette place l'avoit tiré.

The same malignant vanity in Oriental despots has killed out all but the rudest germs of political institutions in Muhammadan countries. Muhammadans like to think that because the Commander of the Faithful was in early days elected by a sort of popular vote, therefore democratic government is natural to all Moslems. I fear that a precedent which has been in abeyance for twelve centuries carries little weight in practical politics. I do not see that Socialism in Christendom derives any assistance from the fact that the early Christians held all their goods in common. Muhammadans must build up their institutions with the materials which the last two or three hundred years have put into their hands, and I am compelled to recognise that their task is a difficult one, for these materials are extremely scanty. But the difficulty of their task is not due to their religion, but to the previous existence of a centralised despotism, and it is only fair to recognise that Christian Russia is confronted with exactly the same problem. Indeed, any autocracy which manages all a people's affairs for them and permits them to do nothing for themselves, weakens their power of self-government, and the more efficient the autocracy the more the political capacity of the people is atrophied. This may partly explain the fact mentioned by Lord Cromer that 'the Turco-Egyptians, who might perhaps have been able to govern the country in a rude fashion in 1883, were incapable of doing so when the full tide of civilisation had set strongly in'—that is to say, by the time that Lord Cromer had raised the Administration to so high a pitch of efficiency.

Perhaps it is of good augury for the political future of Muhammadan

countries that Oriental despotisms, though excessively centralised, have rarely been highly efficient, and that, through weakness rather than policy, they have usually been obliged to leave some power in the hands of sections of the people. Thus, for example, the village has usually been allowed to manage its own affairs; the religious leaders of certain communities have often been given authority over their own co-religionists; and certain noble families exercise, *de facto*, a great deal of power in their own localities. These are germs from which indigenous political institutions might perhaps be developed. These and all other forms of self-government native to the soil should be carefully cherished, for the people will work them better than any theoretically superior institutions with which they are not familiar. Situated as the Muhammadans are, they need to preserve all the elements which conduce to the stability of their social order, for if they attempt to reconstitute their government upon abstract principles, they may find, in the pregnant words of Taine, that what they hoped was a revolution may prove to be dissolution.

THEODORE MORISON.

TURKEY IN 1876

A RETROSPECT

AT a time when the attention of Europe has been arrested by recent events in Turkey it may not be amiss to recall something of the history of that country during the period which immediately preceded the promulgation of the short-lived and ill-fated Constitution of 1876. By so doing we shall, perhaps, gain some insight into the causes which led to the cold and even hostile reception accorded to it in England—a reception which unfortunately greatly encouraged the Sultan to set about quickly to recover his authority and to re-establish the autocratic form of government which had been so fatal to the prosperity of the Empire.

In many respects the political position of Turkey to-day closely resembles that of 1876, but there are now two hopeful factors which were then entirely absent: namely, the friendly attitude of Russia and the sympathetic disposition of Europe in general towards the new Constitution. In 1876 great ignorance prevailed as to the conditions of the country, and people were accustomed to divide the inhabitants roughly into 'Turks' and 'Christians.' This ignorance has very largely disappeared, and the world has realised something of the difficulty attending on the government of so many different nationalities, whose mutual antipathies and sympathies depend far more on racial than religious distinctions.

The troubles which came upon Turkey, beginning with the Herzegovinian insurrection in 1875, followed by the wars with Servia and Montenegro, the rising in Bulgaria with its bloody repression, the unfortunate Conference of Constantinople, and the disastrous war with Russia, were beyond all question attributable to the once famous though now almost forgotten *Drei-Kaiser-Bund*, or league for common action between the Governments of the three Northern Empires. The effect of it was to secure for Russia the whole weight of Austria in pursuing her traditional policy of weakening and embarrassing Turkey, though this was far from being contemplated or intended by Count Andrassy, who was then at the head of the Austro-Hungarian Government. Austria, when she went into the alliance, no doubt hoped to check the Russian intrigues in Turkey, but she

speedily became entangled in the tortuous Muscovite policy. The consequences of the *Drei-Kaiser-Bund* quickly became apparent in the breaking-out of the Herzegovinian insurrection in July 1875, which began immediately on the return from banishment to Montenegro of a number of turbulent Bosnians in favour of whom the Russian Embassy had strongly interceded. They first attacked and murdered a party of Turkish travellers, and then robbed and burnt the villages whose inhabitants refused to join them, and in this way their numbers were soon increased, though at first by very unwilling recruits. The country had been so quiet that there was no force at hand to put down the disturbance, and when the Governor asked for a couple of hundred men the Russian and Austrian Embassies remonstrated, urging the Porte not to give unreal importance to an insignificant rising. Advice to do nothing being always agreeable to the Porte, that course was followed, and this farce took place again and again. The Governor-General continued to beg in vain for reinforcements as the movement acquired greater extension, his applications being always counteracted by the objections of the three Embassies. So little did Russia conceal her sympathy with the rebellion that the chiefs used to meet and concert their plans at the house of M. Yonine, her Consul-General at Ragusa, and on one occasion when an insurgent chief was killed the Russian flag was displayed at half-mast, and the Consul attended the funeral in full uniform. The Austrian frontier was under the charge of Count Rodich, Governor-General of Dalmatia, and his feelings being strongly Slavophil he permitted the armed bands when too hotly pressed to pass over the frontier, where they could not be pursued. They received supplies and ammunition, and reappeared in another quarter, and this in spite of assurances from Vienna that any armed body crossing over into Austria would be at once disarmed and interné. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the insurrection grew in extent and went on for month after month, till the three Powers determined to take the matter in hand, and the Andrassy Note was issued in December 1875. This proving fruitless, it was followed in the month of May by the famous and equally fruitless Berlin Memorandum, which our Government were afterwards blamed for having rejected instead of amending, by which course it was said they had prevented common action by the European Powers. There is little justice in the accusation, for the *Drei-Kaiser-Bund* itself had put an end to all general concert.

The Prime Ministers of the three Emperors—Prince Gortchakow, Prince Bismarck, and Count Andrassy—met at Berlin, and there, without consultation or communication with any other Government, drew up the famous Memorandum, simply informing the different Cabinets by telegraph¹ of its substance, and contemptuously asking that their

¹ May 18th. See Turkey 3, 1876, No. 248.

adherence should at once be telegraphed back ; for the three Chancellors did not consider it necessary to remain at Berlin long enough to allow of their receiving written answers, or discussing any observations or objections which others might wish to make. The Memorandum was flung to us as an intimation of the decision of the three Emperors, to which, indeed, we might give our adhesion, but without a hint that any amendment would be listened to. The terms of the Memorandum were such as to make it difficult to believe that its authors can ever have supposed it likely to lead to a pacification, for it was evidently far more calculated to insure a prolongation than a termination of the struggle. The objections to the Memorandum were mercilessly exposed by Lord Derby in a conversation with Count Münster, the German Ambassador,¹ and the refusal of the Government to have anything to do with it was, at the time, unanimously approved by all parties in England ; it was not till later that Mr. Gladstone reproached them for the course they had followed. This famous document had at last rather an ignominious end. It was to have been presented to the Turkish Government by the representatives of the three Powers on the 30th of May 1876, and on the morning of that day Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed. There was then a little hesitation as to what was to be done about it ; for, while the Russians wished it to be presented to the Ministers of the new Sultan as soon as he was recognised, Count Andrassy supported by Prince Bismarck was in favour of delay, the result being that after standing over for a time it was allowed to drop without ever having been presented at all. Such was the end of this famous instrument, which, though never acted upon, contributed much to keep alive the insurrection and to encourage the Servians and Montenegrins in their preparations for war, by convincing them that foreign pressure would in the end be laid upon the Turkish Government.

For some time before the year 1875 grave symptoms of discontent had manifested themselves throughout Turkey. The government of the country had up to 1871 been in the hands of Aali and Fuad Pashas, two men of such marked ability and strength of character that even Sultan Abdul Aziz felt their authority, and, though he chafed under it, could not emancipate himself from their control. During their administration Turkey had made slow but distinct progress, but when both Aali and Fuad Pashas died in 1871 the Sultan made Mahmoud Nedim Pasha Grand Vizier, and from that time forward began a reign of corruption and oppression throughout the land. Appointments of all kinds were purchased through the Imperial harem ; the salaries of officials of all grades remained in arrears or unpaid, while the Sultan and his favourites squandered millions with the most boundless extravagance. This state of affairs brought to the front a strong party of reform, at the head of which stood Midhat Pasha. This remarkable man had distinguished himself as Governor-

¹ See Turkey 2, 1876, No. 259.

General of the vilayet of the Danube by his firm, impartial rule, his probity, and the success with which during his Governorship he developed the resources of the province. He saw that nothing could save the country from ruin but a complete change in the whole system of government, and to this end he applied himself with the most absolute fearlessness and self-abnegation.

It was in the year 1875 that the word 'Constitution' was first pronounced,² when a Pasha of high position came to our Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliot, and explained to him that a 'Constitution' was the object the reforming party had in view. It may perhaps be said that while Midhat Pasha and a few enlightened men who had enjoyed the advantages of a more liberal education saw the necessity for drastic reform the bulk of the nation was indifferent; but this is far from the truth. Behind Midhat Pasha and his principal henchmen stood a large and determined body of men, Mussulmans and Christians, who fully realised that the only salvation for the Empire lay in the adoption of a representative form of government which would completely control the finances and would not only guarantee personal safety and liberty to all men, irrespective of race and creed, but insure an absolutely impartial administration of justice. The most conspicuous of Midhat Pasha's followers were the Softas or students of the Sheri, or sacred law, and many Mollahs and Ulema also played a prominent part in promoting the cause of reform. The revolution brought about by the Constitutionalists, including the deposition of Sultan Abdul Aziz, was conducted with such moderation and in so orderly a fashion that there is little doubt English sympathy would have been warmly enlisted had not two events occurred which aroused throughout Europe such intense indignation that all other feelings were utterly extinguished. These events were the Salonica massacre and the Bulgarian atrocities. In both these cases, as in almost all of those where the Mohammedans have given way to an outburst of fanatical violence against the Christians, it was the latter who had themselves provoked it. Even at times when the most perfect goodwill prevails between Christians and Mussulmans anything like a slight upon their religion, or of the nature of an insult to their women, will in a moment rouse a quiet Mohammedan population to a state of frenzy, rendering them capable of every excess; and in the case of Salonica both these causes of provocation had been given in the most offensive form. A Bulgarian girl, living in a village not far from Salonica and belonging to a not over-respectable family, had a Turkish lover, and one day, declaring that she had become Mohammedan, she went to her lover's home. His family refused to keep her till her conversion to Islamism had been registered by the authorities. In order that this formality might be gone through she was sent next day by rail to Salonica,

² See 'The Death of Abdul Aziz and of Turkish Reform,' by Sir Henry Elliot, *Nineteenth Century*, February 1880.

accompanied by the Hodja of the village and an Arab woman, and her mother went by the same train. On her arrival at Salonica a Christian mob collected, and in spite of the efforts of the police they pulled off her yashmak and feridjee, hustled her into the American Vice-Consul's carriage, and took her to the American Consulate. The Turkish population were now aroused. They armed during the night, and on the day following a large body of Mussulmans went to the Government House or Konak and demanded that the girl should be brought back, warning the Governor that if he could not deliver her from the Christians they would attack the American Vice-Consulate and rescue her themselves. The Pasha thereupon sent a message to the Vice-Consulate demanding the immediate presence of the girl, but received as an answer an intimation that she had left the house. The angry crowd then left the Konak and went to a neighbouring mosque, where it was soon swelled by a still greater number of Mussulmans. About this time M. Moulin, the French Consul, and Mr. Henry Abbott, the German Consul, passed the mosque; they were seized by the crowd and forced into it. The mob was fast becoming furious, and notice of the Consuls' danger was sent to the Governor, who arrived on the spot with a few of the principal Turks. He entered the room adjacent to the mosque where the Consuls had taken refuge, and strove to pacify the crowd. Meanwhile a message was sent by Mr. Henry Abbott to his brother desiring him to deliver up the girl; but a delay occurred in her arrival, the mob forced its way into the room, and killed the two Consuls before the eyes of the Governor, who behaved with disgraceful cowardice, for, though striving to calm the rioters with words, neither he nor his police used their weapons. After murdering the two Consuls the mob was proceeding to the American Vice-Consulate when, most providentially, they were met by the girl, who had been discovered mainly through the efforts of Mr. Blunt, the English Consul, and who was being escorted to the Konak to be handed over to the authorities; the crowd thereupon fired a *feu de joie* and dispersed.

While these events were taking place at Salonica, Constantinople was in the midst of a revolution. The deposition and death of Sultan Abdul Aziz and the murder of the Ministers, followed by the war with Servia and Montenegro, the attempted insurrection in Bulgaria and its barbarous suppression, and the illness and deposition of Sultan Murad the Fifth, succeeded each other within the space of a few months; and the following extracts from letters written at the time by the writer of this article may perhaps serve to give some idea of the state of feeling then prevalent among all classes and races at Constantinople during these memorable weeks:

Constantinople: May 17th, 1876.

You may be glad of an account of what is taking place here. After the murder of the two Consuls at Salonica great excitement prevailed at Constantinople; the Softas and Mollahs were known to be arming, and the Christians concluded

that these war-like preparations were directed against them, and began to arm in self-defence, though the Turks took advantage of every occasion that offered itself to impress upon the Europeans and the native Christians that they had no designs against them. On Friday the 11th a large body of Softas went to the Palace, demanded to see the Sultan's first secretary, and gave him a petition, which he was made to swear he would give to his master. Among other requests the petition insisted upon the removal of the Sheikh ul Islam and the Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, whom the Softas justly considered the author of many of the troubles now crowding on Turkey; and another petition containing the same demands was handed to the Sultan as he returned from a drive. All these proceedings were conducted with the utmost decorum; and in the evening, when the fall of the obnoxious Grand Vizier became known, the panic would have entirely subsided had not General Ignatiew chosen to surround his Embassy and Consulate with a guard of three or four hundred Croats and Montenegrins. Pera was, of course, fearfully agitated. Many people watched all night, and others sent to see if the British Embassy was also defended; these, hearing all was quiet round our Embassy, went away reassured. Next day, when the new Grand Vizier Mehemet Rushdi Pasha went to the Porte, a great crowd was assembled to see him pass; in this crowd there were many Softas and Mollahs, but they all vied with each other in showing civilities to the Christians present. Mehemet Rushdi Pasha is highly respected by all parties, but he is an old man, and the Softas consider—as almost everyone whose opinion is worth having does—that Midhat Pasha is the only man that can do anything to save Turkey.

So far the Revolution reflects great credit on its authors. They have shown discretion, moderation, and judgment; but if they do not obtain their requests no one can tell what may arise. Perhaps it is hardly possible for anybody who is not on the spot to comprehend the general detestation in which the Russian Ambassador, General Ignatiew, is held. Greeks and Turks alike declare that he is responsible for much of their misery; he is the talk of the town, and even his friends do not attempt to conceal the fact that there is no man in the Empire—not even Mahmoud Pasha excepted—who is looked upon with such hatred. The English, on the contrary, are in high favour, and I think it would touch many people in England if they knew how the Turks look up to us and feel that our country is their only friend. I think, too, many people would sympathise with the Softas if they understood their motives. They wish for a constitution and for better government; they are never tired of assuring the Christians that they have nothing to fear, that they wish for the happiness of all the Sultan's subjects; and they have behaved so admirably that everyone gives them credit for the best intentions. When their patience was put to the test by the Russians and Austrians surrounding themselves with the natural foes of Turkey they took every precaution, and effectually prevented any disturbance by forbidding any of their followers from going to Pera. I suppose the Bulgarians are now objects of pity and sympathy to many people. They certainly deserve pity, for their country is laid waste—but not by the Turks. Bands of Christians enter the villages and order the men to join them, and if refused obedience fire the village; in many places Greeks and Christians assist the Turks against the insurgents, who often behave with great barbarity. The English community were much alarmed at one time, and numbers of the women and children have left. I confess I am glad; for if there is to be any kind of row, women are better out of it, and of course the mob cannot be trusted in any large town. A curious episode that took place two or three days ago may serve to show you the kind of feeling there is here with regard to General Ignatiew. The *Levant Herald* published an article against him; it was excessively impudent, offensive, and personal, but perfectly true. It was read

by all classes with so much delight that here, where public opinion usually goes for nothing, many people thought the Government would not dare to suspend the newspaper. The insult offered to the Russian Ambassador was too great to be overlooked, and the paper was suspended; but hundreds of cards have since poured in upon Mr. Whitaker from Pashas and Christians of every kind. In spite of the universal poverty that number of the *Levant Herald* is now selling at two francs apiece, and various offers have been made to indemnify the editor by subscriptions, all of which, however, he has very properly refused.

A control over the finances is what the Softas particularly wish to obtain, as they cannot submit any longer to see millions squandered by the Palace.

Constantinople : June 1st, 1876.

A great event has taken place : Abd-ul-Aziz is deposed, and Murad the Fifth has ascended the throne, amid general acclamations, and without a drop of blood being spilt. Ever since the Softas' demonstration and the fall of Mahmoud Pasha perfect tranquillity has reigned in the city, but the most remarkable freedom of speech prevailed. The Turks of all stations did not hesitate to declare that they must have a Constitution, adding that if the Sultan did not grant one it would be obtained without his consent. Almost everyone expected some great event to take place soon, but it was hardly to be hoped that so complete a revolution could be made in so orderly and peaceable a manner. Everything was admirably disposed, so as to insure the public safety, and the only inconvenience from which we suffered was the occupation, for a few hours, of the telegraph offices, which did not receive or transmit messages till past noon. But this was, after all, a wise precaution, which no doubt prevented false or alarming messages from flying all over Europe. The accounts of how the revolution took place all agree pretty well. The most generally received version is that Hussein Avni Pasha, the 'Seraskier,' was at the Palace the evening before the blow was struck, that he requested the Sultan to pay the troops from his private funds, that the request was badly received, and that he left the Palace; that he was sent for back again, but made an excuse, and received a second order to appear, coupled with a threat, upon which he communicated with his colleagues, and settled with them to hasten the hour. At half-past four A.M. the Palace of Dolmabahçe was surrounded, on the land side by troops, on the water by steam-launches and boats, and a message was sent to the Sultan intimating that he was deposed by the will of the people, and that he was requested to leave the Palace in his caïque, which was waiting for him, and to go to a kiosk on the Seraglio Point. On seeing that he was helpless he submitted to his fate with dignity, and obeyed. A salute of a hundred and one guns was fired in honour of Murad the Fifth. At half-past six A.M. the new Sultan drove to the Seraskierat, where he was received with enthusiasm. He sat on a dais in the kiosk, with the gates wide open; and high and low, from the greatest Pasha to the poorest *hamal*, entered to do him homage and kiss his feet. After about two hours he was told it would be well to return to take possession of the Palace, which he accordingly did, driving over in a private carriage. The great news was heard with joy by all. When a crier proclaimed the Sultan, Murad the Fifth, in the streets, a Christian crowd assembled at the 'Bourse,' seized him, carried him round in triumph, and finished by presenting him with 150 pounds as a reward for being the bearer of good news. In the provinces the same delight is felt, Christians and Turks being bound together by the same feelings of joy and relief. As yet little more is known, except that Murad the Fifth has given up all his valuable farms and the treasure found in the Palace to the State; but some disappoint-

ment is felt that the sum found in *bullion* is not large, as great expectations have been entertained, and are hardly realised, though there is about eight millions in *Consolidés*, a mass of diamonds, and about 850,000 pounds, all of which will probably go to help to get the State out of its difficulties. Of course it would have been better if more ready money could have been found, though this is better than nothing.

June 2nd.—It was known last night that a million and a half of ready money was found, and more is expected to appear, but this will at any rate pay the troops. The ex-Sultan has been treated with kindness and respect; he is allowed to have his family with him, and his nephew sent to assure him that he should always continue to treat him with deference, and asked if he wished for anything. The ex-Sultan replied that he had hardly room enough in the Seraglio, and begged for a larger Palace. This was immediately promised him, and he is to go to one which was built for Sultan Murad, near Chérégan, but which he did not inhabit. Do you not think that the Turks have acted admirably? They have got rid of a man who ruined the country, proclaimed religious equality, and all without any disturbance, in the most orderly manner possible.

England, France, Austria, and Italy dressed ship in honour of Sultan Murad, but the Russian and Prussian ships remain undressed.

Constantinople: June 15th, 1876.

Since I last wrote everything has remained quiet, and nothing has disturbed our equanimity, save the suicide of Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz. Even that did not disturb people's minds much. A few evil tongues, of course, declared that he had been murdered, but they are effectually silenced by the unanimous verdict of the doctors who attended the inquest. I believe that as far as can yet be seen affairs are progressing tolerably well. Economy is the order of the day, and the Sultan has so far given up the sumptuous habits of his predecessor that he goes out driving in Pera in a simple open carriage, attended only by four servants. If he carries the same simplicity into all his actions, it may do something towards checking the ridiculous expenditure of the Palace. All the accounts we have received of his character are decidedly good. There seems to be no doubt that he is amiable, liberal, and inclined to do what his Ministers think fit; what remains to be seen is, if he has determination enough to stand by the right men should difficulties arise in the Cabinet. His father was certainly deficient in strength of mind, but his grandfather, Mahmoud IV., had enough for many generations. The Greek population is overcome with joy at the change of government, and have throughout these difficult times behaved with a discretion and moderation which are certainly as much to be admired as wondered at. The fact of the matter is that they saw the country was on the brink of ruin, and they feared that the much-hated Russians would step into the shoes of the Turk. Now, though they do not love the latter, they all agree that he is a far better master than the former would be, and hatred of the Russians has caused a reaction in favour of the Turk. I am afraid horrors go on in Bulgaria, on both sides, to a dreadful extent; but one thing is satisfactory, and that is that not a single complaint has been brought against the *regular* troops. Even men who are decidedly anti-Turkish bear witness to this, and say that the *Bashi-Bazouks* are the perpetrators of any atrocities that occur, so that if only troops enough could be sent to the revolted provinces all horrors would at once cease. My father is much better than he was, though not nearly so strong as he ought to be; at any rate, he has the satisfaction of not having worked in vain. English influence is everything, and the enthusiasm and love for England boundless; the soldiers and common Turks have learnt the words 'God save the Queen,' and greet any Englishman they meet with them.

When Mamma and I went to see the Sultan go to mosque at St. Sophia we were cheered by the crowd, and the only national anthem played besides the Turkish was 'God save the Queen.'

June 19th.—When I last wrote to you all was quiet and peaceful, but next day Constantinople was startled and horrified by the murder of Hussein Avni Pasha and Reshid Pasha. I think almost everyone's first thought was: What a mercy it is that Midhat Pasha has escaped! It would indeed have been a misfortune which nothing could have mitigated. The murderer was a young Circassian, brother to the late Sultan's third wife and former aide-de-camp to Prince Yusef Izzeddin. He had been several times ordered by Hussein Avni Pasha to join his regiment at Bagdad, but, strong in his Palace influence, had always refused; he had been placed under arrest two or three days before the murder was committed, and was only released that evening on his declaring himself ready to start for Bagdad next day, and begging to be allowed to spend the evening with his family. He went first to Hussein Avni's own house and asked to see him. On finding that he was attending a Council at Midhat Pasha's house he followed him there, and managed, after some difficulties from the servants, to enter the room where the Ministers were sitting; he then drew a revolver and shot Hussein Avni. As you may imagine, there was a great commotion among all those stout, unarmed old men. The Minister of Marine, Achmet Kaiserly Pasha, seized him from behind, but he cut and slashed at him with a long knife and compelled him to leave go and take refuge with the Grand Vizier in the next room. He then finished Hussein Avni, shot Reshid Pasha, and attempted to force his way into the room where the Grand Vizier and one or two others were holding the door shut with all their might. He would just have effected his entrance into the room when the Zaptiehs arrived, and he turned and stood at bay defending himself with four revolvers, his sword and knife. After he was taken, having received six bayonet-wounds, one of which was right through his body, he managed to kill another man, having in all slain seven men and wounded eight others. He was hung the day before yesterday on the plane-tree in the open space in front of the Serraskierat; his body was left exposed all that day, and crowds went to see it. He had refused to have his wounds seen to, but still had strength to walk up to the tree and fasten the rope round his neck himself. He seems to have been a regular wild beast, his only motive for all that hideous slaughter being private revenge. The only thing one can say of him in his favour is that he was reputed the best shot among the Circassians, and, like many other wild beasts, was desperately brave. His antagonist, the courageous old Minister of Marine, is fortunately not seriously hurt. Before it was known that the murder was a mere act of vengeance, considerable uneasiness prevailed everywhere, but now it has subsided. Indeed, a curious and not very generous feeling has arisen in many minds, and that is that it is perhaps a mercy that poor Hussein Avni Pasha did not survive. It was thought by many that, in spite of the excellent part he had lately played, he would become a great danger and oppose the more liberal party. Be this as it may, his death is not very deeply regretted, as far as I can see, by any; but Turks and Christians all rejoice in the most unfeigned manner that the bullet aimed at Midhat Pasha missed its destination. It is a fearful thing when so much depends on the life of one man. I fear there must be considerable danger to the leading Pashas and the Sultan from the number of people lately dismissed from the Palace. Abd-ul-Aziz's household consisted in all of *six thousand souls*, the present Sultan's comprises only *three hundred*; so that there must be about four thousand four hundred discontented men wandering about, if you allow nine hundred as the women's part of the establishment, which is, of course, powerless. It would have been

better if they could have been more gradually dismissed, but that would have hardly been consistent with the present system of rigid economy.

I am sorry to hear from you that the late Sultan's suicide is not believed in. There really is no doubt that he put an end to his days himself, and that the poor Sultana Validé herself gave him scissors with which to do the deed, after they had been refused him by his attendants. I wish you could talk to Dr. Dickson about it; he is perfectly convinced that no hand but the Sultan's own could have inflicted the cuts which caused his death. There was not the slightest mark or bruise about him, and several other circumstances render it certain that there was no foul play. It seems rather hard on the present Sultan that his uncle's death should be attributed to him, for from what is known of him he seems more likely to sin from over-kindness of disposition than the contrary. The sword-girding has been put off on account of the Sultan being unwell. I am sorry; for, as it is sure to produce a great crowd and excitement, I cannot help wishing it well over. It would be very undesirable that any ill-will should be manifested by the crowd towards the Russians, whose unpopularity rather increases than diminishes, and a crowd can never be quite trusted not to display its real feelings.

The extract following is from a letter written after the Servian war had broken out:

July 8th.—The nation is really responding very nobly to the appeal for help to carry on the war which has been made to it; those who have money give it, not only the rich but the poor, and those who have none bring sacks of flour, rice, &c. I was a good deal struck the other day by an Armenian lady, who used to be very violently anti-Turkish, taking the Turkish side and talking about *notre patrie*, a thing she would never have done formerly; but I hope the feeling is general, for the Christians seem as determined to resist foreign aggression as the Turks. Numbers of Albanian Christians and others join the Turkish standard as volunteers. If any danger to the Christians is ever to be apprehended here, it will be entirely owing to the way in which a crusade has been preached, and is being preached, against Mohammedanism. The war has had as yet nothing of a religious character, but it may become so if the Turks are at length persuaded that all Christians are against them.

July 80th.—The Sultan's illness is the gravest preoccupation we have. It was at first kept a dead secret, but now everyone is talking about it, and we are almost the only people who still lower our voices when it is mentioned, and all Constantinople is kept in a state of great anxiety by it. The poor man himself is certainly much to be pitied, for when he ascended the throne he had, there is no doubt, the very best intentions, which would have been carried out had not his health given way from the repeated shocks which he sustained immediately after his accession, and which have, I fear, completely broken him down.

When we saw him two months ago he was a pleasant, very young-looking man—ridiculously young-looking for his age, almost boyish; now those who have lately seen him go to mosque say he looks like an old man, and his hair is quite white. He must have suffered terribly to turn grey so rapidly.

August 31st.—The boom of a hundred and one guns has just announced to us the accession of a new Sultan! Heaven grant that Abdul Hamid the Second may reign longer and more happily than Murad the Fifth, though it seems almost foolish to look forward very hopefully to the new reign, after the cruel disappointment that blighted our high hopes at Sultan Murad's accession.

It is certainly the most melancholy accession a Sovereign can have. Sultan Abdul Hamid mounts the throne by deposing a brother with whom he had always been on good terms. He finds his country surrounded by foes and his treasury empty—it is, indeed, a cheerless prospect.

The insurrection which for years past had been planned by the Slav committees broke out in Bulgaria on the 2nd of May. The revolutionists, led by priests and schoolmasters, intended first to destroy the railways and bridges throughout the vilayet, but an accident led to the premature outbreak of the revolt and they resorted to the less efficacious method of massacre. At Otloukeuy ⁴ eighty Mussulmans were slain, and at Bellova ⁵ and other places the rising was attended with unspeakable horrors. The Mussulmans rose in self-defence, and their reprisals more than equalled the excesses which had called them forth. Unfortunately there were but few regular troops in the country, and the uncontrolled Bashi-Bazouks carried fire and sword through defenceless villages. The whole of England was roused to indignation; the cruelties practised on the Christians were represented as being part of an unprovoked attack on an unarmed and peaceful population, the provocation was entirely overlooked; Mr. Gladstone lent the aid of his genius and influence to the cause of the insurgents, and few people dared to raise their voices in opposition to the outburst of abuse now poured out with almost equal fury upon her Majesty's Government, the British Ambassador, and the Turks. Before this storm had spent itself Servia declared war on the 1st of July, and Montenegro followed her example a few days later. The Progressive Government at Constantinople thus found itself confronted by all the difficulties arising not only from a change of *régime*, but by insurrection, war, and the state of health which incapacitated the new Sultan from governing.

The delay in the inauguration of the new era which was thus occasioned caused much uneasiness. The Grand Council had already pronounced that an organic reform was necessary, and Midhat Pasha would have been ready to take the bold course of promulgating the Constitution even before the change of Sovereigns, which had become imperative, had been effected, had not Mehemet Rushdi Pasha, the Grand Vizier, shrunk from the responsibility of such a step. He pointed out that the proposed object of the Constitution was to limit or abolish some of the prerogatives of the Crown, and asked if such concessions could be made by a Sovereign who was not in a condition to understand them. Would not their validity be contested by all who were opposed to them and by the new Sovereign? In spite of the strength of these arguments the bolder course would probably have proved the better and safer.

Sultan Murad's illness having been pronounced by a well-known specialist to be incurable, Sultan Abdul Hamid ascended the throne

⁴ Turkey 8, 1876, No. 57.

⁵ Turkey 8, 1876, No. 289.

on the 31st of August, and six weeks later a proclamation was issued announcing a general scheme of reform for the whole Empire, but the formal Constitution which was to give it effect was still withheld.

Meanwhile quiet had been restored in Bulgaria; the Mussulmans had recovered from the panic under which they had committed their excesses, any renewal of which was now made impossible by the presence of a large body of regular troops; the devastated villages were being rapidly rebuilt—partly by the Government and partly by public subscriptions—and the dispersed inhabitants, including many hundreds who had been counted among the slain, were quietly returning to their homes. On the other hand, no progress was made towards repressing the insurrection in Bosnia; Servia and Montenegro were still at war with Turkey; and although Montenegro had obtained some advantages, Servia, in spite of all the underhand Russian assistance in money, arms, and officers, was so hopelessly beaten that the Russian Government, which had originally declared that if the Servians chose to make an unprovoked attack they would leave them to their fate, now felt it necessary to come forward in their defence. They proposed therefore that a Conference should be held at Constantinople at which, without the presence or participation of a Turkish representative, conditions should be laid down and forced upon the Sultan; but none of the other Governments were willing to fall in with a proposal which was regarded, especially by England and Austria, as an attack on the independence of Turkey. While rejecting the Russian proposal, however, her Majesty's Government declared their readiness to take the initiative of inviting a general Conference of the Powers, including Turkey, at which it was hoped that it might be possible to come to some arrangement; and in the invitations sent to the other Governments the object was stated to be, first, the conclusion of peace between Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro, and, secondly, the pacification of Bosnia and Herzegovina by means of a system of local or administrative autonomy, which, as far as was applicable, should be extended to Bulgaria, so as to insure the populations there from further maladministration. The Porte was very unwilling to agree to the holding of a Conference, and only gave way on receiving the most solemn assurance that the independence of Turkey should be fully respected. Had this engagement been observed all might yet have gone well; but when the Conference at length assembled, after nine formal meetings of the foreign plenipotentiaries had been held at the Russian Embassy, *without* the participation of the Turkish representatives, the latter found themselves confronted by a scheme of which General Ignatiev was the principal author, and which he designated as 'the irreducible minimum of the demands the acceptance of which,' he said, 'his Government felt sure all the Christian representatives would consider themselves in honour bound to impose upon the Turks.'

The scheme which was thus roughly to be forced upon the Turks contained several clauses utterly inconsistent with the independence of the Empire, which we had so lately promised to respect; but Lord Salisbury, our leading plenipotentiary, placing undue confidence in General Ignatiev's knowledge of Eastern affairs, refused to believe that the Porte would dare to reject any demands which were supported by all the Powers. Finding, however, that the Turkish plenipotentiaries' objections to the 'irreducible minimum' could not be overcome, some of the demands most objected to by them were subsequently considerably modified. These demands were: The proposed new territorial divisions affecting five of the existing Vilayets, the admission of a body of foreign troops under the orders of an International Commission, and the confinement of the Imperial troops to the fortresses and principal towns. The Porte met the new proposals in a conciliatory spirit, and when the plenary Conference assembled for the ninth and last time the only points about which any difficulty remained were those respecting the nomination of the Governors General and the International Commission, and so anxious was the Turkish Government to avoid war that with a little goodwill these difficulties would also have been overcome. But, hopeful as the situation then was, the leading members of the Conference were too deeply committed to the principle of coercion to bring themselves to adopt a conciliatory course, and an ultimatum was embodied and delivered to the Porte by the envoys collectively, an answer to which was requested within a week. If it proved unsatisfactory the Ambassadors were at once to leave Constantinople.

Two days before the last Conference the Porte, according to custom on very serious occasions, convoked a Grand Council of the most important personages of the Empire—to the number of 237—comprising, besides Mohammedans, representatives of all the different Christian communities, the Patriarchs being represented by their delegates, in order that they might be informed of and consulted upon the proposals submitted by the Conference. The scene, according to accounts given by both Christian and Mussulman members, was most deeply impressive. Midhat Pasha opened the proceedings by a speech of such a pacific tendency, and pointed out in such strong language the dangers to which the Empire would be exposed by war with Russia, that murmurs of disapprobation were raised against him, and without a single dissentient voice the Council pronounced an unequivocal rejection of the proposals concerning the nomination of Governors and the International Commission, which, it was declared, must be rejected at all hazards, however great these might be. The Council unquestionably represented the universal feeling of the populations, Mussulman and Christian, between whom there was exhibited a cordiality and good-fellowship such as there had probably never before been an example of in the Turkish Empire.

A striking appeal to the Grand Vizier was made by the representative of one of the Christian Churches with the warm approval of all the others. He said that as the decision to be come to might lead to war it was essential to know the character to be given to that war. If it was to be a religious war, the Christian populations could not be expected to sympathise with it; but if, on the contrary, it was to be a war for the honour and independence of the Empire, in which all felt an equal interest, then the Christians would join with their Mussulman fellow-subjects. The speech was universally applauded by members of the Ulema, who called out: 'You go to church and we go to mosque, but we all worship the same God; we are subjects of the same Empire, and mean to live together as brothers.' As a further proof of the harmony then prevailing, it may be mentioned that after the breaking-up of the Conference, when it was universally known that Sir Henry Elliot had strongly opposed the demands of the Russian Ambassador, who professed to have been acting solely in the interests of the Christian populations, the heads of all the Christian Churches in the Empire—the Greek Patriarch, the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch, and the Vekil of the native Protestant Church—as well as the leading Mussulmans sent him addresses conveying the expression of their regret at his departure and a warm recognition of his services.

The first object for which the Conference had been called was stated to be the conclusion of peace with Servia and Montenegro, an object which might have easily been attained, but the Conference had so exclusively devoted itself to a scheme of administration for Bulgaria that when its final dissolution was announced it was found that the first object for which it had been convoked had been *forgotten*. Thus the war continued, a condition of affairs eminently favourable to Russia in the hostilities upon which she was herself resolved.

Meanwhile the Constitution had been proclaimed on the 23rd of December, the day of the first plenary meeting of the Conference, the members of which, imagining it to have been invented merely as a pretext for refusing some of the proposals on which they were insisting, received it not only with coldness but with scarcely veiled hostility. Had they been at all aware of the serious nature of the reform movement and of the earnestness of the men who were striving to carry it through, they would, no doubt, have assumed a very different attitude. The Constitution as now promulgated differed in several important respects from that originally drafted by Midhat Pasha, the Sultan having refused to accede to clauses regulating the amount of the Civil List, and providing for the foundation of mixed schools open to all creeds, and the abolition of slavery. Still, incomplete as the new Constitution undoubtedly was, and falling short of what had been hoped for by its authors, it is certain that this derided Charter contained much that would have proved of inestimable value in reforming the Turkish administration in the only way in which it can ever be reformed—

that is to say, by recognising in the people the right of control over the finances, by rendering the Ministers and officials responsible to the representatives of the nation, by establishing the absolute equality of all Ottoman subjects irrespective of race or creed, and by guaranteeing their persons and property against arrest and spoliation. Owing, however, to the hostile attitude assumed by Europe towards the Turkish reformers, it became possible for the Sultan to banish Midhat Pasha and his principal followers and to recover unchecked the whole of his despotic power.

During the two sessions held by the National Assembly before its final extinction the representatives of both the Christians and Mussulmans fully vindicated their fitness for Constitutional institutions. Though bereft of their leaders, they acted with great fearlessness, criticising the acts of the Government with perfect freedom, making known the abuses going on in the provinces, and refusing to vote the money asked for when they deemed the amount excessive or the object undesirable. There was no jealousy between the members representing the different races, and nothing could have been more promising.

Thirty-two years have elapsed since these events, and the Young Turkey party have steadfastly kept before them the ideal then first proclaimed, of freedom and equality for all. Quietly and untiringly they have worked, in exile and danger, never losing heart, with the one great object in view. Is it too much to hope that with England as a sympathetic observer of their efforts, and Russia no longer bent on conquest but herself occupied with internal reforms, the hour has at length struck when the united progressive elements in the nation may accomplish what has hitherto seemed past the wit of man—namely, the peaceful solution of the Eastern Question?

GERTRUDE ELLIOT.

THE EAST AFRICAN PROBLEM

THE real originator of British East Africa was the young Scottish explorer, Joseph Thomson, who died in 1895 at the age of thirty-seven, after having obtained for the Royal Niger Company their cardinal treaty with the Sultan of Sokoto (thus laying the foundation of Northern Nigeria), and having completed the work of Sir Alfred Sharpe and the present writer in the planning of British Central Africa.¹

Whilst Thomson was returning from his expedition to Kavirondo and the Victoria Nyanza in 1884, the writer of this article was making the first treaties at Taveita and around Kilimanjaro, on which the East African sphere of influence was based in 1885-6.

These treaties (though two Kilimanjaro agreements were abandoned to Germany) were also the basis of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which was founded somewhat half-heartedly in 1886-7 and received a charter in 1888. In this year Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Mackenzie was sent out as the Company's Administrator, and by his statesmanlike dealings with the slavery question in the Mombasa district (he released the slaves but spent a considerable sum of money compensating the Arab owners) undoubtedly saved the infant protectorate from inclusion in the great Swahili-Arab rising against the intrusive white man, which for more than a year taxed the resources of the German Empire.

¹ In the surveying and treaty-making of British Central Africa Joseph Thomson attended more particularly to the Bangweulu region, the geography of which he did much to elucidate. His first great African journey, when he was only twenty-one, was with Keith Johnston (Royal Geographical Society), who died soon after the expedition started. On this occasion Thomson went on alone and performed a most important piece of geographical exploration (1879-80) between Nyasa and Tanganyika. Sir John Kirk desired afterwards to employ him as a leading official of the Sultan of Zanzibar in what is now German East Africa; but Thomson did not get on well with the Sultan in this position. After his remarkable 'Gold Medal' journey to the Victoria Nyanza by the eastern route (with all its attendant discoveries) he carried out his successful and politically important Sokoto expedition (1885); then explored Central and Southern Morocco as no other British traveller has done. He will always be remembered, amongst other qualities, for his extraordinary success in dealing with natives. He penetrated some of the most unknown and hostile parts of Africa, and scarcely once had recourse to weapons of offence. It is, indeed, a lacking sense of the fitness of things in the East African Administration that there should be no

Another notable recruit of the East Africa Chartered Company was Sir Frederick Lugard, the man who brought Uganda within the range of the British Empire. A glance at the list of officials serving in the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates in, let us say, 1906 would be sufficient to show that the Chartered Company must have chosen its men carefully for their service to have stood the test of such a length of time and so many trying circumstances. One merit usually about the old 'Company' officials was their knowledge of native languages and their sympathy with the natives.²

In July 1895 the Imperial Government assumed the direct control. The immediate results of the transference from the Chartered Company's rule were not happy—a guerilla warfare with the coast Arabs and their allies which lasted for nine months. Whether the Company would have staved off this struggle—connected in its origin with the 'slave' question—is doubtful. Sooner or later there would have been a trial of strength between the British and the Arab princes, descended from the Islamic invaders of the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. Sir George Mackenzie's merit lay in his postponing this inevitable contest for some seven years, during which period the British had been enabled to carry out Thomson's idea of an advance on Uganda and the heart of Equatorial Africa by a direct route to the Victoria Nyanza, over a country delightful and healthy to the traveller after the first 120 miles.

It was really this discovery by Thomson (to which the German traveller Fischer contributed) of the high, healthy, well-watered, well-wooded plateaus of Eastern Equatorial Africa (so temptingly open to foreign settlement by their cool climate and absence or paucity of indigenous people) which clinched the resolve of Sir William Mackinnon and his friends to come to the assistance of a faint-hearted Unionist Ministry in 1887-8, and put up money for the founding and maintenance of this East African Chartered Company; though by its very aims, policy, and limitations the Company stood to profit little, if at all, by the acquisition of these vacant lands. As a commercial concern—because its policy was the very antithesis of that of the King of the Belgians—the Company was probably a predestined failure. To develop East Africa to the general advantage of the Empire and of the East Africans required our vast Imperial resources.

status or memorial to Joseph Thomson at Mombasa, or Nairobi, on the Eastern shores of the Victoria Nyanza, or elsewhere on the map of that vast protectorate, which arose from his pioneer journeys in 1882-4.

² I agree with Professor Gregory (*The Foundation of British East Africa*, p. 152) that, though the Chartered Company came to an end in 1895 through the exhaustion of its funds and an inability to make the country pay its administrative expenses, its 'career was disinterested and honourable.' Its high motives 'were forgotten in the obloquy of failure, and its end was marked by unmerited insult and contempt.' This much might be added: the Company left a good name behind it, and in taking its employes into Government service the new Administration under the Foreign Office preserved the goodwill of the indigenous natives.

In eight years the Chartered Company had spent all its subscribed capital—500,000*l.*?—and when it was finally wound up shareholders had to be content with half their money back, and the balance in a long-deferred vote of thanks from the Empire at large for the truly Imperial service they had performed.

It is true that the idea of a British East African colony was not first conceived or ever held with much enthusiasm by Sir William Mackinnon. This remarkable man, who was practically the founder of the British India Steam Navigation Company and of the East African steamship service, had tried several costly experiments on the African coast—road-making and so forth. Unfortunately, it was in the pre-Thomson days, and he chose the unhealthier regions opposite Zanzibar for his attempts to open up East Africa. The first persons definitely to suggest actual British settlements in inner East Africa were the late Mr. Gladstone and Lord [Edmond] Fitzmaurice. These suggestions were made after reading the present writer's reports on Kilimanjaro and the information compiled by Joseph Thomson. But their proposals (to be found, I think, in the African Blue-books of 1884-5) were temporarily deferred by Sir John Kirk, who was obliged to point out diplomatic difficulties connected with the Sultan of Zanzibar and French treaty rights. Meantime Germany, not being bound by the same engagements, stepped in and secured Kilimanjaro (to which she had as good a claim as ourselves after the explorations of Baron Vanderdecken and Dr. Fischer). Lord Salisbury, when he succeeded Mr. Gladstone, was equally interested in East African possibilities, but his Chancellors of the Exchequer (especially the late Lord Goschen) were most averse to adventures in Africa—West, East, Central, and South. Sooner than risk Imperial expenditure in these directions they would have preferred to see all Africa pass under other flags. (I am speaking of the days prior to 1890.)

It is much too soon for a definite verdict to be passed. They may have been right, and the Imperialists eager for vast African empires wrong. But, at any rate, the parsimony of the Treasury (which did not become reconciled to African investments until it was under Sir William Harcourt) was the direct cause of the calling into existence of these chartered companies.

That of East Africa in the years that followed 1887 secured for us, bit by bit, the whole vast area between the Indian Ocean, the Congo State, the Egyptian Sudan, and the confines of Somaliland. They outbid and outwitted equally patriotic Germans, as sensible as we were of the supreme advantages—strategic and economic—of Equatorial East Africa. It would be a disheartening anti-climax to these efforts—to say nothing of the superb national venture of the Uganda railway, which has centupled the value of this domain—if by any policy of hesitancy or drift we lost the legitimate reward we might expect for the expenditure of some seven and a-half millions

sterling of national and private treasure, the heroic journeys of explorers, the life work of Sir John Kirk, and the ready acquiescence of so many negro tribes, grateful for release from Arab and Somali slave-raiding and the terror inspired by the uncontrolled Masai.

The problem of East Africa is not a simple one, like that of Uganda. The Uganda Protectorate is mainly a black man's country on account of its average climate, elevation, and existing circumstances. There are, it is true, small areas of country in Western Ankole and Toro, situated at 5000 feet and over, and suited by climate to the health of Europeans. But these spots are too small in area and too much connected with native claims to affect the general conclusion, that in mapping out the future of the *Uganda Protectorate* we must consider it to be a confederation of negro kingdoms and states, merely under general British supervision.

But EAST AFRICA is different, mainly because such a large proportion of its territories are above an altitude of 5500 feet (consequently enjoying a sub-temperate climate), are thinly inhabited by nomads, or are quite *uninhabited*. Moreover, a notable section of its population is non-negro and requires a sterner control than do the docile Bantu and Nilotic tribes of Uganda. In 1903 the Uganda railway was completed to the shores of the Victoria Nyanza. What was then the situation of the East Africa Protectorate?

The coast region over an attenuated triangle between Kwaihu and Lamu on the north and the German frontier on the south was fairly well settled by negroes and half-caste Arabs, together with Indian traders in the coast towns, and a few Persians, Somalis and Galas. The base of this triangle extended between the eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro and the coast at Wasein, and it was here that a dense negro population extended farthest inland from the sea. The river Sabaki was the limit of this abundant population on the north. Beyond that, the thickly settled regions were confined to a narrow coast strip up to Lamu and Port Durnford on the north. The lower course of the Tana River and the country between the Middle Tana and the Athi-Sabaki was largely depopulated owing to Somali and Gala raids or wars, and to the absence of a sufficient water supply. Even now this region is very little known.

The coast province is styled 'Sayyidieh,' or the Sayyid's land (Sayyid or Lord being the correct title of the Sultan of Zanzibar). Here is settled that vigorous Swahili population compounded of Arab and negro intermixture. A strip of country fifteen miles wide along the coast has an abundant rainfall and supports a dense tropical vegetation. In all this district there has been no thought of foreign settlement, unless it be in the form of Indians acquiring land for trading and plantation purposes from the Arabs or Bantu negroes.

Inland of Sayyidieh the railway traversed a region of somewhat

arid, steppe-like character, covered with thorn bushes, impossible in its undeveloped state as a home for settled people, except along the rare watercourses. This description, although it refers to a relatively narrow belt in the *south*, may be taken to cover a very large part of the actual area of British East Africa in the *north, north-east and centre*. The average altitude is between 1000 and 3000 feet; the surface is stony (with some overlying basaltic or igneous rocks); there are occasional lakelets, pools or water-holes, more often than not of brackish water; the vegetation is acacia thorn scrub of an exaggerated type, dreary-looking *Sansevieria* sword-plants (valuable for their fibre), and thin, coarse grass in the rainy season.² The average rainfall over this steppe country is scarcely twenty inches per annum, except in favoured regions like the Tana Valley.

West of this 'Nyika' or thorn desert one reaches the much more pleasing Kamba country, the province of UKAMBA. The average altitude rises from 3000 to 6000 feet between the eastern limits of Ukamba and the Kikuyu Hills, and often exceeds 6000 in the Kitui Mountains. This region of Ukamba—north of the railway line in 1903—had a noticeable native population of good-looking Bantu negroes, the A-kamba, who were agriculturists. Among them were settled a few Scottish missionaries; and adventurous Europeans, attracted by the splendid sport, were beginning to take up farms or concessions of land. The southern part of Ukamba (south of the railway line) had already been made a game reserve, advantage being taken of the then small native population (chiefly Masai).

West of Ukamba were the two new provinces taken over from the Uganda Protectorate in 1902—Naivasha and Kisumu. These stretched to the shores of the Victoria Nyanza and northwards to Lake Rudolf. With the doubtful exception of the rather hot and low-lying country between Baringo and Rudolf (3300 to 1300 feet) these provinces were perfectly colonisable by Europeans, but at that period had very few white inhabitants outside the railway and Government employes. The native population was curiously unequal. On the Lumbwa and Nandi uplands it was very thick in places; still more so in the eastern coast lands of the Victoria Nyanza (Bugizi) and the lower Nyando valley (Ja-Luo). But much of the 36,000 square miles of these two western provinces was a lovely wilderness, tenanted only by vast herds of game, or covered by magnificent forest too dense for the animals of the grassland and retaining a special fauna of West African relationships.

There was also the glorious country round Mount Kenya. This, which has since been formed into a separate province, is one of the earthly paradises to be found here and there under the British flag.

² There are however several areas of fine forest due to a high local rainfall or to underground springs. The extensive region north of the Tana is by no means without great potential value.

It had in 1903 a fairly abundant but very patchy native population of settled Bantu negroes and nomad Masai and Andorobo.

The Tanaland Province, with its capital at Lamu on the coast, had a small Bantu population along the upper and lower courses of the Tana, with waspish clans of Gala and Somali and helot tribes of Gala speech living on or about the Middle Tana, or in the coast belt. There was a fairly thick Swahili population in the small Sultanate of Witu and in the vicinity of Lamu. All this region, except high up the Tana, was unhealthy and, away from the coast or watercourses, arid and uninviting.

North of Tanaland stretched the rest of British East Africa, of which very little is known to this day, inhabited along the Juba and near the coast by the Ogadein Somali (with whom in 1903 we had barely finished fighting), and elsewhere by Gala peoples and other Negroid types apparently allied to the Masai and Andorobo. So far as is known, this vast region of Upper and Lower Jubaland (some 100,000 square miles in extent) will not prove attractive to European settlers on account of its fierce heat, relative aridity, and remoteness from means of transit. But in course of time and under the *Pax Britannica* it may become the home of two or three millions—or even more—of Gala and Somali pastoral tribes, breeding large numbers of camels, goats and sheep. The Bantu negroes will increase as an agricultural population along the banks of streams and rivers, and are likely, in the Juba Valley especially, to grow cotton.

In 1903 this unorganised northern portion of the Protectorate had not come within the range of practical politics. The authorities at that period, beyond vaguely suggesting it as a home of refuge for the persecuted Russian Jews, had developed no plans for a region best left to itself, a region associated in its coastward portions with unsuccessful and very expensive native wars. The country which the British Government had to dispose of in 1903, after the railway was finished, consisted, all told, of about 105,000 square miles, of which about 75,000 square miles were already occupied or had been guaranteed to a native (negro) population of nearly three millions. There remained about 30,000 square miles of absolutely unoccupied land, which the British Government might fairly attribute to itself as its guerdon for the costly boon of the Uganda Railway, and which it might sell, lease, or distribute in the special interests of Great Britain and of the East Africa Protectorate.

Many schemes were suggested, some distinctly altruistic. For example, seven or eight thousand square miles of the Was' engishu¹ or Nandi plateaus were to be bestowed on the emigrating Jews of

¹ Was' or Uas' engishu, means 'striped cattle,' and is a name applied to the nearly extinct agricultural Masai north-west of the Rift valley. They were killed out (very nearly) by civil wars between Masai tribes. There are other and mysterious indications of vanished peoples in this beautiful piece of country.

Russia and Roumania, and an expedition was sent out to report on their suitability. The Swiss surveyors and agricultural specialists who went with this expedition reported against the land, and the Government's offer lapsed. It is this land now that the Boer settlers are seeking to acquire. As to the Jewish Committee, which declined the Was'engishu Plateau, I can only say they must be expecting the rediscovery of Eden, for a more splendid piece of virgin land exists nowhere in the world.

Other schemes have been mooted of Persian agricultural colonies, of Panjabi, and other Indian settlements in the Tana and Lower Sabaki valleys; and no doubt, if the Somalis, Galas, and kindred tribes could be pacified and confined in their range to definitely allotted areas, there is much of the hot country in Jubaland and the Lower Tana basin that might very well accommodate large Indian colonies.

But there remain for immediate consideration these 30,000 square miles of land with a temperate healthy climate and without native owners in the Ukamba, Naivasha, Kenya, and Kisumu provinces. The black man is amply provided for both in the uplands and the lowlands, the Somali and Gala negroids have many thousands of square miles to roam over, there is ample space for the incoming Hindu and the Africanised Arab: surely some attempt might be made to implant white settlers on the unoccupied balance of 30,000 square miles of and, so peculiarly adapted for their needs as regards climate?

To a certain extent this question was answered at the beginning of this century, when inducements were offered to persons of property to acquire land on a large scale from the Government, and subdivide it again among smaller holders. Between 1900 and the middle of 1908 something like 2,100 whites have settled in inner East Africa, of whom about 700 are Boers and about 1400 British or English-speaking Afrikaners. Nearly 300 Boers have also arrived in this last month of July, presumably to settle on the Was'engishu Plateau.⁵ There are, consequently, about 1,000 Boers (possibly this is an over-estimate) now in British East Africa.

An East African correspondent writes to me:

At present the only white colonists who are settling down permanently in the country are the Boers, and there are signs that those already there are the forerunners of a large influx from the Transvaal. The Boers are useful as transport riders and contractors in a new country, where their primitive waggons still suit local conditions, and they are as a rule law abiding; but as settlers they will never make a prosperous colony. They may be said to be of a molluscous type, sluggish yet tenacious. They take up large farms, but do not develop the land to any great extent, and therefore do not export anything. In some

⁵ At present the Boer settlers in East Africa are distributed thus:—(1) In the Lukenya Hills, in Machako's country (Ukamba Province); (2) on the east of the road between Fort Hall and Nairobi (Ukamba); (3) on the Was'engishu Plateau: this latter (writes a correspondent) 'they have earmarked for themselves, and they have formed the intention of creating here a continuous solid Boer settlement—a Boer State, in short.'

aspects they are comparable to Asiatics, inasmuch as they live on an altogether lower plane of civilization than most Europeans. They subsist mainly on mealie (maize) meal, local coffee, and 'biltong,' or sun-dried flesh, obtained from the meat of the wild game. Many live to a great extent by poaching game, and this is undoubtedly one of the great attractions of East Africa to the Boer: it is not yet 'shot out.' They sometimes encourage natives on their lands, to the annoyance of their neighbours, allowing the negroes to bring their cattle out of the native reserves on to the Boer farms. For the right to graze the native pays the Boer an occasional calf or heifer. As this practice is liable to spread cattle diseases it is now being checked by the new regulations governing the movement of live stock.

The Boers are nearly always married, and are accompanied by their wives and large families. On the other hand, the British, or even Afrikaner (i.e. British South African) settlers are usually unmarried. It is therefore obvious that the Boer in this respect has the advantage, and has come there *to stay*, not merely to make a planter's or grazier's competence and retire to the English countryside or suburb.

The British immigrants into East Africa (from the homeland or the daughter nations) are divisible into four classes: (1) Those who without capital have come out to fill small employments or to find work; (2) those who have a limited capital of about 300*l.* or 400*l.*; (3) those whose capital is at least 1200*l.*; and (4) the representatives of syndicates or companies with a capital sufficient to work large rubber, fibre, or cotton areas.

It may be more convenient to review these categories in detail in the inverse order of their enumeration.

Class 4 represents men against whom many unfair things are said if they succeed and equally bitter things if they fail. They are usually the first to be attracted to a country like East Africa. They may be willing to speculate with their own or other people's capital, but as they take great risks of losing—the pioneers generally do lose—they attempt to cover these risks by asking for concessions which appear enormous in the rare cases where the enterprise succeeds, but which are generally forfeited or become derelict where it fails. They are treated as Shylocks by a section of the Press, and are constantly being refused the pound of flesh. Like the Chartered Company, they are usually the invention—and sometimes the victims—of Governments who are in a hurry to make colonies 'pay,' yet who cannot themselves find money with which to speculate in mineral research, cotton-planting, rubber-tapping, or transport organisation. There are, however, only ten concessionnaires—individuals or syndicates—to whom any large amounts of land, mining, or forest rights within the healthy area have been allotted by the East African Administration, and amongst these about 1000 square miles have been distributed (half of this to the Uplands of East Africa Syndicate). As a concessionnaire Lord Delamere is specially noteworthy for his experiments in sheep-breeding.

which, together with those of the Government experimental farm, have greatly improved the prospects of East Africa. About another 1000 square miles have been parted with to several hundred applicants in smaller lots. In all, scarcely more than 2000 square miles of the healthy land of the Upland provinces have been alienated as yet, out of the 30,000 square miles available for ultimate European colonisation.

Class 3 comprises the settlers, mostly British and not very numerous, who have started with a capital of not less than 1200*l.*, and are not likely under present circumstances to make rapid fortunes; but if they have invested their capital intelligently in farming and are growing suitable products and treating their employes considerately, they may (in the opinion of those who know the country) make a comfortable living. American maize—especially the kind known as Hickory King—beans suitable for export to Europe, and the rustless varieties of wheat such as 'Glugas,' seem to be the products giving the best return per acre. As regards wheat grown under favourable circumstances on the uplands of East Africa, the yield per acre is an average of *twenty-one bushels*, as against fourteen in North America and only seven in South Africa (thirty to thirty-two bushels in England). Wheat is now being extensively planted by the large landowners. As regards profitable live stock on the highlands, Berkshire pigs flourish and a properly organised bacon factory is being founded. Dairy farms pay well, and the money now being laid out so wisely by the local administration in fencing is checking the straying of native herds and the consequent spread of disease—of those cattle plagues which periodically depopulated the bovines of East Africa, wild and tame. Here, indeed, the white man, by his authority, practical good sense, veterinary science, and bacteriology has justified his presence in a country magnificently endowed but sorely troubled by the real Devil—the blind reactionary forces of Nature. Wool-bearing sheep thrive in these cooler parts of East Africa. Breeding for wool is now firmly established as a local industry. The upland country (above 5000 feet) being scarcely ever without remembrance of rain, there are no 'fodderless' droughts to contend with, as in Australia. Ostrich-farming also on the grassy plains promises very well. The ostrich is obviously at home here, yet the indigenous wild breed is not quite so suitable for feather-producing as the North or South African types.* These, however, can be readily obtained from both Egypt and Cape Colony.

In the more tropical lands that are well watered, in the coast belt along the Indian Ocean or down near the Victoria Nyanza (in the Nyando Valley), companies and concessionnaires or individuals are at work preparing *Sansevieria* fibre, planting coffee or Ceara rubber. If

* But in Sir James Sadler's last Report (No. 557), from which a good deal of the information in this article is derived, it is stated that the feathers of the indigenous birds compare very favourably with those of South Africa (p. 22).

these tropical plantations are successful, as they promise to be, they will help the highland farmers by offering them a further market for their flour, potatoes, milk, butter, eggs, bacon, vegetables, and European fruits (which last grow splendidly in the cooler country).

Class 2—the European settler with a very small capital—has not been altogether a success. The majority of this type came from South Africa and established themselves in this Equatorial region on a false basis. They did not intend working with their own hands, but proposed hiring the native to work for them. In fact, some of them—the pioneers of this class—told the present writer that ‘it would destroy the white man’s prestige if he were seen by a negro working with his hands.’ It was apparently the white man’s business to ride about and inspect; in fact, unconsciously, the spirit of the old slavery days influenced their minds and spoke through their lips. If my own experience may count with them for anything, they may take it from me, who have travelled many times and now for many years through Africa—North, East, South, West, and Central—that the white man loses prestige *nowhere* by setting a good example to the negro and working in his shirt-sleeves. Were the British engineers on the Uganda Railway not respected? Or on the Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Lagos Railways? Are missionaries in the great industrial missions, Catholic and Protestant, not respected? ⁷

It is settlers of this type—and they are not confined to East or South Africa—who make the loudest outcry about the lazy negro and are most strongly in favour of forced labour. Consequently, the men of Class 2 are not the best-loved of the white immigrants, either by the officials or by the natives. With the latter they show themselves most unsympathetic, looking upon them as so many automata, from whom a fixed amount of work must be extracted in a given time for a minimum wage.

Yet (writes an East African) this middle class of settler contains some very hard-working, admirable fellows, and if one considers the conditions under which they work it is easy to understand their difficulties and their irritability. When it is their planting time it is also the planting time of the natives; their harvests coincide with the natives’ harvests. Nevertheless, it is at these seasons that they demand the most abundant supply of native labour, and cause the impotency of the Local Government because it cannot force the natives to satisfy an immediate demand for low-priced labour.

It may be inferred from the foregoing remarks that the man with

⁷ The noxious idea that the white man is always to be foreman and never labourer, that it ‘lowers his prestige’ in the eyes of the ‘natives’ if he is seen working with his hands, is, together with whisky, sapping the foundations of the British Empire, and must be eradicated. Of course there are climatic reasons which in most cases make it impossible for the white man to work as a navvy or a gardener in parts of the West Indies and tropical America, West Africa, the coast of East Africa, and in India. Therefore, these are not ‘white man’s countries.’ But when the climate is not against it the white man must wield the pick and spade, hoe and drill, shears and lasso, as much as the yellow man or the black. If the white man is to remain master and teacher, and here and there a monopolist, he must be equal to all pursuits and achievements.

300*l.* is unlikely to succeed. This, however, is only the case if he poses as a capitalist and an employer of labour. On these lines he will soon get into difficulties; but if he enters East Africa, as he would Canada, determined to work with his own hands his small capital will prove a blessing instead of a curse. The great thing is to eliminate the idea with which he has come possessed—that black labour is as cheap as it appears on the surface. Kuli labour is very cheap in India, but the Asiatic labourer transported to Africa has not proved an invariable success. If the Indian operative is at all skilled he requires high pay (in Africa); his food is more expensive or tiresome to procure than that of the indigenous black man; he falls sick oftener, and, in short, is rather a doubtful bargain. The Indian settler—free colonist—in East Africa may be a success. Indians are very useful as skilled workmen, &c., but I doubt if they are going seriously to ease the labour difficulties of Africa. These must be solved in the main by the friendly co-operation of white and black.

At present negro labour in East Africa is capricious and uncertain. Desertion is distressingly frequent, and deserters—breakers of contracts—are hard to trace owing to the facility with which negroes change their names, and the ease with which they pass from one part of the Protectorate to another. At one time they may be dressed with the amplitude of the Arabised Swahili or the 'mission boy,' at another they may appear as naked savages. Legal identification is very difficult. Then, again, the agricultural tribes dwelling in the vicinity of the white men's farms or plantations—Giriama, Nika, Taita, Taveita, Kamba, Kikuyu, Pokomo—have prospered greatly under our protectorate and are busily engaged on their own farms, 'mashamba,' and plantations, and do not work for hire. That being so and as they have acquitted themselves of their taxes, who is going to make them work against their will? Certainly not any official of the British Government.⁸ Even if such a policy were sanctioned as this end, it would soon lead to a devastating revolt. The extra-industrious Lake tribes, like the Kavirondo—to say nothing of the resources of the Uganda populations—must be discounted, unfortunately, because of the danger lest they might carry sleeping sickness (dormant in the veins of many of them) into East Africa. They are, however, available as a labour force for the Western settlements; but the present writer found in 1900-1 that the Kavirondo and other Lake tribes were very sensitive to the cold of the highlands above an altitude of 6500 feet, where the white man regains his vigour and prefers to settle.

⁸ I would not deny the assertions made by some East African colonists that the natives are somewhat lightly taxed in proportion to the benefits and facilities they receive. No doubt in the course of time, taxation, especially of unmarried men and nomads, will increase. At present the native does not contribute, proportionately to the area of land occupied and the improved conditions of life, his fair quota of the administration expenses.

The cattle-keeping people (Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, &c.) are not very numerous, and only care to engage for cattle-keepers or shepherds. The Somalis are domestic servants (of the best), traders, guides, interpreters, and would not dream of engaging to till the fields.

In Queensland at one time it was asserted that the cultivation of sugar could not be carried on without Kanaka labour. Now, to ensure a 'White' Australia, the Polynesians and Melanesians have been repatriated and the Anglo-Saxon Australian is thrown mainly on his own resources. Instead of diminishing, the output of sugar has actually increased. Of course machinery has come into play in labour-saving devices, and machinery will play a similar part in East Africa. Fortunately, oxen are again cheap in East Africa now that the various cattle diseases are abated, and they are of a type that is easily broken in, very docile. Already they are much used in ploughing, instead of the negro man or woman, with their pre-historic hoes, hacking up the ground. Of course, in spite of all these provisos and drawbacks and exaggerations and theories, some degree of negro labour is always available; but planters and farmers must try to employ fewer labourers and pay them better. 'It would probably astonish most of our East African farmers,' writes a well-known East African who also knows his England, 'if they inquired of an English farmer the number of hands he employs in proportion to the acreage of his farm.'

But still the labour problem is *the* problem with the white settlers, the large and small capitalists of East Africa, and some solution *must* be found. Is a most promising colony to collapse at the very beginning of its success? There will soon be thousands of sheep to be shorn in the Rift Valley, the supply of pigs and the demand for European labour at the bacon factories before long will be very considerable; bricklayers, carpenters, masons, superior mechanics are required in many directions. Are these indispensable elements in the community to be filled up from India or China? Or for the want of them is East Africa to languish undeveloped until such time as the mission schools can turn out highly-trained negroes who—with the sleeping sickness terror set at rest—may fulfil these requirements, and thus by degrees create a predominantly black East Africa with a few white landlords? The Boers seemingly will not apply themselves here (any more than in South Africa) to anything but a pastoral life and perhaps to a primitive transport service. They will do for the plateaus of East Africa what they once did for the Transvaal and the Orange State—kill out the game, neglect or destroy the forests, and perhaps reduce the negro tribes to a mild serfage. Locust plagues will go unchecked; in fact, it may be the history of inner South Africa (without the invaluable Huguenot element) before the British intervened.

Of course the Boers are now British subjects, and, like the natives of India or Heng Kong, have the right to take full advantage of their

Imperial citizenship. But it was the taxpayers of the United Kingdom alone who found the money for the entire East African adventure, Uganda Railway and all. The Indian Government assisted, it is true, by lending brave soldiers for the more serious fighting, and workmen for constructing the Uganda Railway. Indian commerce has for a hundred years fructified the East African coast belt. So far as *moral* claim to waste land is concerned the rights of the Indian native must be ranked after those of the person born in Great Britain or Ireland. The claim to consideration of the South African—Boer or Afrikaner—is no greater than that of the Australian, Mauritian or Maltese. It is, in fact, a little vexatious of the Boers, with all South Africa up to the Zambezi to colonise, that they should be making a dead set at the 30,000 square miles of choice uninhabited land in East Africa. But, of course, if they are first in the field with their application it must be attended to, especially as the Indians, should they come, will probably claim to settle on the hotter lands outside these little paradises.

Can we do nothing in the matter? Must we follow our favourite policy of drift? I know that Government Departments have had a horror of initiating great movements, of taking risks, of being otherwise than colourless; so that in case of failure they might seem blameless; *have had*, I say, for fortunately men of character belonging to both sides of the House, and permanent officials, no longer content to be Providences without a personal policy, have done recently bold, drastic things with the national money and authority, at home and abroad, ahead of public opinion.* 'Did not always have' I might add, since the measures which were taken in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to colonise America, Australia, and South Africa were not less bold than the scheme I am about to outline for the filling up of East Africa, a scheme which has already been discussed by competent persons in England and East Africa.

The Local Government Board, the London Municipalities, and charitable organisations are said to spend something like 800,000*l.* per annum on the unemployed, out-of-works, and other able-bodied men and women who, often through no fault of their own, are on their beam-ends and do not know where to turn for work and sustenance. I have met with not a few cases myself, in my own studies of London—ex-soldiers or naval seamen, who have married and attempted to find a niche somewhere in the life of the great cities or in the country, and yet are every now and then out of a job, hollow-eyed, and hideously

* Witness the measures recently taken for the development of British West Africa on lines which, though distinctly advantageous to European commerce, are primarily conceived in the interests of the indigenous negroes. I wish those persons—members of Parliament and sincere philanthropists—who are rightly anxious about the justice of Imperial policy would visit Sierra Leone in the coming winter. The administration of the Protectorate behind the ancient 'colony' of Sierra Leone is an object-lesson. Sierra Leone—once the white man's grave—is only ten days' steam from Southampton, and its scenery is in many parts exceedingly beautiful.

anxious as to their home. The Salvation Army, and organisations and persons I have known, have helped these people drifting along the edge of despair out to a life in some colony—truly blessed in comparison; the husband perhaps first, the wife afterwards, or more often the husband has sent himself for the wife out of earnings saved in the first two years. Or unmarried men have gone out of London misery into colonial sunshine, and have been able to marry later on.

But it is becoming increasingly difficult to place moneyless, not-altogether-skilled people in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other self-governing divisions of the Empire which have got beyond the experimental stage and can afford to pick and choose their immigrants. Why not therefore—very cautiously—try East Africa, the healthy, unoccupied uplands of East Africa, with the double purpose of peopling at any rate a proportion of these beautiful lands with British settlers and of lessening the pressure of misery to some small degree on those who can find no continuous and healthy employment in the old country? The Society for finding Employment for Soldiers and Sailors could, I am sure, propose a number of suitable candidates. Married men under forty-seven years of age, without children (or who are able to leave their children temporarily in the care of friends) might be given the preference. The country is not quite sufficiently developed yet for unattached spinsters. In some ways the ideal candidate would be the unmarried strong young man, who, if he prospered after the first two years, might apply to have his future wife sent out to him. Everything that was wise might be done to encourage *women* coming out equally with men. Experience with missionaries and Government officials has shown that women stand the climate and conditions of life in normal India and Africa no worse than men. Two irrefragable conditions of selection should be adopted for the men and women 'assisted-settlers' sent out to East Africa: *good health* and *good character*. No one of known alcoholic habits should be enrolled and everything possible should be done to impress on these people the *utter harmfulness* of spirit-drinking in the tropics. Complete abstinence should be upheld as the best extreme for puzzled people. It might not be unpractical, either, to give them simple manuals of the Swahili language, of which the more intelligent might acquire the rudiments before entering on their new life.

Perhaps with care and prudence 500, or even later a thousand of these British settlers with strong arms but no capital might be drafted *annually* into the East Africa Protectorate. It would be unwise to send them out in special shiploads or larger parties than 100 at a time. Very likely the best organisation to undertake the transport, conduct, and settling-down might be a committee delegated by the Crown agents or the Emigrants' Information Office. A local committee consisting mainly of officials (but with some unofficial element) might be established in East Africa to control and direct the

whole plan locally, as to selection of land and everything else. The Emigration Information Office would supervise all the arrangements on this side. No persons should be despatched from this end until the local authorities were ready to receive and locate them, and as little delay as possible should elapse between the arrival of the emigrants at Mombasa and their location on their farms or in their temporary dwellings. The cost of the experiment, however, should be borne in the first instance by the Home Departments who were interested in finding this means of livelihood for the out-of-work and destitute people of our town and country.

The Colony would provide the vacant land necessary for these experiments. This agricultural land in suitable localities (healthy, of course) might be cut up into blocks of *thirty acres* each, every alternate block being open for allotment. Twenty acres should be allotted to each candidate, with the right to take up the remaining ten acres after one year. The vacant blocks of land in between the holdings would be available for further individual expansion.

The terms of the holdings should not be freehold (except by purchase at local prices), but a perpetual rent of a few shillings per annum, with reversion to the Crown if unoccupied for more than one year, or if, after a reasonable period, a proportion of the thirty acres was not cultivated. If the Crown resumed possession there should be compensation to the late holder for any buildings or permanent improvements due to his own expenditure. Terms might further be arranged whereby *ownership* of the ground allotted might be granted after (say) *ten years'* occupation and cultivation. Advances and loans by the Local Government might to a reasonable degree be regarded as a first mortgage on the little estate. But all these details could be safely left to be worked out and controlled by the Land Board in East Africa, and this department, under the supreme direction of the Governor, would certainly take a liberal view of all questions where hard-working, praiseworthy settlers were concerned. The conditions as to development should not be burdensome, the *first object of this plan* being to create a home for a British settler wherein he or she may be happy and by means of which they may become colonists and workers who will assist generally in the development of East Africa.

Tools, ploughs, oxen, should be lent by the local Government upon reasonable terms, and a system of co-operative use should be called into existence whereby a group of farms afforded each other mutual help with the means supplied. Some trouble and some expense should be gone to (partly contributed by the Home organisation finding the funds for this experiment and the Local Government profiting eventually by its success) in assisting the colonist to erect *healthy, suitable dwellings* for European occupation on his farm. These need not be costly. The wood could be for the most part supplied

from the local forests. This and corrugated iron for the roofing would be the principal materials, at any rate for temporary dwellings. If there was any adjoining piece of land with suitable clay, the whole group of farmers might be encouraged to make and bake bricks (every missionary knows how) and gradually build themselves comfortable, wholesome dwelling-houses of brick and mortar, with tiled roofs and tiled floors. Missionaries do this sort of thing often with their own hands : why might not reasonable intelligent men and women outside the missionary fold ?

Seed-corn, seed-potatoes, and the seeds of other useful plants and food crops ; fowls, geese, ducks, pigs, goats and other live-stock might also be issued to these settlers at Government expense, the cost (as low as possible) being debited to the settler in common with the other advances, to be paid off out of his earnings or the selling price of his farmstuff.

One implicit condition of selection as a Government-aided settler in East Africa would be that every man for, at any rate, *ten years* after his arrival should, while in the Colony, join the volunteer force and submit himself to such local training as may be exacted from such a force, besides sharing with the local volunteers in a liability to serve in defence of the Colony as ordered by the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. The Local Government no doubt would arrange to make some small compensatory payment to the man while absent from his farm on obligatory training or when on active service. For this reason of the special usefulness of these settlers as an armed force which might be called upon in emergencies to defend the Colony from internal or external trouble it is important that they should be selected as much as possible from ex-soldiers, naval seamen, marines, or men used to arms and perhaps to discipline. In any case they should be of good physique. Men of this description have come out for work on the Uganda Railway or overland telegraph, and then, when construction was finished and staffs cut down, have taken small plots of land near the railway with, it may be, a capital in hand of only a few rupees. By dint of sheer hard work they have at the end of a year and a half made quite a comfortable living and put by money in the bank.

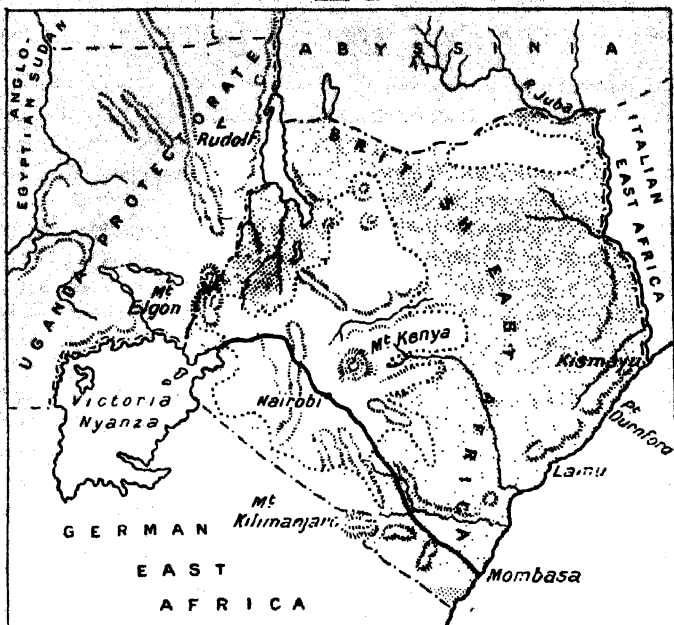
Of course the settlers, providing they fulfil conditions as to residence and perhaps cultivation to a reasonable degree, are not to be obliged only to gain a living by *farming*. Provided they do not make an unfair use of their twenty or thirty acres and Government loan of house and materials, they should be left free to follow any honest avocation that presents itself. They would represent, in fact, a *labour force* above all things. Many clerkships in the service of the Government or of the merchants, instead of being given to Goanese (Portuguese Indians), might be filled by Britishers with a decent school board or army education. The Local Government and big contractors employ hundreds of Indian artisans whose pay varies from 4*l.* to 6*l.* per month.

These men are often of poor constitution and do not always stand the cold of the upland country. They might easily be replaced by English, Irish, Scottish workmen who would work twice as hard (even within the limits of an eight-hour 'day') and who could therefore be retained at double the cost of the Indian. Thousands of pounds are annually sent away from East Africa to India in wages paid to Indian carpenters, masons, and other skilled workmen which might just as well go into British pockets. There would still remain plenty to do for the Indian in the hot coast lands quite outside this special colonisation scheme. Of course East Africa is not ripe yet for trades' unions and leagues for equalising wages and hours of labour, such as in our own crowded country have been gradually making life possible and endurable for the workers-with-their-hands. These organisations are somewhat strangling the enterprise of Canada and Australia, and would be still more out of place in East Africa.

The sheep-farming industry of the Rift Valley will, as before mentioned, require soon an adequate supply of white shearers. Most of the persons concerned in this industry declare that the Masai and other negroes called in as sheep-shearers have very little sense of responsibility, or kindly feeling towards the sheep: they spoil the fleeces and injure the animals. With a colony of thirty-acre settlers growing up alongside the bigger farms a supply of men who could be taught to shear would be at hand, and the result would be mutually beneficial.

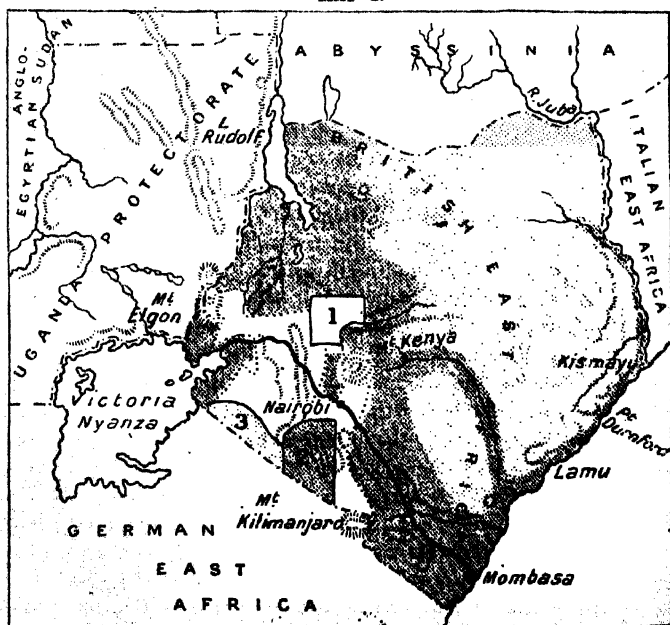
As regards the use to which these 'small' settlers could put their own plots of ground, there is (besides agriculture and actual food-crops) pig-breeding for the great bacon factories. The pig is the ideal beast for the poor man in East Africa. These animals hardly cost anything to feed on an East African farm. Sweet potatoes grow here like weeds and are ideal fattening food for pigs, besides being exceedingly palatable for human beings. Another point in East African pig-keeping which is favourable—a point, indeed, which should be taken into account in all these proposals—is that there is no winter. Consequently pigs can be fed on the produce of the ground all the year round. This climatic advantage of the East African highlands must be insisted on. It is a most important asset in the 50,000 square miles of plateau country in the Ukamba, Kenya, Naivasha, and Kisumu provinces, 25,000 of which at least are still open to European settlement. There is not only *no winter* in these equatorial regions, but there is no intolerable summer heat nor prolonged drought. You have here an ideal climate, a perpetual English July.

Poultry-rearing for this reason is a valuable adjunct for the poor settler. The poultry supply of Nairobi and Mombasa is in the hands of natives who stroll in intermittently hawking the small bantam-like fowls from door to door. The egg-supply is unorganised, and at times eggs are almost unprocureable. Yet in both uplands and low-



The white areas on the map of British East Africa show the extent of land colonizable by Europeans so far as climate is concerned.

MAP 2.



The white areas show the approximate extent of land open for European colonization after Native reserves and future claims are taken into account. The darker tint in the Native reserve area shows the land occupied by Negroes (including Masai and Nilotes). The lighter tint indicates a population mainly Negroid-Caucasian, such as Galla and Somali. These regions, inhabited by the Hamitic Negroes (Galla, &c.), are thinly populated, and might offer considerable scope for the Hindu immigration. The patch marked (1) is the Northern Masai reserve, which might well be exchanged for patch (2), at present held open for Europeans. Patch (2) is the Southern Masai reserve. The black line is the Uganda Railway.

considerable powers of self-government, and when a franchise was introduced it could be given with no regard to colour or race, but only with regard to a basis of literacy and intelligence. The British Governor and his representative council would be supreme over all.

There might be, for example, a simple compact Masai reserve. The southern of the two reserves already allotted to the Masai might be enlarged to the westward, and the northern reserve applied to Europeans or Bantu negroes. This might be effected by sinking artesian wells in the southern reserve which would open up for cattle-grazing infinitely larger tracts than are now used by the Masai in this region.

Many of the negroes of East Africa, it must be remembered, have only taken to the hills and cold plateaus because they were incessantly raided in the low lands. Now that security for life and property is established, many of them with no permanent settlements or improvements at present to their credit would willingly take up locations in the hotter lowlands; not perhaps the Masai, but certainly the Bantu.

Another problem to be tackled scientifically is that of the preservation of game. In order to preserve the wild animals of East Africa from rapid extinction at the hands of reckless game-slayers—European, Goanese and Somali—very large areas (30,000 square miles in all) were marked off as game preserves. Much of this land is eminently well suited to colonisation. On the other hand, a good deal of Jubaland and the Tana country would equally well serve the purposes of national parks for game preservation. But these 'parks' in little might be dotted all over the protectorate.

In one way and another it might at any rate be assumed that we have in the southern and western parts of British East Africa at least 25,000 square miles of healthy, unoccupied land open eventually (when roads are extended and railways likewise) to British settlement. These 25,000 square miles of fertile, well-watered soil should in time maintain a vigorous white population of at least 100,000. 'White' Natal, on an area of only about 10,000 square miles, supports already a vigorous British and Dutch population of 100,000. The 100,000 white English-speaking East Africans would become in time a powerful factor in the development and control of all East Africa, especially in friendly alliance with the Germans and Italians.

But to start with, East Africa wants a completed scientific survey and an ideal land settlement; literally an 'ideal,' to be registered and then to be achieved by degrees, without haste, injustice, violence, petty-mindedness, or caprice. The whole possession of 205,000 square miles is worth this outlay as an Imperial speculation; but the outlay should not be the unbusinesslike unplanned dribbling away of the funds of the United Kingdom taxpayer, but an Imperial loan to be contracted by the State of East Africa and paid off out of her future wealth.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

THE FIGHT FOR UNIVERSAL PENNY POSTAGE

UNIVERSAL penny postage may well be described as a scheme whereby any inhabitant of our planet, white, black, or yellow, may be enabled for the sum of one penny to communicate with any other at the lowest possible rate and the highest attainable speed—Englishman with German, Frenchman, Italian, or Russian; European with American; Asiatic with Australian or African—so that when one soul has something to say to another, neither colour, nor religion, nor creed, nor diplomacy, nor national antipathy, nor latitude nor longitude, nor poverty, nor any other barrier, shall stand between them. It is a grand yet simple assertion of the brotherhood of nations; it is a change that threatens no interests and benefits all mankind.

I purpose to-day to tell the story of our fight for universal penny postage during the last quarter of a century, and to indicate as briefly as possible the present situation and the difficulties to be overcome to complete this grand and beneficent work. Let us, in the first place, glance at the high postage rates from Great Britain to her Colonies twenty-five years ago, and the extraordinary anomalies then existing. At that time I found that while no less than 300,000 emigrants left our shores annually, never to return, the postage of a letter to Australia was 6*d.*, and to India 5*d.*, while the rate from France or Germany to these countries was only 2½*d.* This high rate of postage caused correspondence between relatives and friends to be sent at only rare intervals, and after a brief period to cease altogether.

On the 30th of March, 1886, I was fortunate in winning by ballot in the House of Commons the first place. I took advantage of it to move the following resolution: 'That in the opinion of this House the time has arrived for the Government of this country to open negotiations with other Governments with a view to the establishment of a universal international penny postage system.' In submitting this to a crowded House I pointed out that it was obvious to every mind that by the supply of a cheap, rapid, and trustworthy method of communication in Great Britain and Ireland not only had our people high and low enjoyed a means of continuous intercourse

and fellowship with absent friends, not only had works of charity been facilitated, sympathies enlarged, and unity of feeling promoted, but, in addition, an incalculable stimulus had been given to trade and industry of every kind and degree. On these grounds I asked that penny postage be extended to our Colonies and foreign nations; I pointed out that new and distinct advantages would be secured by this extension to the whole world. These were, first, the promotion of brotherly feeling with the millions of Englishmen dwelling in our Colonies, and, secondly, the creation and fostering of a feeling of solidarity and common interest. I then proceeded to describe the conditions of the emigrant to Australia and to America, pointing out that the mass of these exiles were persons in the humblest circumstances, who worked for a daily wage and had to calculate every farthing of expenditure, and with whom economy most often began by the giving up an expensive correspondence, and so practically casting off all the ties which bound them to the land of their fathers. I read a number of letters from the most influential men in Great Britain and Ireland in favour of universal penny postage; in conclusion, I prayed the House of Commons to make intercourse between our sundered coasts as easy as speech, as free as air. I entreated them to tolerate no longer this unworthy great postal profit on the expression of our fraternal sympathies and on the natural development of our trade. And I foretold that this reform, when it is ours—as it soon must be—would confer a widespread benefit on commerce, would bring new happiness into myriads of homes here in this country, and scattered by the brimming margent or the long wash of the Australasian seas, over pathless prairies in America, over tractless plains in Australia, and along glancing equatorial streams, and it would form the last, and not the least, tenacious of the ties that bound our Colonies to their Mother Country. During the debate that followed there was a feeling prevailing in the House that it would be wise as a first step to confine penny postage to the Colonies of the British Empire, and, in order not to lose any advantage, I got a friend of mine to move an amendment—simply asking for imperial penny postage. There was no chance of putting this amendment to the test of a division, and in the meanwhile the Financial Secretary of the Treasury was put up to reply on behalf of the Government. He pointed out that the Government was then losing 1000*l.* a day, or more than 360,000*l.* a year, over the present packet service, and it would be ruinous to agree to the resolution proposed by the honourable member for Canterbury. A vote was then taken on the motion for universal penny postage, and I was defeated; but I had the satisfaction of taking into the lobby with me 142 members of Parliament, to each of whom I had the honour twelve years later of presenting a silver penny on the day of our first great victory.

From the hour of our defeat in 1886 no Government, and especially

no Postmaster-General in England, had any rest. To the whole Press of the United Kingdom, from *The Times* to the smallest newspaper in the country, deep thanks are due for their loyal and consistent support of the movement for Universal Penny Postage.

One would imagine that there would be no difficulty in carrying out our great scheme with, at our back, such strong support. I learned, however, for the first time a startling truth: I discovered that England was ruled by officials. I may say at once that no Minister dare enter office and hope for a successful administration if he has the misfortune to be unable to work with his officials, or if he opposes their views, and I am prepared to give half a dozen instances of the truth of what I now affirm.

The campaign for universal penny postage, and as a first step imperial penny postage, really began on the day of the first defeat of the measure in Parliament. Let the files of *The Times* and the 150 volumes of Hansard before me tell the story. Pages of the business paper were filled with questions of a tormenting character to the Postmaster-General or his representative. Every weak point in the postal administration was held up to the scorn and ridicule of the British public. I published throughout the land sixty reasons for the adoption of imperial penny postage. Every chamber of commerce in England, Ireland, and Scotland passed special resolutions in its favour. I visited almost every civilised country in the world and learned by heart almost every Postal Guide. There was a very grave danger of tiring or boring the House of Commons while attacking the Post Office, the unfortunate Postmasters-General, and their subordinates; happily this danger was averted. For a rest from penny postage I was successful in interesting and amusing the public and keeping the Post Office officials busy by publishing in *The Times* a list of sixty inland postal reforms demanded by an exasperated public from the mandarins of St. Martin's le Grand. I carried most of these reforms. Many afternoons were passed by amusing revelations which caused a good deal of laughter and good-humour—such as whether my right honourable friend was aware that he charges in a telegram 'mother-in-law' as one word and 'father-in-law' as three; Newcastle-on-Tyne as one word, St. Leonards-on-Sea as three words; M.P. as two words and m.p. as one word, and M.P. as two words and P.M. as one word; Charing Cross as two words and St. Pancras as one word—the latter because it is the name of a saint.

In 1889 and 1890, in furtherance of my postal scheme, I visited the United States of America and had long conferences there with the Hon. John Wanamaker, the Postmaster-General in the Harrison Administration, and he expressed the greatest sympathy with the object of my visit. It is not necessary to publish the enormous correspondence on the subject of penny postage with America during

the past eighteen years. It is enough to state that the Postage Committee of the United States Government in 1890, while expressing themselves favourable, reported that they were in favour of including Germany in the reduction to the penny rate when the time came. I sent the whole of the correspondence to Lord Salisbury and Mr. Goschen. On my return to England I was assailed in the bitterest possible manner, in the organ of the Imperial Federation League, for including the United States in the scheme for imperial penny postage. The writer charged me with having sacrificed the imperial character of the scheme. In other words, he said that by admitting a foreign country to the benefit of the reform we spoilt its character. Needless to say, the answer I gave was not calculated to strengthen the position of the Imperial Federation League, and it shortly after crumbled by the decisive action of Lord Rosebery. At this moment I would like to say that I was considerably buoyed up in my work by two letters sympathising with the objects of my campaign—one was from the Prince of Wales, and the other from Lord Rosebery.

In the diaries of the work to advance imperial penny postage, and kept day by day for twelve years, I find a long official letter signed by Sir Stevenson Blackwood, the able official head of the Post Office for many years. It was the habit of Sir Stevenson Blackwood to give evidence, and his own individual opinion, and on this commence his letters in reply to complaints, 'I am directed by the Postmaster-General to inform you,' etc., as if the Postmaster-General was the originator of the dictum he proceeded to lay down. As a proof of this I may give an amusing incident. On a Select Committee (of which I was a member) to inquire into the expenditure of the Post Office, Sir Stevenson Blackwood declared that halfpenny postage did not pay, that there was a loss on halfpenny postage, and that all the Post Office profit of 3,000,000*l.* a year was made out of penny letters. This may or may not be true; but Sir Stevenson Blackwood embodied this evidence in the Select Committee's report, and for years and years, when any complaint was made to the Post Office of halfpenny postage regulations, Sir Stevenson Blackwood replied as follows: 'I am directed by the Postmaster-General to inform you that a Select Committee of the House of Commons has reported that there is a loss on halfpenny postage, and under those circumstances your request cannot be complied with.' Now, Sir Stevenson Blackwood's letter against imperial penny postage was ostensibly written at the dictation of Mr. Raikes, the Postmaster-General, but I affirm that the statements in this official letter were entirely at variance with the private views of the political head.

In a brilliant article *The Times* demolished the arguments of the Post Office against imperial penny postage. In 1890 the jubilee of inland penny postage was celebrated by the Post Office. Mr. Raikes,

in making the speech of the evening, extolling the success of inland penny postage, took advantage of the occasion to denounce an extension of it to all parts of the Empire. He especially mentioned India, and asked how it was possible to expect an increase of correspondence to justify penny postage to that country. Three months afterwards I had the high satisfaction of publishing a letter from Mr. Fanshawe, the Postmaster-General of India, showing that our correspondence had increased with India 70 per cent. during the previous ten years.

The next skirmish with the British Post Office took place in the Royal Colonial Institute. Lord Albemarle was in the chair, and I read a paper on 'Imperial Penny Postage.' The Post Office officials came in their numbers, and a nephew of Rowland Hill's, Mr. Pearson Hill, made a strong denunciatory speech against my proposal. I had the satisfaction of telling him that it would make his relative turn in his grave to hear his utterances.

Wearying of the continual attacks on the Postal Administration, the Postmaster-General agreed to an all-sea or fourpenny route to Australia. This was by some people considered a great boon; but the following year Mr. Goschen, in his Budget speech, announced amid great cheers that he would make a reduction to $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ for letters to all the British Colonies. This was, of course, gratifying to the people of the British Colonies, who had for many years enjoyed a $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ rate to France, Germany, and other foreign countries.

Meanwhile Postmasters-General and official heads of the Post Office would come and go; the departure of most of them would be signalised by a complimentary dinner to me and our comparing notes of our fight.

After a particularly hard battle, the Postmaster-General in 1892 sent a circular letter to all the Colonies in the Empire advocating a universal $2d.$ rate for letters and a penny postcard transmissible everywhere. The letter conveying this proposal is a gem in its way. I give the last paragraph:

Sir James Fergusson attaches importance to the institution of penny postcards transmissible everywhere, because he thinks her Majesty's Government would be in a strong position if, while resisting further attacks on postal revenue by insisting upon the advantages of a moderate uniform tariff, they were able also to point to the penny postcard as realising the idea of 'ocean penny postage' or 'imperial penny postage' within the limits of what is reasonable.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) S. A. BLACKWOOD.

With a rancour unsurpassed the postal mandarin did not hesitate to ask for a $2d.$ postage rate, on the plea that it would silence the agitator for a penny post. This proposal fell to the ground.

A new Ministry came into power. One morning I received the

letter from Lord Rosebery already referred to, in which he said that on the way to Osborne to receive the seals of office he spoke to the Postmaster-General on the subject of imperial penny postage, and he hoped, 'with all my heart, our wishes may be realised.' He little expected how helpless his Postmaster-General would be in the hands of the officials. Notwithstanding the efforts of Lord Rosebery, and even of Sir William Harcourt, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and whose letters to me I would like to publish, the movement made no progress in consequence of the strenuous opposition of the Post Office. I devoted three years to continuing the agitation. I got two very wealthy Australians—the Hon. Sir J. W. Clarke and Sir Samuel Wilson—to unite with me in sending to the Government a bank guarantee against loss by the establishment of imperial penny postage. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote to me that he would not accept the guarantee.

Meanwhile the Postal Union held its quinquennial meeting in Washington, and at this the British delegates again proposed 2d. universal postage as a reply to the agitation for penny postage; the motion was defeated by a large majority. Shortly afterwards two circulars were sent out: one from the Government of Great Britain, proposing a 2d. postage, and a second from the Canadian Government, proposing a three-cent or 1½d. postage. In order to come to some decision in the matter of those two circulars a conference of the representatives of the Empire and India, of the Crown Colonies and the Colonies enjoying responsible government, was called together in England, ostensibly 'to consider the question of postage within the British Empire.' The conference met for the first time in the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, on the 28th of June 1898. The Duke of Norfolk, Postmaster-General, represented the United Kingdom; Sir William Mulock, Postmaster-General, Canada; Sir David Tennant, the Cape of Good Hope; Mr. Kisch, British India; Sir Clement Hill, the Protectorates under the Foreign Office; Mr. A. A. Pearson, the Crown Colonies; the Agents-General of the six Colonies, Australia; the Hon. W. P. Reeves, New Zealand; Sir James Winter, Newfoundland; and Sir Walter Peace, Natal. It should here be stated that during the three weeks over which the conference lasted, though only three formal meetings were held, the most active interviews and communications were passing between the above delegates, assisted as they were by the wise counsels of Lord Strathcona, the High Commissioner of Canada. The Duke of Norfolk in a mild way, and the official representatives of the British Post Office in a most vigorous manner, did everything possible by speech and verbal communications to induce the delegates to agree to 2d. postage. On the other hand, I had printed and impressed on all the members the views of Mr. Chamberlain, who had stated a year before 'that no money consideration would stand in the way of the

British Government in cheapening communication between England and the other parts of the Empire. It should be here stated that the Duke of Norfolk, though Postmaster-General, was not a member of the British Cabinet; he had been clearly misled by his officials, who had assured him privately that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not support Mr. Chamberlain. The Duke of Norfolk was led to make the public announcement to the conference that Mr. Chamberlain's statement 'was clearly nothing more than the expression of a wish by an individual statesman.' At the conclusion of the second meeting of the conference, on the 5th of July, I wrote a most urgent letter to Mr. Chamberlain, telling him of the treachery of the Post Office authorities in asking the great conference to pay no attention to his authoritative statement on imperial penny postage. I begged him to take immediate action.

The third meeting of the delegates from all parts of the Queen's dominions was held on the 12th of July 1898. Sir William Mulock proposed the following resolution: 'That it is advisable in the interests of the British Empire that the rate of postage for the conveyance of letters throughout the entire extent of the Empire be reduced from the present rate of twopence-halfpenny per half-ounce to one penny.' Sir David Tennant seconded, and Sir William Peace, Agent-General for Natal, supported the resolution. It was carried by seven votes to five. The scene that followed was best expressed by the notable utterance of Mr. Reeves, the brilliant representative of New Zealand. He rose and said: 'The declaration of the imperial acceptance of penny postage had come upon the Australian representatives like a thunderbolt, especially after the statements made by the British Post Office authorities at the previous meeting.' Thus to Mr. Chamberlain was due the credit of carrying the last ramparts against imperial penny postage. The British Government, on the motion of Mr. Chamberlain, had given imperative instructions to the British postal officials to vote for imperial penny postage.

After the conference the representative of India walked over to the House of Commons and told me that I had won—that imperial penny postage was carried. I hardly slept that night. At five o'clock *The Times* was brought to my bedside, confirming the glorious news. At luncheon at the Carlton Club the Duke of Norfolk crossed the floor to congratulate and shake hands with me, and from that moment he acted in the most generous manner in carrying out to the full the wishes of the conference. Every British mailship on the ocean was declared a British post office for penny letters, and so far as the Government of England was concerned imperial penny postage was triumphant for ever. A few of the Colonies held out, but at last all came into the arrangement.

On the 25th of March 1905 the following correspondence took place between Lord Stanley and myself:

General Post Office, London: March 26, 1905.

DEAR HENNIKER HEATON,—I cannot allow the bald statement which will appear in Monday's papers, to the effect that, so far as this country is concerned, a penny postage rate will come into force with Australia on April 1, to be the first announcement to you of the fulfilment of one of your postal dreams. You have worked for this reform with untiring energy, and I am glad to think that I am the first, though I shall certainly not be the last, to congratulate you. Credit to whom credit is due, and I should be the last to deny to you the credit of having to a great extent contributed to the success of negotiations which have terminated in a manner agreeable alike to you and to me. I trust now you will devote your attention to trying to induce the Commonwealth to lower, at the earliest possible moment, their tariff to a penny, so that the imperial penny postage between ourselves and the Colonies may be complete.

Yours sincerely,
STANLEY.

House of Commons, S.W.: March 27, 1905.

MY DEAR POSTMASTER-GENERAL,—Only those who have grown grey in the pursuit of some high and cherished aim can understand the feelings with which I read your kind and congratulatory message to me, announcing the inclusion of Australia in the scope of imperial penny postage. At last my reproach is removed, and an invidious exception, which went to my heart, is put an end to. No longer shall I be pained by reading such notices as 'Penny postage to all parts of the Empire excepting Australia,' or 'Postage to all foreign countries and Australia, 2½d.'

But my feelings are of small concern. It only remains for me, as a humble representative of public opinion in this matter, to tender you, as Postmaster-General, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Colonial Secretary, and I ought to add the editor of *The Times*, the sincere felicitations and gratitude of our countrymen on the happy completion of the imperial penny postage scheme. It had already, like the sections of an unfinished railroad, produced considerable benefits. But so long as the island continent stood aloof there was a kind of stigma attaching to it, which is now removed for ever. You have forged the last link in the intangible chain that binds the widely scattered fragments of the King's dominions into one solid mass. You have thrown the mantle of imperial unity over the shoulders of the Sovereign. You have struck the 'Lost Chord' in the Imperial symphony, and one grand, perfect chorus ascends over land and sea.

Let me mention that I have the strongest and most authoritative assurances that Australia will reciprocate your action at the earliest possible moment. I have never expressed impatience on the subject of her attitude, since I know that the adoption of the penny rate to England would involve the reduction of her inland rate to a penny, and a consequent annual loss of 250,000*l*.

I ought not to conclude this letter of gratitude for a particular reform, great as it is, without expressing my sense of the value of numerous improvements effected in the postal and telegraphic system under the administration of yourself and your two predecessors, Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Lord Londonderry.

I am, yours very faithfully,

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

On Christmas Day 1898 imperial penny postage was inaugurated. The presentation of the freedom of the City of London to me in a gold casket, and of the freedom of the City of Canterbury, in 1899, were events necessarily taken advantage of to continue the agitation for the

completion of our work for universal penny postage. The Right Hon. Sir J. G. Ward sent me a magnificent letter from New Zealand, declaring for universal penny postage, and shortly afterwards I received the following cable message from him :

Wellington, New Zealand : Aug. 17, 1900.

To HENRIKER HEATON, M.P., House of Commons, London.

I have much pleasure in informing you that New Zealand introduces universal penny postage from the 1st January next. It will be a fitting commemoration of the new century, and will add another link to the chain of empire.

J. G. WARD,

Postmaster-General.

It is needless to say that the publication of this telegram in *The Times* aroused general interest. Italy, some small European States, Egypt, and the United States of America agreed in succession to New Zealand sending her letters to them for 1d. postage. I may add, *en passant*, that the three thousand American sailors visiting New Zealand the other day had the pleasure of posting their letters there for one penny each to their homes in the United States under the arrangement made by my friend, now Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Meanwhile I had been pouring ridicule on the absurd arrangement of our having penny postage to India and Australia, to Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden, but in Egypt the traveller had to pay 2½d. postage. I bombarded the Foreign Office ; on every voyage through the Suez Canal I got up a petition, and every passenger on board the P. & O. and Orient steamers signed, protesting against Egypt not being included in the penny postage scheme. Lord Kitchener told me he was strongly in favour of the proposal. The last petition was signed, on my voyage to Australia in August 1905, by the Governor of Queensland, Lord Chelmsford, and many other influential passengers ; there were 200 signatories in all. When I got to Honolulu on my return voyage in December I found a cablegram from my friend his Excellency Saba Pasha, Postmaster-General, conveying the joyful news of the adoption of penny postage by Egypt. It is very amusing to read the two notifications of penny postage issued on the 5th of December 1905—the one from the British Post Office, warning the public that penny postage was only granted to Egypt as an exceptional thing ; while Egypt's announcement was a declaration that, while adopting penny postage to England, it was to be given to every other country in the world (i.e., universal penny postage) that would agree to the proposal. So at every stage the British postal officials fought inch by inch against imperial and, afterwards, universal penny postage.

The most disgraceful action of the British postal magnates was the ignoring Parliamentary instructions to claim the right of freedom for England to establish penny postage with the Colonies of the Empire. These officials actually moved a resolution at the Vienna

Postal Union to kill this scheme and to bind England not to extend penny postage to the Colonies. This was prepared and moved and carried by the British delegates; I exposed the whole plot in an article published in this Review.

In April 1906 the Postal Union Conference was held in Rome, when nearly all the civilised nations of the world sent their representatives. The Postmaster-General of New Zealand, Sir Joseph Ward, submitted in an eloquent speech universal penny postage; he was supported by the Postmaster-General of Australia, the Hon. Austin Chapman, and his Excellency Saba Pasha, the Postmaster-General of Egypt. The proposal was rejected, although it had the support of the delegates from the United States; the British delegates, representing the Postmaster-General of England, abstained from voting. I had meanwhile—that is, on the 10th of August 1905—formed a league for the establishment of universal penny postage. *The Times*, on the 10th of October 1905, published a whole page of most eloquent letters from eminent public men in Great Britain and Ireland—peers, members of Parliament (Conservative, Liberal, Irish, Socialist, and Labour members), archbishops, bishops, and clergy of all denominations, lord mayors and provosts, etc., etc.—in favour of universal penny postage. This, backed up by a strong leading article and the upanymous support of the London and provincial Press, made a great impression. On the 3rd of July 1906 I summoned together a great deputation of members of Parliament and other representative men in the Grand Committee Room in the House of Commons, to meet the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Postmaster-General of England, to ask for penny postage to the United States of America. No fewer than 108 members of the House of Commons, twenty-four ex-members, Senator the Hon. Nicholas Longworth of the United States, many peers, bankers, and presidents of chambers of commerce, were present. After introducing the deputation and stating our views, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Postmaster-General expressed themselves favourable to the object, but regretted that the finances of the country at present would not stand the loss of revenue.

His Excellency the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, at the Independence Day banquet in London on the following day, the 4th of July, said :

The American people hope for closer and cheaper communications with all other nations as the best means of promoting better acquaintance and perpetuating friendship. They were gratified to find the British apostle of penny postage at this moment focussing his efforts on what ought to be the easy task of persuading the authorities on both sides of the Atlantic that it was as cheap to carry a letter from London to New York as from London to Calcutta, or from New York to Manila, and quite as useful. (Loud cheers.)

At the instance of Sir James Blyth (now Lord Blyth) I communicated with a number of the richest men in the United Kingdom,

including Mr. Carnegie, and the result was that I was able to address the following letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Postmaster-General :

House of Commons: July 28rd, 1906.

GENTLEMEN,—You have both expressed sympathy with the movement for securing penny postage to the United States, and I am persuaded you so fully recognise the importance of securing this boon for the people of the English-speaking world that you will heartily co-operate with us.

The question, then, is how and when can money be found to cover the initial sacrifice of revenue. A preliminary question arises as to the amount of the sacrifice. When that is known there will, I am happy to be able to state, be no further difficulty. If you will appoint a small Committee of the Treasury and postal officials, together with a few representative men of business—amongst these Sir Edward Sassoon, Sir James Blyth, the Earl of Jersey, Sir Charles Palmer, and two others—to settle the probable loss of postage and estimated increase of revenue consequent on the development of correspondence under penny postage in each of the first three years, I am prepared to place in your hands a bank guarantee for the amount, bearing names honoured on every exchange. These names I am ready to place confidentially before you.

Although this may be considered an unprecedented proposal, I can show you parallel cases. The signatories do not anticipate, in view of the leaps and bounds to be expected in postal revenue, that any heavy burden will fall upon them.

I would earnestly press for an immediate settlement of this great question, so deeply interesting to the two great sections of our race.

Your obedient servant,

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

I received the following reply from the Postmaster-General :

General Post Office : July 30.

DEAR HENNIKER HEATON,—I am in receipt of your letter, for which I am obliged, and I have talked the matter over with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As we have already publicly explained, both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and myself are in favour in principle of the extension of penny postage to the United States of America. We do not see our way, however, to accept private donations for public purposes of this description. The question of a reduction of postage to America must, I am afraid, stand over until the state of the Exchequer admits of the step being taken. Until that time arrives it would be premature to inquire whether the United States Government would themselves be in favour of a restrictive union.

Yours very truly,

SYDNEY BUXTON.

Meanwhile I had the quiet but effective support of his Excellency the Right Hon. James Bryce, the British Ambassador to Washington, and through the friendly offices of Mr. Nicholas Longworth and of Mr. Morton Frewen I was able to open up correspondence with the Hon. G. O. L. Meyer, Postmaster-General of America, who gave the subject instant and sympathetic attention. To my great joy he addressed to me the following private letter, which, now that Anglo-

American penny postage has been established, I take the liberty of publishing in full :

Washington : July 17, 1907.

MY DEAR SIR,—Referring to your letter, I desire to inform you that I have given the question of two-cent (penny) postage between England and the United States careful consideration, and I am favourably inclined towards the proposition of establishing a restricted union with England, providing for a letter rate of two cents for each half-ounce. You will notice that for a letter weighing two ounces this would figure out the same as the Universal Union rate of eight cents established at the last Convention in Rome. You assured me that the British Parliament is most anxious to carry out two-cent postage reform so far as America is concerned. What I desire to learn from you is the attitude of your postal authorities, for this reason : that if there is a fair opportunity of making an arrangement with your Government to establish a two-cent postage rate for each half-ounce, I would endeavour to be in London, if possible, about the early days of September, but I do not wish to make the trip without a favourable prospect of accomplishing the desired result. I write you informally and unofficially, in order that you may advise me informally what the possibilities are and what the attitude of your Postmaster-General would be in this matter.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) G. O. MEYER,

Postmaster-General.

The letter reached London two days after my departure for Australia, and I received it in Sydney thirty days later. I took immediate action by communicating its contents to Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, who transmitted it by cable to the Colonial Office, with a strong expression of hope that the British Government would accept the offer of the United States of America. (New Zealand had already penny postage to the United States.) I also wired the message to the most powerful men in England, begging their influence with the Government. Alas! nothing was done. I returned to London as rapidly as I could, and had many anxious interviews with Ministers and with my friends on the subject of the momentous offer of the United States. Lord Curzon and others advised me that it was more than the British Government dared to do to refuse this offer from the Postmaster-General of America. I was aware that the Postmaster-General, Mr. Sydney Buxton, was personally always favourable to Anglo-American penny postage. What I feared most was that the Post Office officials were putting serious obstacles in the way; notably that there were many internal postal reforms of great urgency requiring settlement before Anglo-American penny postage could be or ought to be considered.

Early in January I received the following letter from the Postmaster-General :—

General Post Office, London : January 1908.

MY DEAR HENRIKER HEATOR,—In your letter to me the other day, in reference to penny postage to America, you said, speaking of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'We have given him a bank guarantee against loss; we have handed to him the offer of the Postmaster-General of the United States,

agreeing to reciprocate by establishing penny postage to England; and, finally, I have undertaken to point out a means of making up for any suggested loss. Can human beings do more?'

I have shown him your letter, and he is at a loss to know to what you are referring. He does not recollect any communications of the nature described passing between you and him. Perhaps you will let me know what you had in mind.

Yours very truly,

J. Henniker Heaton, Esq., M.P.

SIDNEY BUXTON.

I was able to give a satisfactory reply to this letter, but beyond kind interviews with the Chancellor of the Exchequer no progress was made.

In February Lord Blyth, who for twenty-five years had always shown great sympathy for universal penny postage, had a long interview with the Postmaster-General, pointing out the great importance of the Government accepting the offer of America. He declared that if he were in the Postmaster-General's place, or in that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would not be able to sleep comfortably until this wise reform had been put to the credit of the Liberal party. On the 19th of March Lord Blyth addressed the following interesting letter to Mr. Sydney Buxton:

March 19, 1908.

DEAR MR. BUXTON,—At the risk of being considered as great a nuisance as a mutual friend of ours, I cannot help writing to you after yesterday's interview, as I still feel that, in the interest of our party and the country alike, there is no measure calculated to bring such lasting honour to the authors, or confer such far-reaching benefits on our people, as the extension of the penny post to the United States.

While the present Government are striving to pass measures which—no matter how just—are bound to bring them numberless enemies, it passes my comprehension why they should neglect to pass a measure which would only gain them friends and which could bring them nothing but popularity.

Your arguments about the cost are to me, or to anyone with whom I have conferred outside the Ministry, altogether unconvincing, for instead of involving great cost to the country, as many of your other measures must necessarily do, this one reform would most certainly, within a very short period, yield quite a harvest of increased revenue, although that would form but a very small part of the benefit to the nation.

Holding these views, as I do, most strongly, I feel I should not be doing my duty if I did not avail myself of every opportunity of making them known, both privately and publicly.

I am so afraid that if this question is not speedily settled some political mischance may occur to place the opposite party in power, and give to them the credit of this great and inevitable reform, that you can so easily carry, with the goodwill and applause of all parties.

I can only hope you will forgive my persistency.

I am, dear Mr. Buxton,

Yours very truly,

BLYTH.

In April I received a telegram from a friend in Washington stating that an important letter had been received from the Postmaster-

General of England, agreeing on certain terms to the American proposal; but, whatever was the nature of the proposal, it evidently was not quite acceptable. I had no intimation of the points at issue; I suspected that the Americans wanted a half-ounce weight for a penny letter in the place of an ounce. Whatever the hitch in the negotiations, the ominous silence for many weeks greatly disturbed us; I had almost daily conferences with my friends, and especially Lord Blyth. On almost the last day of May I wrote to the American Ambassador, asking for an interview with him for Lord Blyth and myself. He appointed the following morning at eleven. His Excellency received us most courteously at Dorchester House. We pointed out to him that this was the year of the Franco-British Exhibition; that special efforts were being made to signalise that event by the introduction of penny postage between France and England; that only a few days before I had in the House of Commons introduced a strong deputation from the French Chamber of Commerce asking the Postmaster-General for this great reform; but that we and the whole of the British people, while anxious for penny postage with France, felt strongly that the first step should be Anglo-American penny postage—that is, penny postage between all the English-speaking nations in the world. We took care to emphasise the fact that King Edward had more British-born subjects in the United States of America than in all parts of the British Empire outside the United Kingdom. Lord Blyth here said that he knew from private information that the British Government were wondering why no reply had been sent from Washington to their proposal sent some weeks before. The American Ambassador was most sympathetic, but we left with his simple assurance that he would carefully consider the matter. We knew that he had for many years been a great friend of the movement, and history in future years may give us the important cable message which he sent to his Government on that pleasant Thursday afternoon. On the Sunday evening we knew he was in possession of a favourable answer from Washington; on Tuesday evening, with great kindness, Mr. Sydney Buxton wrote me a confidential note, asking me to be present in the House of Commons on the following afternoon, when he, amidst great cheering, announced that penny postage had been arranged between the British Empire and the United States of America. The same evening I had the pleasure of thanking him in these words:

MY DEAR POSTMASTER-GENERAL,—We reformers know that, after all the exertions we may make, we are helpless until the Minister is found who will propose the desired reform to Parliament. When I contemplate the probable results of this great measure of unity—Anglo-American penny postage—between the two English-speaking nations, I can only think of one of those great national cycles of wind and wave that bear the benefits of climate and fertility to all parts of the world. And I think of the mild, beneficent influences of the mighty Gulf Stream, which for ages has set in from the west to bless our shores.

It is now for us to acknowledge the equally real and beneficial stream of sympathies which come from the same quarter.

The date fixed for Anglo-American penny postage was the 1st of October. A large number of friends united with me to get it inaugurated on the 4th of July, Independence Day; but without success, readily understood. If this could have been arranged it would be both significant and appropriate.

So far I have endeavoured to give a bare outline of the battle for universal penny postage up to the present day. The only regret I have is that room cannot be found for the enumeration of the names of the large number of strong and progressive public men—notably Mr. W. T. Stead, Sir William Holland, Sir Edward Sassoon, Sir Walter Peace, Sir William Mulock, Sir David Tennant, etc.—who during those years of toil and struggle helped us onward in the work and rendered such great service to the cause.

I cannot conclude this article without referring to our work in the future to complete universal penny postage. I will briefly state that there are only 50,000,000 letters annually sent from Great Britain and Ireland to foreign countries not yet enjoying penny postage. The number of letters delivered in the United Kingdom last year was 2,800,000,000, so that the number sent abroad at the high rate is merely a drop in the ocean. The increase of letters posted in Great Britain every year is 100,000,000, so that this increase within the United Kingdom itself is double the total number of letters sent abroad in the whole year. I will deal with this question more fully at a future time, but I shall be greatly mistaken if another year elapses before the completion of universal penny postage.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

DANTE AND SHAKESPEARE

At first thought we might be inclined to consider Dante and Shakespeare as too different both in aim and in method to admit of any extended comparison. As a matter of fact, the two poets are seldom compared at all, whereas it seems only natural to think of Dante and Milton together. But deep reflection and protracted study must convince us of the closer, more vital kinship of the stern Florentine exile and the genial poet of Merry England. This kinship it is my primary purpose to establish as respects a few fundamental principles of life and of art, because it is impossible to estimate the relative merit of these two giants among modern poets until we can look beyond their necessary differences to their common perception of what consummate poetry must be.

Obviously Dante's power to portray actual life and to apprehend sympathetically the universal element in life must be found equal to Shakespeare's, if we are not to adjudge him the inferior poet. On the other hand, it is necessary to ascertain whether Shakespeare satisfies the demands of modern philosophy, which says of the poet—and the truth of the statement is undeniable—that he must possess a 'unitary conception of the meaning and larger relations of human life,' that his appreciation of life in detail must be 'determined by his interpretation of the meaning of life as a whole.' This is the case, as we must all admit, with Dante; and unless Shakespeare gives us such interpretation of life in its full meaning, he will be obliged to yield the palm in this one respect to Dante.

Since, then, a poet's universality depends largely upon his philosophical attitude towards life, let us first consider some of Shakespeare's ideas about life. As, however, it is sometimes said in disparagement of Dante that his poetry suffered from his partisanship, we must ascertain, by way of preliminary, whether Shakespeare, too, did not have decided convictions about the problems of life which assailed the characters he drew. It is frequently asserted that Shakespeare seldom represented his own views on any subject; Ruskin and Pater agree with the Dante scholar Gardner that it was necessary that Shakespeare should 'lean no way,' but that he should be removed from 'all influences which could in the least warp or bias his

thoughts.' Gardner asks whether the phrase 'the impartiality of Shakespeare' does not 'at once reach the very root of the essential difference' between him and Dante. Doubtless it would be a great shock to the nerves of these gentlemen to be told that if Shakespeare were really impartial, as they say, we should be obliged to condemn him to a place among Dante's neutrals, hated almost as much as Lucifer himself, and considered unworthy of a place in Hell proper simply because they leaned no way. But how can a great poet be impartial? We must feel, with Dowden, that Shakespeare makes it clear and emphatic whether he would have us side with Goneril or Cordelia, with Edgar or the traitor. And are we not conscious of a decided love of law and order on the part of Shakespeare even in all the confusion in *King Lear*? Has Shakespeare left us in the dark as to whether he thought the deeds of Brutus and Cassius should triumph, and must triumph ultimately, or the idea embodied by Julius Cæsar, the spirit of Cæsar? Brutus, looking upon Cassius dead, exclaims :

O Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet !
Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords
In our own proper entrails.

Critics are agreed that in *Henry the Fifth* Shakespeare portrayed his ideal of manhood, and his ideal king, but, forsooth, how could he have an ideal if he leaned no way? Of the English historical plays Dowden asserts that they reveal 'Shakespeare's convictions as to how the noblest practical success in life may be achieved.'

Since, then, we cannot call Shakespeare impartial in the sense that he lacked definite convictions, and since it is not derogatory to Dante that he had definite convictions, let us now seek to discover the opinions of Shakespeare in regard to some of the very questions which most interested Dante. It is an accepted theory of criticism that when an author reiterates certain ideas, these may be considered his own personal views; let us therefore choose ideas often repeated by Shakespeare. Inasmuch as both Dante and Shakespeare dealt especially with the problem of evil in the world, let us ask first what Shakespeare considered the cause of sin. Listen to Edmund in *King Lear* :

'This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune,—often the surfeit of our own behaviour,—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars: as if we were villains by necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on.'

Add the words of Cassius :

Men at some time are masters of their fates :
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

And the words of Helena :

Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie,
Which we ascribe to heaven : the fated sky
Gives us free scope, only doth backward pull
Our slow designs when we ourselves are dull.

Now see how emphatic Dante is in saying the same thing—namely, that sin is deliberate perversion of free will. Marco Lombardo, asked by Dante the cause of sin, replies that if men refer the cause to heaven they are denying the power of free will, which cannot be denied, and the reasoning mind is 'uninfluenced of the stars'; he adds :

If then the present race of mankind err,
Seek in yourselves the cause, and find it there.

Furthermore, to Dante sin was not merely an excess of evil, for Virgil tells him that even if the creature pursues the good 'with more ardor than behooves,' sin is inevitable and punishment certain, so that love becomes the determinant cause, not only of good, but of evil. Does Shakespeare agree, and may we all agree, that this is an eternal truth ? He expresses the principle both abstractly and concretely :

There lives within the very flame of love
A kind of wick or snuff that will abate it ;
And nothing is at a like goodness still ;
For goodness, growing to a pluriy,
Dies in his own too-much.

This principle, expressed under circumstances where we should least expect it, is strongly confirmed by Shakespeare, and strikingly illustrated in his portrayal of Timon of Athens, of whom Dowden says : 'Precisely because the goodness of Timon is so indiscriminating, so lax and liberal, it is not veritable goodness, which, as Shakespeare was well aware, has in it something of severity.' 'Born to do benefits to all men,' his brothers, Timon carelessly consumes his living in kind deeds, and then when he first becomes aware of sin in the world, he has not the strength of character to endure, and he falls ; excessive love of good has become the determinant cause of evil.

And what may be said of the consequences of sin ? We all know how vividly Dante portrays these consequences in the *Inferno* ; did Shakespeare, also, feel convinced that 'Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap' ? We are just as sure in reading Shakespeare as in reading Dante that evil never prospers permanently, but is defeated and punished even in this life—that, as Macbeth says :

This even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
To our own lips.

Hamlet, too, testifies that

Foul deeds will rise,
Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes.

And Buckingham in *Richard the Third* :

Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men
To turn their own points on their masters' bosoms.

Concrete illustrations of this truth of course abound—Macbeth, Othello, Coriolanus, Timon, Cleopatra, Goneril and Regan, and others. Though we do not see the actual physical torments which Shakespeare's criminals suffer, as we do in the case of the sinners in the *Inferno*, yet the mental anguish of Othello, of Macbeth, and of Lear, for example, is sufficient proof of the reality of punishment, even on earth. Moreover, that the essential nature of punishment is mental, as conceived by Shakespeare, is evident from the numerous occasions when we see criminals actually tormented by an evil conscience, even in the midst of their crimes. For example, Richard the Third exclaims : 'O coward conscience, how thou dost afflict me !' Conscience, except, perhaps, in degenerates like Iago, is sure to awaken at last, as Gonzalo, in *The Tempest*, asserts :

Their great guilt,
Like poison given to work a great time after,
Now 'gins to bite the spirits.

Why does Beaufort, in *Henry the Sixth*, so fear death ? Why would he fain live on, if only life without pain could be gained in exchange for England's treasure ? Why, indeed, save that, as the king perceives :

Ah, what a sign it is of evil life,
Where death's approach is seen so terrible !

Just as emphatic is Shakespeare's reiterated opinion that, as someone has well phrased it, 'conscience is but the prophecy of another condemnation more terrible still.' The Bastard in *King John* is sure that if Hubert did the deed of death, he is condemned 'beyond the infinite and boundless reach of mercy.' Henry the Fifth declares that, although men 'can outstrip men, they have no wings to fly from God.' Even Claudius knows that though the law can be bought out here on earth, 'tis not so above,' because

there the action lies
In his true nature ; and we ourselves compell'd,
Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults,
To give in evidence.

Now turn to Dante's *Inferno*, which depicts the actual eternal punishments to which, as we have just seen, Shakespeare condemned his criminals, and notice how physical torment is always a symbol of mental anguish. Watch the avaricious and the prodigal for ever hurled against one another, like great weights which clash together, one band calling to the other, 'Why holdest thou so fast ?' and the second responding, 'Why castest thou away ?' Here the punishment is evidently increased by the thought about it shown in these

questions. Again, do not the rueful wailings and the lamentations of the carnal sinners reaping the whirlwind, denote mental agony as surely as the moans signify physical pain? Let Francesca answer:

Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learn't,
Entangled him by that fair form, from me
Ta'en in such cruel sort, as grieves me still:

And then:

No greater grief than to remember days
Of joy, when misery is at hand.

Let Ugolino add his word:

I call up afresh
Sorrow past cure; which, but to think of, wrings
My heart, ere I tell on't.

All this punishment, all this mental anguish, seen in Hell, Dante intended, as he himself tells us in the letter to Can Grande, as indicative of the punishment undergone by sinners on earth itself. Dante and Shakespeare thus agree as to the inevitableness of punishment, both in this world and in the next, and also with regard to its essentially spiritual nature. Dante goes still further and classifies sins according to their greatness; for example, among the lesser sins punished in the upper circles of Hell—the sins of incontinence in general—avarice is put lower down than lust. Does Shakespeare make any such classification? In a conversation between Malcolm and Macduff, after lust is mentioned as one of the sins of 'boundless intemperance'—Dante's incontinence of course—Malcolm remarks that he is avaricious as well as lustful, whereupon Macduff replies:

This avarice
Sticks deeper, grows with more pernicious root
Than summer-seeming lust.

And how about sins of a deeper dye? To Dante, treachery of various kinds was the most loathsome of crimes. And is not treachery the sin which Shakespeare most often punishes, and always with death, because, like Dante, he considered it a crime against society? Examples would be superfluous. Shakespeare, too, said that treachery and murder 'ever kept together,' illustrating this thought concretely by Macbeth, for example. In Macbeth the murderer, three of the kinds of fraud most hated by Dante are combined—treachery to kindred, to guests, and to one's benefactor and lord. Dante shows the same close connexion between treachery and murder by putting Brutus and Cassius with Judas in the lowest pit of Hell.

As Shakespeare's ideas about the cause, the nature, and the degrees of sin, so far as he has expressed them, coincide exactly with Dante's, so do the two poets conceive of a man as ruined by only one sin, whatever others he may fall into as the result of that one. To take only one typical case out of the vast number of Dante's sinners, he

punishes Boniface the Eighth for simony alone, and Boniface the Eighth was notorious for the great variety of his crimes. Hamlet is sure that 'the stamp of one defect' is enough to ruin an otherwise good man, and the reason may be given in the words of Richard the Third :

But I am in
So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin.

The murder of Duncan leads to that of Banquo, but ambition is emphasised as the root of Macbeth's sin of murder. Pride overthrew Coriolanus, jealousy Othello, 'imperious self-will' Lear, voluptuousness Antony and Cleopatra, and so on.

Let us turn now for a brief moment to the conception of the good, and especially to the underlying idea of Purgatory. Did Shakespeare conceive of a purgatorial process as distinctly as he did of the inevitableness of punishment? The idea of Purgatory is this, that, though a man sin, yet because he was created good and sin is only a perversion of will, he may still be open to the influence of good and thus be saved. As Dante intended his *Inferno* to show the reality of punishment on earth, so did he mean that the *Purgatorio* should show that living men undergo the purgatorial process. Shakespeare, the poet of the human heart, could not ignore this truth; accordingly, he expresses it abstractly in the line

There is some soul of goodness in things evil,

and he expresses it concretely in *The Winter's Tale*, where Leontes is represented as living out the years in atoning for his sin, until the good in him triumphs. Posthumus, too, is a notable illustration of the leavening effect of innate goodness upon a perverted will. Such a process of purgation as Leontes illustrates, Shakespeare evidently considered laborious. Hamlet says to his mother :

Refrain to-night,
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
To the next abstinence : the next more easy.

This reminds us, of course, of Virgil's words of encouragement to Dante as he toils up the mount of Purgatory, one sin being wiped from his brow with each ascent, the relief that he feels and the greater ease of the next step being very apparent.

As Shakespeare knew a purgatorial process, so did he know a terrestrial Paradise, reached in *The Tempest*, with its Prospero—the greatest height of serenity attained by Shakespeare. The last period of Shakespeare's literary activity shows the man who had emerged 'out of the depths' unto 'the heights,' the man who had known evil, and felt the pangs of injustice, but who had come to realise that 'sweet are the uses of adversity.' The Timon within Shakespeare's own breast had been conquered, even as Dante's besetting sins were blotted out by the purifying fire, and therefore, as Dowden says,

Shakespeare was able to write *Timon of Athens*, and 'could dare to utter that wrath against mankind to which he had assuredly been tempted, but to which he had never wholly yielded.' It almost seems as if we were reading about Dante, in the *Purgatorio*, for as with Shakespeare, so with Dante, indignation with the world was succeeded by the serenity, the joy, and the peace of reconciliation and forgiveness.

We have seen that, in respect to moral philosophy, Shakespeare and Dante are akin. It would be easy to show, also, that in some of their political ideals, such as their convictions as to a man's duty to his country and the relations of the individual to the community; in their thoughts about the duties of kings; and the dangers that beset kings; in their hate of outward show and pomp as in their realisation of the fact that high birth does not create nobility of character—that in all these Shakespeare and Dante are also akin. But having obtained a sufficient philosophical basis for our consideration of the poets' treatment of actual life, we must now turn to the portrayal of character as found in Dante and Shakespeare. Three questions especially must be answered, in order to judge of Dante as compared with Shakespeare in respect to the power of depicting actual life. First, are Dante's characters real? Secondly do we come to know them as thoroughly as we do those in Shakespeare's dramas? And, thirdly, does Dante show a knowledge of human nature in as great a variety of its aspects as does Shakespeare? Our first question answers itself, for no one ever thinks of doubting the reality of Dante's characters; even those who most insist upon the allegorical interpretation of Beatrice admit that she is too real to be wholly allegorical. Moreover, Beatrice is as real a woman when enthroned in glory—and this is the wonder of it—as when she modestly walked the streets of Florence and thrilled the youthful Dante with her sweet salutation. Dante's Beatrice combines the sweetness and loveliness and strength of Imogen, the ideality of Miranda, the purity of Isabella, the intellectuality of Portia, the reserve of Ophelia, the dignity of Hermione, the tenderness of Desdemona, the depth of intense devotion of Cordelia. She is thus intensely human and real, though at the same time she is the Beatrice, symbolic of Theology, whose religious zeal and spirituality are found in none of Shakespeare's characters. As for Virgil, whatever he may symbolise, however idealised, he is always the helpful friend, the human poet whom Dante had loved and looked to for inspiration even from youth. Virgil's humanity may be most felt, perhaps, when we see him carrying Dante in his arms, and when we notice with what emotions he is overcome at various stages of the journey, as when he is angered at the refusal of the demons to unbar the gates that lead to the city of Dis.

And what of Francesca? We see her not merely as a spirit condemned to Hell, but as a woman capable of noble love and true

devotion, tender, sympathetic, possessing the delicate grace of sweet womanliness, yet fallen and doomed. It is her life on earth, her sin, her frail humanity, which we feel even more than her punishment. And so with each and all of the people whom we meet throughout this strange journey; their reality is what most impresses us. This reality will become more apparent as we try to answer our second question, namely, do we come to know Dante's characters as thoroughly as we do Shakespeare's? Probably nine persons out of ten would, at first thought, answer this question in the negative, and the reason of all would be the same; it may be given in the words of a Dante scholar who might be expected to be more favourable to Dante. Gardner says that 'there is no development, as there is in Shakespeare, no interaction of character.' But this answer must not be allowed to pass, as is so often the case, without critical examination. Just what is meant by the phrase, 'development of character'? That Macbeth is a different man when convicted of murder from the Macbeth who, at the beginning of the play, heard the witches echo his own secretly cherished desires and intentions, which needed but the spark of opportunity to kindle into a blaze? Is Cordelia's love developed by her father's misfortunes in the sense that it first becomes apparent when the play is half over? Is Lear's insanity a sudden phenomenon, brought on by the circumstances with which the drama opens? Or do we feel that it was inevitable, brought on by a long chain of causes which reach far back, and which Shakespeare makes us know? The only real development of character that the greatest poets show us is the coming into actuality, as Aristotle would say, of potentialities, or, as a modern critic has put it, 'the blazing up of powers and passions out of quiescence into activity,' and this is only development in the sense that, as the same writer says, 'Every act . . . and every outbreak of passion' is 'one link in the causal chain determining as well as indicating character.' That Shakespeare recognised this principle, he may himself testify:

There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceased;
The which observed, a man may prophecy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
And weak beginnings lie intresured.
Such things become the hatch and brood of time.

In discussing what is apparently a marvellous change in Henry the Fifth from the wild Prince Hal to the wise and noble king, Canterbury and Ely decide that miracles are past, and the prince merely 'obscured his contemplation under the veil of wildness,' and it grew fastest in the night. What Shakespeare really does is to concentrate in the supreme moment of a man's life his whole past, and in this critical moment are implicit all the spiritual changes which every life must

show. Take, then, Macbeth; when we first see him affected by the witches' speech, we know what he desires, and will do; when we see him later, come to a realising sense that all that should accompany old age, respect, love, and joy, cannot be his, there is a flood of light shed backward, and forward too, in such a way that we see his life whole, reflected in this supreme moment which we had foreseen from the very beginning. And what of Lear? When heartbroken, conscious that it is now too late, he cries in despair, 'Cordelia, stay a little'; are we surprised? His entire life is, rather, spread out before us, its final despair the necessary consequence of its early mistrust. Hudson says of Lear that he is among Shakespeare's finest instances of the art of representing in the 'to-day . . . the slow cumulative result of a great many yesterdays,' and this not by way of narrative, but by suggestion, 'the antecedent history being merely implied, not related, in what is given.' This is the art of the Greek tragedians, and of Pindar. And this is precisely the power of Dante, as all commentators are practically agreed. Take an instance typical of all the rest of Dante's characters; when we see Francesca reaping the whirlwind, and listen to her few simple words, the whole story of her past life is flashed before us as if by lightning. We see both her and Paolo, who shares with her in Hell the consequences of their sin, not merely on that eventful day when the reading of Lancelot overpowered them, but in all the stages of their devotion, from its first innocent beginnings to the time when Francesca's husband, doomed to a place in Hell, called Caina, even now awaiting him, so cruelly separated the lovers, as it seemed. But there is more than this; in the suggestion of Francesca's indignant husband, who tore Paolo from her, we have a glimpse of the interaction of character, for Dante succeeds in making vivid the husband's watchful jealousy, and its effect upon the lovers, who try to conceal their passion, and we cannot help thinking of the three people together in all their relations.

Equally impressive, as revealing Dante's power of suggesting both the past history of a life in its supreme moment and the interaction of various characters, is the story of Ugolino, who tells of his betrayal, imprisonment, and death by starvation. He tells it, as he says, for the express purpose of casting infamy on the name of his betrayer. As we see disclosed the past wickedness of Ugolino, his intrigue with the leader of his enemies, who subsequently betrayed him, and as we see this betrayer, Ruggieri, tortured in Hell by Ugolino himself, we have interaction of character reaching even into eternity. And, besides this, the whole strife between Guelph and Ghibelline, with its intrigues and influences of men upon men, which Dante knew only too well, is vividly flashed before us. These episodes of Ugolino and of Francesca which we have been considering give, it is true, the clearest pictures of the interaction of characters to be found in the *Divine Comedy*; but clear suggestions of the influences of one or more

lives over another life are frequent, as in the story of the conversion of Statius from Paganism, or in that of the man who held both keys to Frederick's heart. In order to be still surer that Dante possessed the power to portray the interaction of characters whenever it accorded with his artistic purpose, we have only to read the *Vita Nuova*. Here interaction of characters is evident in the episode of the lady who served Dante as a screen to conceal his love for Beatrice; confused by Dante's continued gaze, she looked round at him many times, thereby causing comment, and Dante, perceiving this, made use of her for several years. Then at the marriage feast the sight of Beatrice caused Dante to tremble, and his confusion was observed by her friends, who began to mock him, which so increased his faintness and throbbing of the heart that a friend was obliged to take him out. Again, while Dante was mourning Beatrice's death he saw a fair lady looking down on him 'from a window with a gaze full of pity!' He withdrew lest she should observe his abject condition. Whenever he was seen of this lady, she grew pale and 'of a piteous countenance, as though it had been with love;' and this effect of Dante upon her reacted upon him, for he went often to see her for the express purpose of observing his effect upon her, and it brought tears to his eyes. Although this story may be wholly allegorical, yet it is told in such a realistic way that Dante's power of portraying the interaction of characters cannot be doubted. That he did not oftener use this power in the *Divine Comedy* is due to the fact that the poem did not demand such portrayal of character, as would have been the case if Dante had chosen to write a drama.

We have now found that in two totally different types of literature there is used the same method of depicting character, that of presenting the supreme moment of a life in which the past is reflected and the future foreshadowed; and we have seen, also, that Dante has let us know the various influences which have made a character what it is at the crucial moment in which it is portrayed. We must therefore answer our second question with a strong affirmative, and assert that we do come to know Dante's characters through and through.

Although we cannot here answer fully our third question as to the extent of Dante's knowledge of human life, as to how the range of his characters compares with Shakespeare's, we must pause long enough to indicate the only right way of dealing with this large problem. Dante, of course, gives us no Falstaff, no Sir Toby, no Bottom, no Malvolio, because such characters would be utterly incongruous in the *Divine Comedy*, for here all faults are seen in their ultimate relations, and thus cannot present a comic appearance. If any choice had to be made, we must feel that Dante has chosen to present characters who have far more influence over us than Falstaff and Bottom and all the clowns of Shakespeare, and this because the

serious side of life is of greater importance than the comic side, tragedy more universal than comedy. It is significant that in Shakespeare's greatest period, the period of the tragedies, laughter was, as Dowden says, 'tragic and terrible'; because the problem of evil most concerned the poet then, and consequently his satire was not that of *Love's Labour's Lost*, but 'the deep or fierce complaint against the world, of a soul in agony, the frenzied accusations of nature and of man uttered by Lear, or the Juvenalian satire of the Athenian misanthrope.' It is with the works of this period of tragedy, when Shakespeare's power reached its height, that the *Divine Comedy* must be compared, and it is exactly the same kind of satire found in the plays of this period which we find in Dante; witness the mockery of Pope Nicholas the Third, whose head is stuck in a pit from which only his feet protrude. Notice here the subtle way in which Dante manages at the same time to satirise other wicked Popes still alive, for one of whom he is himself mistaken, while the coming of the other one is predicted by Nicholas as he waits to be pushed lower down into the pit by Boniface the Eighth.

That Dante knew life in its diversified aspects, that his characters, though not numerous, present all the essential traits of Shakespeare's, and show wonderful variety, is recognised by such an authority as Dean Church, who says: 'Nowhere else in poetry of equal power is there the same balanced view of what man is, and may be; nowhere so wide a grasp shown of his various capacities, so strong a desire to find a due place and function for all his various dispositions.' The same unquestioned authority adds that 'where he stands contrasted in his idea of human life with other poets, who have been more powerful exponents of its separate sides, is in his large and truthful comprehensiveness.' That Dante's range of characters does not coincide with Shakespeare's is of far less significance than the fact that the intuitive perception of character, the power to create a large variety of types, coupled with the ability to discriminate sharply between individuals, Dante undoubtedly shares with Shakespeare.

We have shown the kinship between Dante and Shakespeare as regards the power to depict actual life; we must now consider briefly their kinship as indicated in manifestations of creative power other than the portrayal of character. When poets such as these feel intensely, as they must in order to make us feel as they feel, they show the depth of their emotion far more through self-command and restraint than by diffuse expression. Moreover, such intense emotion must be expressed with sufficient simplicity and plainness to reveal sincerity, while at the same time the effect may be heightened by appeal to the imagination through imagery. Examples of this power of restrained emotion in Shakespeare will readily occur to every one, as exhibited, for instance, in parts of Lear's touching farewell to Goneril, in Lear's agony over Cordelia's dead body, and

in Othello's words, 'But yet the pity of it, Iago! O Iago, the pity of it, Iago!' From Dante take that wonderful passage in the *Purgatorio* where Beatrice descends and rebukes the poet. As long as Beatrice reproaches Dante, he stands 'without sigh or tear,' but when her bitter words have ceased to flow, and the angels break out in a strain of sympathy, then

As snow, that lies,
Amidst the living rafters on the back
Of Italy, congeal'd, when drifted high
And closely piled by rough Slavonian blasts;
Breathe but the land whereon no shadow falls,
And straightway melting it distils away,
Like a fire-wasted taper: thus was I,
Without a sigh or tear, or even these
Did sing, that with the chiming of heaven's sphere
Still in their warbling chime: but when the strain
Of dulcet sympathy express'd for me
Their soft compassion, more than could the words,
'Virgin! why so consumeest him?' then the ice,
Congeal'd about my bosom, turn'd itself
To spirit and water; and with anguish forth
Gush'd, through the lips and eyelids, from the heart.

Could feeling be more intense, yet expressed with greater restraint, in an image more perfect, and in words more simple and golden?

Such power, found constantly in the *Divine Comedy*, marks the master poet. We hear so much about Dante as philosopher, politician, astronomer, historian, and so on, that we are in danger, as someone has said, of praising him not so much for his poetry, which is of the highest, as 'for the accessories and accidents' of his work. As attention is now called to some of the chief poetic qualities of the *Divine Comedy*, Dante's kinship with Shakespeare will be indicated wherever possible. With respect to one or two of the qualities which it is important to notice in Dante, the kinship is not so clear, but the qualities must, nevertheless, be briefly considered in order to gain any real idea of Dante's poetic power.

Dante's intuitive perception, to which we have already alluded, piercing to the very heart of everything, seizing its essential characteristics, together with his ability to reveal to us by a flash, yet clearly and distinctly, just what he himself has seen, and felt, and thought, is a sure sign of the consummate artist. For example, a man's very soul is often disclosed to us by a single stroke, as when, in the circle where the violent against nature are punished, Dante recognises the scorched face of a much respected friend, a well-known scholar who may possibly have taught Dante in his youth, Brunetto Latini. Dante says merely, 'What, Ser Brunetto, are you here?' but he makes us see the man's uncleanness, his sin so common at the time that Dante felt compelled to rebuke it, and could not spare even a beloved friend, but made him an eternal example of his type. Sometimes

a deep, far-reaching thought is flashed before our minds, as when the idea of the heaven which has been the ultimate goal of Dante throughout his journey—an idea which involves whole systems of Greek and scholastic philosophy combined—is impressed upon us in the few simple, beautiful words :

Forth from the last corporeal are we come
Into the Heaven, that is unbodied light ;
Light intellectual, replete with love ;
Love of true happiness, replete with joy ;
Joy, that transcends all sweetness of delight.

Then we have pictures of child-life, pictures of Italian country life, with many of its homely details, scenes of natural beauty, and a glorious sunrise, clearly brought before our very eyes by a stroke. We fairly revel in the beauty of the flowers and the sweetness of the music which Dante thus instantaneously makes so real to us ; yet we see, also, beyond and beneath the poet's love of the beautiful, a definite purpose—that of rendering clear and distinct and emphatic the thought that underlies it all, the idea which suggested the fair imagery. Examples from Shakespeare of this power of flashing things vividly before the imagination are numerous. The depth of Cordelia's devotion, the character of Desdemona, the personality of Miranda, the etherealness of Ariel, are known to us intimately, not from long descriptions or through many words spoken by these characters, but because the poet's intense emotion and keen insight enabled him to throw off at a glance bits of human nature as living sparks from the white heat of his imagination. His descriptions of flowers, and trees, and birds show the same power, as in the closing song of *Love's Labour's Lost*, from which there breathes the very spirit of spring, and the spirit of winter too, yet how few the lines !

Another element in the poetic power of the *Divine Comedy* is 'the great reach behind the verse,' as Lowell so happily calls it. Nothing is ever lost, words are too precious to be wasted ; if at the threshold of Hell we see Dante's courage fail at the thought of the dread journey before him, and then restored, even as a flower, bowed down by the frosty air of night, is renewed by the morning sun, we may forget the allusion for a time, but on the threshold of Paradise we see the actual resuscitation of a plant in the spring after the winter's blasts have seemingly deprived it of all life, and then we begin to realise that this same idea of revival from apparent death, suggested at the very beginning of the journey, is a vital part of the whole *Divine Comedy*, the underlying thought of the *Purgatorio* which makes Paradise possible. In Shakespeare's dramas, also, 'the reach behind the verse' is often one of the great things to be noted. Sometimes Shakespeare strikes the keynote of the whole drama at the very beginning, as in *Macbeth*, his greatest synthesis. Two illustrations from *Macbeth* must suffice to show the powerful reach of apparently insignificant

words, which nevertheless embody the spirit of the whole play. Just after Macbeth has decided upon the murder of Banquo, he says :

Good things of day begin to droop and drowse ;
Whiles night's black agents to their preys do rouse.

The night of sin is closing over a human soul, -and it is this which the tragedy of *Macbeth* shows us so powerfully, both as a whole and in these few words. Then the underlying idea of the play is also expressed, as it should be, by Lady Macbeth. She came to a realising sense of her crimes before her butcher husband did and her words foreshadow his :

Nought's had, all's spent,
Where our desire is got without content :
'Tis safer to be that which we destroy
Than by destruction dwell in doubtful joy.

As for other elements of poetic power in the *Divine Comedy*, even the most casual reader must perceive that the contrasts and the similes are among Dante's greatest glories. One of the most striking of the innumerable contrasts is the appearance of God's angel in Hell, come to undo the gates of the city of Dis, kept barred by the demons. As for the similes, which cannot be separated from their context without injury, we must read the *Divine Comedy* to gain any real impression of the naturalness, the truth, the beauty, and the appropriateness of them. The instinctive speeding of Paolo and Francesca to Dante, whose perfect understanding of them and whose sympathy they feel, is likened to the return home of doves impelled by fond desire. The gradual dropping of the shades into Charon's boat is compared with the lifeless falling of leaves in autumn. The spirit of Cacciagnida darts from the cross of the Holy Warriors as a shooting star on a summer's night darts across the heavens, and as no star is lost from its place in the sky, so neither does any gem of the cross drop from its foil. Beautiful in themselves, even the least of them always shedding its light over a whole canto, these similes constantly attract our attention ; but since they are never used for their own sakes, we are irresistibly swept on and on by the rapid current of sustained grandeur and ever-increasing glory.

We are sometimes carried away, also 'with the rush, the beauty, the inexhaustible vitality' of Shakespeare's imagination. Hotspur, asking where is 'the mad-cap Prince of Wales,' is answered by Sir Richard Vernon in words which contain nine different similes, yet without confusion and with great force :

All furnish'd, all in arms,
All plumed like estridges that with the wind
Baited, like eagles having lately bathed ;
Glittering in golden coats, like images ;
As full of spirit as the month of May,
And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer ;
Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.

I saw young Harry, with his beaver on,
His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd,
Rise from the ground like feathered Mercury,
And vaulted with such ease into his seat,
As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus
And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

Who shall say that Shakespeare does not share Dante's power of succinct expression in similes that are at once truthful and appropriate, as well as beautiful? As for contrasts in Shakespeare's dramas, who has not been impressed with the alternation of tragedy and comedy in many of his plays?

It has been said that, in spite of the fascination of Dante's similes in themselves, we can hardly pause to admire, so rapidly and irresistibly are we swept on and on by the rapid current of sustained grandeur and ever-increasing glory. Shakespeare, too, knew the art of climax, but the drama naturally does not furnish opportunity for any such heaping up of climaxes as was possible for Dante to give us in a longer poem. And here, of course, Shakespeare must be left out of account, through no fault of his, as we consider briefly one of the greatest elements in the poetic power of the *Divine Comedy*—namely, the art of leading us from climax to climax. From the apparently incomparable beauties of the Terrestrial Paradise we ascend higher and ever higher, the increased beauty of every step being reflected in Beatrice's face. Even the sparkles and the flowers of the river of pure light are but shadowy of the truth. By partaking of this river of light and of life, transformed into a lake of still greater peace, our eyes are strengthened that we may behold the flowers become God's saints, and the sparkles His angels, the saints imaged in a snow-white rose, into which one while the angels, like to bees, descend, and another while return to the place whence their work grows savourous. Has the poet any resources left wherewith to show us the final vision of the Holy Trinity? Like Pindar, he still has arrows left in his quiver, and they can rise higher than those of any other mortal singer. Beatrice ascends to her throne; theological discussion is at an end; St. Bernard, symbolic of intuitive perception, shows us God face to face through the vision of the Blessed Virgin. From the sublime to the sublimer, then to the sublimest, Dante has brought us, though we know not how, and this is art indeed.

It would seem as if in the *Paradiso* Dante must lose his hold upon earth, and thus fail as a poet of humanity. But it is just here that his grasp seems firmest, and his poetic power greatest. When we reach the Empyrean, expecting to lose ourselves in mere ecstasy and mysticism, the danger of forgetting our actual lives seems to have been anticipated by Dante, for he takes us for a brief moment straight down to earth by showing us wicked Popes who have prevented

such harmony of papal and temporal power as he zealously desired. The greatest political needs of Italy, and, as Dante conceived, of the whole world, are thus by a flash thrust upon our attention even while we ourselves are inclined to shake off the things of the world, and to rest in contemplation: the sternest lessons, the greatest duties of our daily lives are held before us just for an instant ere we are permitted to lose ourselves in the joys of heaven. Other means, too, Dante uses for showing us the real connexion between earth and heaven, 'the objects of sight and of faith.' Things known to us all—sound, motion, light—are employed to convey the poet's impression of heaven; smiles, the power of eye over eye, the power of the human voice to instil courage, the fear felt at a sudden awakening in a bright light—such concrete facts and actual sensations are constantly used to make us feel the reality of it all.

Having seen the kinship between Dante and Shakespeare as regards a few of its many manifestations, and having seen that Dante was a supreme poet, we are now in a position to consider some of the chief ways in which Dante differs from Shakespeare. It was said in the beginning that 'a poet's appreciation of life in detail must be determined by his interpretation of life as a whole' if his universality is to be all that it should be. Shakespeare could appreciate life in detail, in its endless variety, but not one of us can feel that this appreciation is determined by any unitary conception of life as a whole, by any underlying, pervading philosophy of life, and most commentators take this view. Shakespeare had, as we have seen, definite convictions as to special problems, such as that of evil, he had an immense fund of common-sense wisdom, and because he upheld the right and eschewed the wrong his dramas have a strong moral influence. But we get from Shakespeare no sense of a controlling power that orders the whole universe, nor does he give us, as he might, a few large, clear principles as a basis for the partial solution, at least, of some of the hard problems of existence. Rather do we get from Shakespeare, as a modern philosopher has put it, 'much to philosophise about, but no philosophy.' A still severer critic, in speaking of the fact that we need a certain totality in our views, asserts that 'we can hardly find in Shakespeare all that the highest poet could give,' because 'fulness is not necessarily wholeness, and the most profuse wealth of characterisation seems still inadequate as a picture of experience, if this picture is not somehow seen from above and reduced to a dramatic unity—to that unity of meaning that can suffuse its endless details with something of dignity, simplicity, and peace.' But this statement, though containing elements of truth, goes too far, for just such a picture Shakespeare does show us as respects certain factors of human life. Indeed, his power of perceiving causal relations in life has raised him above all other English poets. But his limitation, as contrasted with Dante's comprehensiveness, consists in this, that

he has done merely with certain factors of human life what Dante has done with the facts of the universe, that he has grasped here and there a law of life, here and there a group of laws, but without relating and uniting them with the laws of the universe. Dante, on the other hand, has grasped these same laws of human life all together, synthetically, and has made them seem a part of God's universal plan for all that He has created, and has thus given us far deeper insight than has Shakespeare into the mysteries of existence. Although Shakespeare makes us feel that there may be order even in confusion, as in *King Lear*, yet we cannot get from him any such sense of security and serenity as are ours when, with Dante, we have gone the whole round of creation and found all-pervasive law controlling everything in material and spiritual life. Furthermore, both Shakespeare and Dante embody a multitude of facts in their works; to these particulars Dante has given organic unity, a perfection of form which permits the removal of scarcely the minutest part. But from Shakespeare's most perfect synthesis, *Macbeth*, we may remove large portions without affecting the whole. This could not be if Shakespeare had assimilated the laws of the universe, the laws of life, and the laws of art as perfectly as did Dante. We must say, then, that Shakespeare had no 'unitary conception of the meaning and larger relations of human life,' and that, in consequence, his great universality, whereby he transcends all other English poets, is itself transcended by Dante's.

In their methods of treating religious questions, also, the differences between Dante and Shakespeare are necessarily striking, yet even here their spiritual kinship is greater than might be supposed. Shakespeare's purpose was primarily dramatic, and the exigencies of his art as well as the demands of the public for whom he wrote prevented his discussion of religious matters as freely as it was natural and expedient for Dante to discuss them. That Shakespeare's religious feelings were, however, deep and sincere no one can doubt who appreciates with what awe and reverence he stood before the mysteries of God, and who is touched by his sweet Christian charity and tender human sympathies. Whereas Dante tried to visualise the next world it was surely enough for his purposes that Shakespeare believed in the eternal power of goodness and truth, purity and love, and that he condemned sinners to everlasting punishment as uncompromisingly as did Dante. Although Dante, by his vision of mortal man united in spirit with his divine Brother and Friend, may bring some of us into a closer, more personal touch with God than does Shakespeare, yet the more we enter into the spirit of Shakespeare, the surer do we become of his great religious capacities. This can be felt in other ways than by watching the practice of Christian virtues on the part of so many of his characters; for example, Shakespeare's ideal hero and king, Henry the Fifth, constantly realised his dependence upon God, like a true king

considering himself the representative of a divine Ruler. Again, Shakespeare's strong religious sense is manifest in his belief in the control of the universe by law and order and harmony, and in obedience to natural law as essential to man's welfare. This principle Shakespeare expressed both abstractly and concretely, abstractly in a fine passage which almost redeems the coarseness of *Troilus and Cressida*; and concretely, in presenting Richmond as the champion of God's cause, victorious where Richard the Third failed because he had inverted the natural moral order of things, dashing himself to pieces, as Dowden puts it, 'against the laws of the world which he has outraged.' We may rejoice that Shakespeare discerned this essentially religious principle, an idea which dominates the whole *Divine Comedy*; it did not, however, become with him, as with Dante, the power that controlled even the least detail of his art.

It is indeed surprising that Shakespeare, a man of the Renaissance, writing for men of the world, should have been so far above his age as respects religious feeling. But it is still more surprising that Dante, a Medievalist to whom religion was supreme, should have had the unerring judgment of a true creative artist which prevented him from emphasising the spiritual and religious capacities of man to the exclusion of other elements of his nature. The fact that Dante wrote not as a mere mystic, but as a seer who knew men's hearts through and through, even as Shakespeare knew them, places him in the front rank of poets; but at the same time, it is his mysticism, the religious symbolism of the *Divine Comedy*, which does most to raise him above Shakespeare. Although we could hardly expect religious symbolism in Shakespeare's dramas, yet in the *Divine Comedy* which combines so many of Shakespeare's greatest qualities, its presence is as a halo of surpassing loveliness and power. Since art sprang from religious symbolism, there lies deep in the heart of man that which always responds to its appeal, and feels it as an added charm in a beautiful poem; hence to many of us the name of Dante means far more than does the name of Shakespeare.

Though we may marvel at Dante's power to visualise Hell, with all its stern realities, though the sweet humanity of the *Purgatorio* lifts us up into the serenity of God's peace, it is chiefly to the *Paradiso* that we must turn for our deepest knowledge and appreciation of Dante as a poet, for here he has come nearer than any other poet to accomplishing the impossible task of making the finite apprehend the Infinite; he has shown us mortal man at last united in mind, in will, in desire, in perfect love, with his Creator. He has thus gone beyond the boundaries of any art otherwise known to us; though he himself realised his limitations, his successes, as compared with his failures to suggest the glories of heaven, are so remarkable that we must feel that Dante shows us, as no other poet or painter can, what art

should strive to do, that he has proved the value of attempting, at least, to scale the loftiest heights.

As with Dante we finally behold the form of our own image painted in the Eternal Light, like unto that Light itself, we are left with a deeper understanding of the mystical union of the Divine and the human, and are left, also, with a sense of the reality of a vision to which we ourselves may look forward with hope, and faith, and joy. In closing, I can only echo the words of Dean Church, who perhaps more than anyone else has entered into the spirit of Dante, and who says: 'Those who know the *Divina Commedia* best . . . know, and would wish others also to know, not by hearsay, but by experience, the power of that wonderful poem.' Yes, by experience, for only as we go to Dante in our daily lives for help, and courage, and comfort, for strength, and joy, and peace, for renewed faith in our fellow-men, for power to look into and to read the mysteries of nature and of the human heart, for a deeper knowledge of God, for firmer trust in God's justice and love—only thus can we even begin to know and to appreciate the beauty and the power of the *Divine Comedy*.

MARY WINSLOW SMYTH.

THE CHAOS OF LONDON TRAFFIC

TIME flies ! It seems like yesterday, but eight years have gone by since Mr. Charles Booth brought home to many of us that the lack of facilities of locomotion threatened the well-being of London.

It is nearly six years since his Gracious Majesty, acting on the advice of the Ministry of that day, commissioned certain ' trusty and well-beloved ' subjects ' to inquire into the means of locomotion and transport in London, and to report.'

It is more than three years since one of the strongest and most conscientious Royal Commissions which ever sat came to the end of its labours and delivered itself of these words :

It is imperatively necessary in the interests of public health and public convenience, and for the prompt transaction of business, as well as to render decent housing possible, that the means of locomotion and transport in London and its adjacent districts should be improved ; they are seriously defective, and the demands and needs of the public are annually increasing.

What has been done ?

To begin with, let us be clear on one point. The Commissioners prophesied truly. ' The demands and needs of the public,' the cry for better ' means of locomotion and transport,' have increased and are ever increasing. It remains for us to consider whether they are being fairly met.

It is the teaching of history that nearly all developments of this nature which make for the material advantage of the people must be the joint work of two agencies.

Individuals have ideas which they pursue along what are sometimes rather narrow lines.

They may be animated by philanthropy, by ambition, by love of scientific progress, or by the desire to make money. Therefore they require watching.

Sometimes it will be well for the authorities to assist them by all the means in their power, for there are things which individual effort cannot accomplish without aid. At other times they must be curbed or even repressed.

For the improvement of locomotion in London were wanted both the spirit of invention and dash of private enterprise and the guidance

and discriminating assistance of some supervising intelligence. No-body can say that the first has been found wanting.

The Commissioners said again :

Increased modern methods of locomotion and transport are much needed, both to facilitate movement within the central area and to facilitate access to and from and within the suburbs for those who work in London and live outside.

Already, as they wrote, the inventors were supplying 'modern methods' hitherto undreamt of, and the financiers had commenced to pour out money like water. Both have gone on ever since. Railways, tubes, and tramways have been spreading far and wide, and on the top of all came the rapid evolution of the motor vehicle, which, whether it is to be considered a blessing or a curse, is at any rate epoch-making and progressive.

Years hence, when the prejudice has died down, and when our genius for compromise has settled the motor problem once and for all, it will occur to some serious student of the comparative merits and demerits of individualism and collectivism to preach a most instructive sermon with the motor-car as his text. He will point out how this nation, obsessed with the belief that the English were the great horse-lovers of the world, in the past practically ruled mechanically propelled traffic off its public roads. By collective action the many horsekeepers imposed upon the few mechanics the man who walked in front with the danger-flag. It was the simplest and most effective bar to advancement in locomotive facilities that could ever have been imagined, and it lasted for two generations. Then the days arrived when one individual thought of the pneumatic tyre and another of the petrol engine. The nation woke up, suddenly remembered that it claimed also to lead the world in the making and the use of machinery, and abolished the man with the flag.

The effect was magical. At once individualism took the bit between its teeth and bolted. It had an immediate and overwhelming triumph. As a result, invention ran riot, the face of the country was changed and had to be revalued.

It was the quickest revolution ever known.

But, while we have gone back to the pre-railroad conditions of an open land, there is this difference, that, tolls having been abolished, nine-tenths of the people who make use of the main roads are gaily irresponsible. Quite naturally there is now a revulsion towards the suppression of the individual, and a collective demand for fresh laws, and laws that shall be obeyed. I should be sorry to try to forecast the accomplished facts with which my serious student will have to deal towards the end of his discourse, but there can be little doubt that he will arrive at the conclusion that it is equally short-sighted to crush the individual or to fail to control him.

Now, what has happened of late in London is that the individual,

having been called in and implored to exercise his inventive faculties and put down his money in a good cause, has responded nobly. Railway dividends have shrunk while the various great companies have vied with each other to carry their passengers more cheaply and more comfortably. Sixteen millions have been buried in the bowels of the earth in the pious hope that some day they will bring in an adequate return. Half the engineers in England are working to improve road carriages of one sort or another. When we come to consider the streets to-day there are nearly as many horses as there used to be; but there is a great deal besides. The horsed tramways, which numbered 332 on the 1st of January 1904, had indeed shrunk by the 31st of July this year to 257; but, on the other hand, between the same dates the electric cars had increased from 192 to 924. For cabs and omnibuses the following are the police figures of vehicles licensed:—

	Mechanical cabs	Mechanical omnibuses
1904	2	81
1905	19	241
1906	96	783
1907	728	1,205
1908 (only up till July 31)	1,880	697

As regards the general motor traffic, whereas up to the end of 1904 only 5,023 motor vehicles had been registered in London, by the 31st of July 1908—in less than four years—this number had grown to 25,067.

The result of all this has been a glut of modern methods superimposed upon the old methods, overlapping of schemes, waste of money, chaos and indignation meetings.

Is it to be wondered at? While the individual, let loose on the town, has been galloping, the authorities have hardly stirred; and his Majesty's Government has ignored the fact that the Traffic Commissioners foresaw the chaos and knew that it would require reducing to order, and that their labours led them unanimously to one conclusion—dominating their whole report—the paramount necessity for a controlling hand. They recommended a non-elected Traffic Board, and defined what, in their opinion, its duties should be. Why has it not been appointed?

Governments exist for carrying on the business of the country and also as a target for those who hold political opinions of an opposite colour. But it is never well to push the latter too far, and there are moments at which a Government in a difficulty must command the respectful sympathy even of its opponents. So, when one gentleman who has just been frightened out of his life by a motor-bus, and another gentleman who cannot work by day or sleep by night because a train goes past his house, cry out in chorus, 'Why on earth don't they do what the Commission recommended and set up a Traffic Board and

be done with it? ' it is only right that they should learn how awkwardly his Majesty's present advisers are placed. What may seem to some people only a small matter of the appointment of yet another Board raises in a democratic bosom the whole question of Local Government, and before any such appointment could take place certain prominent politicians would be compelled to eat a good many of their old speeches. In their turn they have cried out over and over again, amid the applause of those who do not know the facts, 'What on earth is the use of the London County Council if it cannot control the traffic of its own county?'

I am afraid that here we arrive at the root of the whole trouble, the anomalous position which the great central authority occupies in regard to this question.

When we come to consider 'control,' our first duty is to get clearly into our heads how matters stood three years ago, when the Commissioners reported, and to realise that there was then nobody whose business it was to take a comprehensive view of this important subject. Innumerable people had fingers in the pie. At one end were the Borough Councils, the road authorities within their own limits, at the other end Parliament, considering schemes in Committee; in between, the Metropolitan Police with a general discretion as regards the safety of the public. There were those responsible for the interests of Greater London; those who guarded the peculiar privileges of the City; and, lastly, the tramway authority, that strenuous body, the County Council, with its army of officials and its numerous committees probing deep into all the problems of life. But among its committees there was none told off to advance the claims of general traffic, nor had there ever been—since tramways monopolised the Council's energies—anything that could be so described, with the exception of a special committee called together temporarily for the purpose of compiling evidence to be laid before this particular Royal Commission. The Parliamentary Committee watched Bills which might affect the people of London. The Improvements Committee widened roads, giving special prominence to tramway routes. The curiously misnamed Highways Committee sat as a Board of Directors whose business it was to make a success of the tramway enterprise in which the Council had embarked the ratepayers' money. Such was their unquestionable duty; but it had become doubly so because the then leaders of the Council were endeavouring to educate London to a belief in Municipal Trading, and had made rash promises of huge tramway profits. Naturally, the appointment of a Traffic Committee, which would be compelled to view impartially all forms of locomotion, which would actually have to help such doughty competitors as railways and tubes and omnibuses—even to the prejudice of the Council's tramways—would have been extremely inconvenient. And if it would be inconvenient for the Council itself to appoint a Traffic Committee,

how much worse would it be if there were brought into being an extraneous body which could not be relied upon to be sympathetic towards the realisation of past Progressive promises! We see that the majority of the last Council, by entering with great zest into a speculation with only one of the many forms of locomotion, had—quite unintentionally and most unfortunately—not only ruled themselves out of court as the controllers of London traffic, but been compelled to stand forward as the protagonists of unrestrained competition—in other words, of chaos.

Our next duty is to think out what we mean by 'control,' and, making use of the experience we have gained since the Commission's report familiarised us with the idea, to count up the advantages we might reasonably expect to get from it. It would be impossible to travel all over the wide field of improvement suggested by the Commission; but let us endeavour at any rate to catalogue some of the grievances which are voiced at this moment, and speculate as to whether a controlling Traffic Authority, if such existed, would be helping us to get rid of them and how it would be setting to work.

It may be well to begin with the City, it is a good example of all the trouble, for it is the real hub of the universe and therefore bound to suffer 'locomotion' diseases in their most acute form. In the City they complain of congestion and danger and noise, and there can be no doubt that their complaint is justified. But let them remember that the very breath of life to the City is its central position, its popularity, the necessity that all trade should focus there. Not so long ago they were complaining that it was hard to get to the centre, and they cannot expect men and goods to be spirited there and spirited away again. There is another point. Let them note that the City is only face to face with the difficulty which long-distance through-traffic is now bringing home to every country town and village in England: the rediscovery that all the spokes of a wheel lead in to the hub! The City Fathers of old prided themselves on this. Every road led to them. Everything had to pass through their gates and pay tribute to their importance. They preferred that men should be obliged to travel and trade across their territory. It meant much money to them then. To-day, if their trouble is insupportable, some of that money must be disbursed. But it is neither essential nor fair that the whole burden should fall on the City. If the 'Square Mile' is congested many others are equally to blame for the congestion and interested in its removal. The Corporation may be enthroned in the centre, but around it is London, not only commercial, but residential and fashionable, while outside is East Anglia blocked at her very front door. Then the Great Eastern and other railway companies, the various tubes, the tramways, the omnibuses and every trading and private vehicle, not to speak of the bicyclists and pedestrians, are all in the tangle, fighting for their own hands. Could we have a

better instance of the want of some impartial intelligence which could gather together all the needs and annoyances, all the schemes and activities, and knock out of them some comprehensive and practical solution? The traffic is necessary and must be accommodated somehow. If to-day motor-omnibuses are altogether ruled out, countless people will have to walk. If, in order to please those whose business lies in Old Broad Street, the Bank, and not Liverpool Street, is made the terminus of those coming from the West End, fancy the wild turmoil round the Mansion House! If the man to whom noise is the supreme grievance has his way, imagine the horror of the hornless gliding car of Juggernaut, the more silent the more deadly! For the time will soon come when nearly every station van and brewer's dray will be horseless. This is, indeed, not a problem which can be solved by police regulations.

A far-seeing wide-eyed authority would have many ideas to play with. Street-widening and its heavy cost, in places somewhat reduced by arcading; overhead roads and their ugly nuisance; subterranean routes, whether shallow or deep level, and the difficulty of their approaches; even the new-fangled rolling platform and the old-fashioned River Thames; all would come within its purview. And not only would it have the power of getting round one table, introducing to each other and smoothing over the divergent views of the conflicting interests which would have to pull together for the common good—and generally find the money to pay the piper—but, if the recommendations of the Royal Commission were fully carried out, it would be its duty at times to suggest that the people would be benefited by help from public funds. In carrying out the comprehensive scheme which is required to cover the town with a network of traffic facilities, there will be found certain gaps upon which private enterprise could not justify to itself heavy expenditure. The need for this unremunerative linking up is the only sound argument in favour of the general municipalisation of traffic services, but it could surely be met by the encouragement of a paternal Government acting on the advice of a strong Traffic Authority. Such encouragement could take many forms besides cash advances.

But let us get back to the City. If we analyse its troubles, we shall find that they are due to three causes. Traffic, in it, across it, and to Liverpool Street Station. If we probe a little deeper we shall find that a really satisfactory settlement of the Liverpool Street difficulty would practically include the others. The fact that half London, has, perforce, to traverse the City if they wish to get to the Great Eastern terminus makes one think. Why have all the many proposals to extend the Central London Railway come to grief? Such an extension would help a great deal, and even more if the extraordinary oversight of its non-connexion with the Piccadilly Tube at Holborn were rectified. Is the extension impossible, or is it

only hung up waiting for the appointment of a Traffic Authority? If there are obstacles in the way of a deep-level tube, why not a shallow road?

Here I should like to put forward a suggestion for what it is worth. The main sewers may make it difficult to accomplish, but it is part of our creed that few things are impracticable to modern engineering. It is almost always only a question of whether benefits will repay expenditure. Would it not be possible to have a shallow subway system linking up, in some places directly, in others by short approaches, all the more important traffic points? These are the various termini—not necessarily dead ends, at which people debark from trains and trams and omnibuses, for such a subway as I suggest would be a substitute for most of the omnibuses—as well as certain prominent buildings and street corners. If such a subway were feasible it might take the shape of an irregular figure of eight, or of a double gourd, with its base at the Mansion House station, its head at Liverpool Street, and its waist at the Bank. Exclusive of its approaches it would be about a mile and a half long, but perhaps half a mile of distance, perhaps five minutes of time, would be the outside limit of the use that most people would make of it. Through it would travel continuously, save on Sundays and at certain hours of the night, some simple form of tramway or moving platform. It would provide a second storey road for passengers, keep them off the streets, and speed them almost to their actual destinations. Incidentally, it would be popular in bad weather. On the street surface widening would become less necessary, noise, smell, and danger would all be reduced. It would be a universal link, competing with nobody, for its one object would be to feed and assist all existing forms of locomotion. This is an important point, for such a subway must be, ostensibly, free! Let nobody hold up their hands in holy horror. They must remember that the circumstances are quite exceptional and that something has to be done. Of course it would cost money, both to make and to maintain: but much expenditure, both capital and maintenance, is saved where no ticket offices, no clerks, no collectors, are required. This is a question of substituting an underground road for urgent street improvements on the surface which would be equally costly and equally unremunerative; and the car or platform would be much on the principle of a tube lift, a convenience to save people's legs and take them in the direction they wish to go; only in this case horizontally instead of vertically.

There are two questions to consider. The first is: would people use it? Why should they not? They pay to use the tubes. Are they likely to object to being carried for nothing? The second question is: Who would pay for it? There can be but one answer: those who would be in the position to benefit by it. It would be their joint enterprise, and its cost would be collected indirectly, some

portion through the rates, some portion through those agencies which are responsible for bringing people to the City. Remember that it was stated in evidence before the Royal Commission that a million and a quarter people enter and leave the City daily. It would be a matter of arrangement, an arrangement which could only be carried out by some independent authority with a wide area of supervision and great influence with the innumerable interests concerned and with the powers that be. It should not be beyond the bounds of human ingenuity for such an authority to arrange that in the long run the expense should be fairly apportioned.

So much for one suggestion. May I throw out one other? Is it absolutely necessary that half the Liverpool Street and East and West through traffic should trouble the City at all? As a matter of fact the shortest route, not only from Oxford Street but even from Piccadilly Circus, to Mile End Road, to both Essex and the Docks, passes north of the city. Such a route could start from Holborn Circus and take Liverpool Street Station in its way. At Victoria we see that a terminus can be attacked in flank. By a judicious use of lifts it can even be attacked from the rear. I do not know what such a road would cost, and the County Council's experiences in Kingsway show that recoupment in such schemes is often slow of coming, but the expense could never be so great as that of an attempt to seriously widen the main avenues of the centre. Making roads round does not always conduce to prosperity, as many a thriving country town now keen to be quit of motor traffic will eventually find out, but it would be difficult to 'side-track' the City of London. Again this is a proposal which could not even be discussed without first getting numerous sharply conflicting interests into line. A wise authority would settle what such a road was to carry before a single house was demolished.

From the City, and the costly lesson it teaches us of the miscalculations of the past, it is natural to turn to Greater London, to study how a common-sense nation, having profited by experience, is now safeguarding the future. The centre is suffering from a want of main speed roads, what is being done to ensure that no such disaster can ever happen outside? Is it credible that the answer is—nothing? The Hams to the east; Tottenham, Finchley, and Willesden on the north; Haling, Brentford, and Kingston on the west; Wimbledon, Croydon, and Bromley on the south, are all closing in on London and blocking her exits. The old arteries leading from the Metropolis are none too wide even for the increasing uses of these townships and to carry their tramways. This, at the moment when the traffic of England is going back to the roads, when it is essential for the business, the pleasure, for the very life of London, that between her and the country outside there should be free communication! If it were not so condemnable it would be laughable. Who is to blame? Nobody. It is nobody's business. It is beyond the reach of the County Council,

and the surrounding authorities cannot be expected to rush in and spend large sums for the advantage of their big neighbour. We can be certain of two things : that all these suburbs will continue to expand, and that the use of motor vehicles in and out of London will enormously increase. The old main roads are already congested, they will soon be choked. It will then be too late to move. It is almost too late now. Fifteen years ago it might have been easy to lay out from the four-mile radius main avenues, a hundred yards wide, capable of carrying all the traffic which can ever be anticipated, north, south, east, and west. It is like the Sibylline books. To-day only two are possible. One leads out to a comparatively small area in the east, but the other could still be made the road gate of London. Who will save it? Personally I have been watching it for years, seeing the gap narrowing and the cost mounting up. With others I waited for the advent of a Traffic Board. Then, last year, when a Traffic Authority seemed further off than ever, some of us made an effort, at any rate, to preserve a motor-road. So far the effort has not been successful. It was beset with difficulties. Government departments were interested, but not ready themselves to undertake the expenditure. Local authorities were more anxious to safeguard their own positions than to speculate as to future necessities. It is not their *role* to be imaginative. The very motorists were shy of supporting a proposal which might be taken to imply that it was their business to provide their own tracks. Everybody was cautious, every man was quite rightly looking after the interests with which he himself was identified ; and there was in existence no responsible authority in a position to take the matter up, to get certain people together, and say, ' This may or may not be the best scheme or the best way to do it, but it is worth considering, worth talking over ; let us at any rate see that we are not letting a chance slip.' Meanwhile the gate is closing fast. If only one of the really rich men, one of the few who have command of large sums, would come forward, he might keep it open until the Government have made up their minds on ' Traffic.' In the end he would not lose by it.

We have looked at the centre and at the outer ring, but all over the town the same cry is going up : ' When are we to have somebody to arrange our traffic ? ' There is too much of it in one place and too little in another. There is waste at a time when London is experiencing the trouble of tight money. In every public department to-day there is a desire to co-ordinate expenditure, here we are the prey of senseless competition. In every direction two capitals are being expended to do the work of one. What soon will be the use of both horsed cabs and motor cabs? Even to-day nobody will take a hansom if they can get a ' taxi.' The old order is bound to go to the wall. Would it not be wiser and fairer to state now that five years hence no horsed cabs will be licensed to ply for hire within the four-

mile radius? We must remember that London must be treated in an exceptional way. Such a regulation would greatly reduce its congestion. Tramways and omnibuses each have their uses; but it is both absurd and dangerous that they should run side by side at the same pace. They fight for the same passenger and pick him up and set him down in front of the same shop. The whole area wants covering with facilities of locomotion, spread out like a net, linked together, feeding each other, every variety with its special duty to perform and never in excess.

To arrange this, to see that the people are served and their legitimate grievances satisfied, that they are helped on their way and saved from danger and nuisance, that their trade is not hampered nor their rest at night disturbed, and, through it all, to keep a steady unprejudiced outlook right ahead, to foresee the requirements of the future, to watch the developments of property, to work with it and, without unduly repressing private enterprise, still to take care that public interests are not jeopardised—this is no light task. At present nobody is even attempting it.

A year ago the London County Council requested the late Prime Minister to receive a deputation on this subject. His last illness prevented the interview which had been arranged. After the recess we are going to Mr. Asquith to ask for a Traffic Authority. What will be his reply? He is bound to admit that something must be done. We may or may not learn that London Government is once more in the melting-pot, and that the Council's area and duties are to be increased; but, at any rate, we shall probably be told—as the Progressives tell us at Spring Gardens—that the Government has already appointed a special branch of the Board of Trade on purpose to meet our views, and that Sir Herbert Jekyll has been designated to look after traffic. It is true, and probably no better nucleus around which a Traffic Authority could be put together is possible; but Sir Herbert requires assistance. He has no colleagues; I believe he has no staff, no powers, and no command of money. He can do nothing, and he is doing nothing beyond bringing and keeping up to date the information laid before the Royal Commission. Some day he may be a most useful member of a new authority, to-day he is only a stop-gap put in—as though time was no object—to save the face of the Government while it halts between two opinions. For there can be no more. We can, I think, rule out all candidates except a specially constituted, non-elected Board, as recommended by the Royal Commission, and the County Council. Is the last a possibility?

At the first blush it seems ridiculous even to ask the question. Here is a body representing the whole of London and presumably every interest in it; a body which sits continuously and works very hard; which has ramifications extending in every direction and exploring all the strata of society. It is already responsible for housing.

for the Building Act, for street improvements, and for most of the open spaces. It also has the command of money. Are we to be told that this body is incapable of exercising a general supervision over those facilities of traffic upon which the life of the town depends?

Let us seriously consider the three reasons which are urged in support of this contention.

Incidentally I should say that we need no longer count on the somewhat vague distrust with which in the past those who had anything to lose regarded the Council, and for a very simple reason. The theory that the 'Progress' of the Progressives is not politics is exploded. For fifteen years many a Londoner voted in the dark. To-day we are all frankly political. It may be a misfortune, but it is nobody's fault, for it was bound to come. It is probable that one curious result will be that the Council will always be of the colour of the Parliamentary Opposition. London will be anxious to show her independence and her power to goad on a Government which she considers slow to move or to restrain one whose pace she thinks too fast. But one thing is certain. The Council has become a microcosm of Parliament, and the members are drawn from the same classes and are interchangeable. No more is to be feared from one than from the other—nor hoped.

This, to a certain extent, disposes of the first objection. It has been rightly claimed that the control of the Traffic Authority must be continuous and independent of party changes; in other words, that it must be the work of paid permanent officials, reporting to the people's representatives. As long as the officials are fearless and of a high grade, and are given a fairly free hand, as long as they are placed in a position which will enable them to take wide and far views, does it now matter so very much whether the representatives to whom they report sit at Westminster or Spring Gardens?

The second objection is more troublesome to overcome. I have endeavoured to show that in the interests of London it is vital that her main lines of communication must be kept open. If the Progressive proposal for a large increase of the Council's area should mature, this would go to meet the difficulty; but it is barely conceivable that Romford, Barnet, Watford, and Kingston, all of which should be included in the domain of a Traffic Authority, will ever be incorporated in one huge municipality. Without going so far as that, however, it might be possible to arrange that over the suburban railway and tramway systems and the great trunk roads those responsible for London, her existence and her growth, should have some jurisdiction. I am afraid it would make for friction and endless complication in all matters of expenditure, it would be a scheme striking at the heart of local administration, but the objections are not quite so insuperable as to rule it out altogether.

[It is the third objection, the working of the tramways, the funda-

mental law that a competitor cannot be a judge, which is the fatal obstacle to the end. It is not enough to say that the Municipal Reform party now in power have made no rash promise of profits, and that, unhampered by pledges, they can afford to look at the question from the broad point of view of the advantage of London! We cannot get away from the fact that the financial necessities of its great tramway business must always influence the Council's actions. Moreover, the Municipal Reformers will not be in power for ever. It is not enough to say that the people, now that they know that there were no profits, have at last begun to understand that there never could have been or ought to have been profits; that the only correct way of carrying on a municipal service is to make receipts and expenditure balance as near as may be, to make it self-supporting and no more; that if you are making a genuine realisable profit over a service you must be unfairly overcharging those ratepayers who make use of that service!

Municipal Reform can do a great deal, but it cannot turn the whole electorate into an incorruptible and infallible judicial bench. Fancy the feelings of the railway and omnibus companies if they heard that the tramway authority was to put its foot upon their necks! Fancy how the tramway users would vote if it was brought home to them that their fares—on their own municipal tramway system—were being raised while a Tube was being helped to pay dividends! Alas! for the frailty of poor human nature. The thing cannot be done.

If the London County Council is to be the Traffic Authority we are gically driven towards two alternatives, both of which are possible a Radical and impossible to a Unionist Government. We must have no competition at all, or we must have open competition under absolutely impartial control. The first alternative, which would be fought to the last ditch by all Conservatives and by many Liberals, is to make the Council take over, weld together, and administer all the collective forms of traffic in the London area—railways and tubes and omnibuses. The second, which will be disapproved of by all socialists and some others, is to compel it to make over once more to private enterprise the London County Council tramway system. Only a Radical Government could even suggest this last without laying itself open to misrepresentation.

If neither alternative commends itself to Ministers, then the Council drops out, and they must give us such a Traffic Board as the Royal Commission recommended, or London must meekly bow her head and submit to chaos.

The responsibility is with them.

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

THE METHOD OF PLATO

THE study of Plato as pure literature has been carried as far as it will go. No great writer ever desired less to be estimated by his style alone. For if on the one hand the image of the ideal Republic faded away into the heavens, on the other hand the precepts for its regulation are singularly definite and precise. The Platonic Socrates in the Dialogue seems to be always struggling between the emptiness of human life and the importance of prescribing its details. Nobody according to this theory, was fit to govern his own conduct, even though he were employed in controlling the conduct of others. The servitude of the body was necessary for the freedom of the soul. Everyone engaged in commerce was a public servant, and the individual had no existence apart from the State. Socrates himself was prevented by an internal monitor from taking a prominent share in public business. The rest of the world had to be content with knowledge of their own unfitness, and a determination to reach authority by the path of obedience. Whom were they to obey? Not the old, for they were worn out. Not the young, for they were untrained. Education was indispensable to the ruler, and education must be as wide as life. It must be intellectual, moral, practical, philosophical, scientific, and not poetical. It could not be profitably imitated, or adequately described. Panhellenic in its scope, it was to reject only the barbaric or foreign element in human nature. It was to show that justice could not be discovered without ascertaining the best form of political constitution, and at the same time demonstrate the impossibility of a State continuing to flourish without a foundation of justice. That justice was the interest of the strong is the paradox which Socrates undertakes to refute, while pretending that he cannot refute it. Every man, being in a minority of one, must be dependent upon his neighbours. Yet no character which does not suffice for itself has any support upon which to lean. The essence of poetry being falsehood, it is obviously unfit for the instruction of the young, especially where it is dramatic in substance without being dramatic in form. The characters in a play do not profess to speak the opinions of the author. In an epic or a narrative poem the poet himself is responsible for the whole. Plato did not shrink from any

conclusion to which his reason led him. To follow the argument, whatever direction it might take, was an essential part of the Platonic philosophy. A substantial reality was assumed to be inherent in dialectical forms. Even a Greek idiom must have a definite meaning. It could not be a mere artifice of grammarians. There was a philosophical reason for it, worth finding out. In reading Plato we always have to remember the dual process of his mind, which worked at one and the same time in the highest sphere of thought and in the most technical form of language. He seems to be continually saying, 'If you cannot show a flaw in the premisses, you must accept the conclusion.' Unlike Aristotle, he aimed at being a great reformer. Aristotle was satisfied with knowledge. To Plato knowledge was only valuable in so far as it raised the level of human life. He was convinced that living by ideas would deliver the world from the ills which oppressed it. The practical employment of philosophy degraded it, not because it was practical, but because it was nothing else. The cultivation of the intellect was the supreme end, for without intellectual cultivation man was unfit for civic duty, and as purely selfish as if there were no one to be considered but himself.

Macaulay has contrasted Plato with Bacon, but the antithesis is misleading. Plato never depreciates the results of mental activity when he maintains that it is a good in itself. It is in his eyes as important to the mind as life to the body, and therefore to be considered apart from its effects or consequences. With them he does not really deal. Anyone, he thought, could see the tangible value of applied science. The influence of thought upon the mind can only be appreciated by a philosopher, and by him cannot be misunderstood. To define justice by describing the State is to explain the intellectual essence of morality. The State is an unconscious imitation of human character, the soul being identical with sovereignty, and the passions in the widest sense of the term corresponding with the variety of political motives. Aristotle developed Plato's conception of the State, and blended it with the forms of government which he saw in Greece. But that is only one side, and not the most important side, of Plato's philosophy. To Plato morality was as definite as mathematics and as inevitable as sensation. He aims at showing his opponents that they are against reason because reason is against them. Of course there are many other elements in the Dialogues. Plato was a great literary artist, who never forgot the object of exhibiting Socrates as the discoverer of truth by the elimination of error. He was a dramatist, who had to bring all his characters into their appropriate places. But his supreme and ultimate object, at least in the *Republic*, was to fuse and blend the public and private virtues of the citizen. He is never directly didactic. He stands aside and allows the argument to prevail by its own strength. *Lene tormentum*

ingenio admovent. He is determined that the reader shall convince himself. Aristotle divides and classifies. For Plato there is only one kind of knowledge, the knowledge of good and evil, which are identical with truth and error. What is theoretically true cannot be practically false, and what is foolish cannot be right. Through all the intellectual mazes of the Socratic method these simple postulates are always assumed. Everything else has to be proved.

Something of course must be assumed. For where there are no premisses, there can be no conclusion. Yet Socrates is always ready to meet in argument those who contest even the very point from which he starts. He baffles them, not by attacking their position, still less by defending his own, but by leading them gently into a path where their errors are unmistakable. He takes the place of every man's conscience, not by putting forward any claim, but by answering them according to their wisdom or folly. This was the one form of controversy in which the Greek intellect had not been trained. Incapable of misunderstanding an argument, it yet depended upon antagonism. Plato brought out the fact that reason, if it be genuine, must be independent of external circumstances, and prepared to face any difficulty that might arise. He showed that an imposing surface of logical rhetoric might rest upon no foundation, and that the simplest inquiry might bring it to the ground. Socrates did not choose, or Plato did not choose for him, the methods by which the Sophists were confuted. Their own weapons were turned against themselves. They could not fairly complain of the arbitrament to which they had themselves appealed, or refuse to take up the challenge which they had thrown down. They had either to let judgment go by default, or to accept the lead of Socrates, and take the consequences. If he led where he seemed to follow, and they followed where they seemed to lead, they were responsible, and not he. The science by which they were exposed was precisely the science which they offered to teach and which they were paid for teaching. Plato would have wasted his time in urging the superiority of other methods. He allowed the Sophists to be tried by their own. By no other means could he have produced the results which he achieved. He was not satisfied with a comparison of machinery. His aim was to demonstrate that by no ingenuity of mechanism could the performer escape the truth. He seemed to give his opponents every advantage, because he fought in the lists arranged by them. He knew that only in that way could he substitute their admissions for his own refutations, and make them do his work by confessing themselves in the wrong. If the man convinced against his will is of his own opinion still, the man conducted from his own premisses to conclusions which follow from them has no escape from acquiescence.

The Socratic method was not an external apparatus employed for a purpose. It was the natural development of human faculties

along the path to which they pointed themselves. When the opponents of Socrates seem to have no chance, it is not so much that he is taking advantage of them as that they have given away their own case, abandoned the controversy between him and them. It is they, not he, who start irrelevant topics, and raise side issues. He always returns to the main principle, to the question which they have proposed. He has no system, and does not seek to construct one. His object is to accompany those with whom he talks along a road which they see as they advance lying open before them. He is not their guide. He only shows them the way which reason takes. The simplicity of his method is disguised by poetical and metaphorical language. But it will be found that he infers nothing to which they have not given their assent by implication beforehand. He cares nothing for unwilling submission to forced results. He desires merely to lead men on through an inevitable chain of causes and effects. Those who lectured him soon found that he was the master and they were the pupils. Their positions were quietly and insensibly reversed without their being able to point out the particular step at which the process occurred. They dictated to him, not he to them. He had no ambition, and desired no fame. He was a disturbing element, because he explained to other people the inner workings of their own minds. If he seemed to be assuring teachers that they could not teach, it was because he used their own arguments and showed where they logically led. That their materialism was inconsistent with reason he deduced not from extraneous sources, but from reason itself. He invited them to pursue their own course, not to stop short by the way. It was not his fault if they failed to understand their own mental plight. That at least was the line he took with them. If his ideals were different from theirs, he left them to insist upon the fact. What he did was to fight them with their own tactics without seeming to fight them at all. He made many enemies and few disciples, because the discovery of truth was not the aim of those who would have taught him, and whom he taught. They wanted his admiration, not his help.

Unless we are to believe that the whole story of the *Republic* was a figment of Plato's imagination, we must suppose that the Socratic conclusions did proceed from the premises of the Sophists themselves. What, then, were the conclusions so formed? They were partly social, and partly personal. They affected man as an element in the State, and also as an assemblage of qualities or characteristics. Men were never all good, or all bad. Nor was it possible to separate a man from his fellow-creatures, to consider him as existing for himself alone. He must be a citizen, or he must be a bundle of impulses, feelings, tendencies this way or that. Is a State determined by the characters of its inhabitants, or are the characters of the inhabitants moulded

by the form of the State? Plato believed that in the solution of this question would be found the answer to the problem how justice could be connected with the individual as well as with the corporate life. Government implies the rule of the stronger. Yet the rule of the stronger is in private life the consecration of injustice. How far does the Republic answer the question whether these conflicting doctrines can be reconciled? It does not end with any formal conclusion, as it does not begin with any definite programme. At no point in the Dialogue is there an abandonment of one purpose, or an adoption of another. If the argument gradually passes from the personal to the political aspect of human nature, that is because the distributive quality of justice requires to be examined on a large and varied scale. Socrates is not satisfied with proving that popular notions of it are inadequate. He sets himself also to account for the origin of those ideas, and for their influence upon men's minds. If nobody was less dogmatic than he, nobody clung with more pertinacity to a position he had once taken up. To guide while seeming to follow was the essence of his teaching, or rather to let Reason decide for him, and not to question her decrees. He always represents himself as quite irresponsible—the servant, not the master, of the discussion into which he had been brought. He simply made the best of the circumstances in which he found himself, whatever they might be. And what were they? Athens was a slave-holding democracy in which military service was compulsory, and representative government was unknown. Its power was maintained by a navy, and the people themselves were the sovereign authority. A purer form of democracy there has never been, nor a more highly cultivated type of legislative machinery.

Nevertheless, or perhaps all the more, this political type illustrated the imperfection of all human contrivances, and their inadequacy to express the real or ideal essence of things. The society in which Plato and Socrates lived could not be made to correspond with any philosophical conception. The mind in its search for truth had to work independently, to move in the imaginative region which is above and beyond the business of life. The object of examples was to show that the general rules to which they belonged had a separate existence of their own. The rules were not composed from the particular instances. The particular instances were constructed from the rules. The number of actual cases could make an ideal case. An ideal case was able to contain any number of actual cases. Such at least was the Platonic, or Socratic, doctrine, without which Plato, or Socrates, is unintelligible, even if the soundness of his other positions be taken for granted.

Plato regarded Athenian loyalty as too narrow a sentiment for a citizen of Greece, though he was as ready as anyone to exclude foreigners, those who were not Greeks at all, from the

privileges which he would have made Panhellenic. He wrote in the decline of Athenian power after the fall of Pericles, to whom indeed he apparently traced many of the evils which he condemned. It was certainly not from any tenderness for despotism that he inveighed against democracy, nor from any sympathy with the despot that he urged the necessity of some absolute authority, beyond which a dispute could not be carried. He desired that the authority should be reason. But whose reason was it to be? To escape from the rule of the majority without substituting for it some other form of domination equally inconsistent with personal freedom was the problem which the Platonic Socrates laid down. He tested every sort of Constitution from that point of view, and found them all wanting, the Athenian most of all. For in Athens there was neither stability nor cohesion, merely the triumph of popular rights without regard for duty or consequence. What he wanted, and could not find, was the State which promoted individual excellence, and at the same time made law the handmaid of liberty. That no such State existed in Greece he was well aware. The idea of discovering it beyond the ramparts of Hellenism seemed remote. It could therefore only be created in the mind. But the process of creating it would reform the mind itself. If the oligarchic mind was narrow, and the despotic mind was cruel, and the democratic mind was shiftily, by what mixture of qualities could a mind be made at once steady and strong? For ordinary Constitution-making Plato had no taste. He looked for a city which had foundations, whose builder and maker was God. He believed in nothing material, except so far as it signified some veiled and hidden truth. Law without right could only do harm. Right without laws had no authority, and became the laughing-stock of the cynic. Law and right combined would need no force, because they would be as persuasive as they were powerful. Such at least was the moral which Socrates endeavoured to draw, and towards which his otherwise inexplicable reasoning always led. In his eyes the difficulties of life arose from the perpetual conflict between convention and reality, between the material and the ideal, between policy and wisdom, between assumption and truth. The world must be philosophical before it could be practical, or it would be neither one nor the other. That men of the world do not understand their own business was an integral part of the Socratic paradox. Socrates was reckoned a bad citizen because he would not concern himself with what he held to be the solemn trifling of current politics, meaningless in the eye of reason, and profitless to the soul. He never denied that he would make a bad citizen of a bad State. But then what was the remedy for the evil which he admitted? It was not to bring the individual down, but to bring the State up. It was to frame a commonwealth so perfectly adjusted that every citizen

would feel in his natural place, and act accordingly. Certainly this was no half-measure. Nor did Socrates hold out any hope that anything less would avail. He was ready in his own peculiar fashion to reason with all comers, until their premisses had led them to his conclusions by a method of which they could not dispute the validity, little as they might relish the object or the result. If the Sophists had not professed to know more than Socrates knew he might have adopted a different line with them. But if his arguments were negative his results were positive.

It is not the mere process of argument with which Socrates was concerned. His opponents could use that as well as he. Only they always found that it led them his way, and not their own. Unless they refused to argue altogether, they had no choice. To deny the Socratic premisses was the only way of disputing the Socratic conclusions. After the first step the whole course followed by inevitable stages until the end was reached. But it was not the perfection of the machinery upon which Socrates insisted. It was the effect of that arrangement upon the mind. He had no taste for syllogisms or logic-chopping. He aimed at metaphysical truth, truth in its highest sense, an idealism which would lose its essence by being realised, as perhaps all idealism does. The forms of Plato were more real to him than living man, if only because each of them comprised the qualities of many men, the substance of various characters fused into a single whole. Plato never admitted the antagonism of the abstract and the concrete. They were to him different forms of the same truth. The opposition which mattered was between true and false, good and bad, and it was as prominent in practice as in theory. So at least it seemed to him. A sound argument could not lead to an unsound conclusion, the truth of the premisses being assumed. Of course a mere logician could say as much as this. But Plato invested the bare demonstration with all the charm of intellect and fancy, poetry and imagination, rhetoric, though he despised it, and art, though he wrote it down. It is the extreme complexity of Plato's simplicity that makes the difficulty of understanding it. Well has it been said that simplicity is a work of art. Nothing is harder to produce than what appears inevitable, such as the greatest poetry and the most perfect prose. Plato's aim was to combine excellence of style with truth of fact, and to bring out a right conclusion by methods which could not be repudiated except by repudiating reason itself. If he sometimes seems to beg the question and assume what he has to prove, that is because his conclusion follows so directly from his premisses that it cannot even be intercepted on the way.

Socrates had against him keen intellects as well as constituted authorities, and he never refused to argue with them. He allowed them to choose their own ground, knowing that there could be only

one result of a rational contest between him and them. Although he never lost sight of his object, he did not let it divert his mind from the means by which alone it could be achieved. He had to deal with men who lived by argument, who regarded a verbal proposition as a fact, who had ceased to distinguish between a logical process and a tangible performance. He beat them in their own way, never concealing his opinion that truth was attainable by other and better forms of approach. 'The wisest of men, because he knew his own ignorance,' he knew also that ignorance was comparative, and that the fallacies from which his mind was free were hindrances, not aids, to knowledge. There was no form of intellectual effort which he had not tried, no kind of mental investigation he had not practised. Where he seemed unable to follow a chain of reasoning, he really perceived an impregnable barrier to further progress. An exhaustion of all possible errors was his way of arriving at truth. That was why all attempts to refute him failed. Plato never hides the difficulties of the Socratic process. His genius and eloquence illuminate, and do not obscure. They show the argument stretching from premisses to conclusion, from start to goal. When we read of Socrates in Xenophon, the accessories drop away, and we see the simplicity of the teaching without the trappings of Plato's incomparable style.

'The one remains, the many change and pass.' Xenophon shows that Plato did not invent Socrates. He gives the characteristics by which the man would always be known. But it is to Plato we must go if we would understand the depth of the Socratic philosophy, its comprehensive grasp of wisdom and truth, its steadfast adherence to the principles which do not change. Plato wrote for a generation that knew all the circumstances of his master's career, that could check him in details, howsoever incapable of appreciating the hidden depths of his metaphysical creed. We know Socrates from Plato as well as we know Johnson from Boswell, and yet everything which passes through the Platonic crucible comes out of it with the hardness as well as the gleam of gold. If it is impossible to think of Socrates without Plato, or of Plato without Socrates, that may be explained by the literary accident that Plato made Socrates the principal character in his matchless Dialogues. Neither is merged in the other. We have Socrates as he appeared to Plato, and Socrates as he appeared to Xenophon. The difference cannot be in Socrates himself, nor in his methods, nor in his doctrines. Where, then, does it lie? It lies in the perennial contrast between truth as understood by the philosopher and fact as perceived by the man of the world. Xenophon fastened upon the practical objections to democratic government which Socrates was fond of urging. Plato perceived that they were objections to all forms of government which

had hitherto been tried among men, and indeed to all systems which men were capable of constructing until they entirely changed their whole outlook upon the world. If it is impossible to consider the State apart from the individual, or the individual apart from the State, a political question must be a moral question, and the best type of polity must bear the closest resemblance to the best type of character. That is the true meaning of the comparison between morality and politics, the essence of the Platonic or Socratic doctrine on the subject. Whether we speak of the citizen as a man, or the man as a citizen, we equally imply and acknowledge an identity in the relative position of the two towards policy on the one hand or morality on the other. It is vain to look in Plato for instruction upon political problems in the ordinary sense of the term. To do so is profoundly to misunderstand him. It was part of his philosophy that politics could not be understood by themselves, and had to be studied as part of truth, which comprehended all time and all existence. He had no prejudice against the Athenian Constitution as such. He saw the advantages as well as the drawbacks of democracy, the differences between the Athenian democracy and a democratic ideal, the contrast between the standard of philosophy and the standard of the world. The only way to reconcile them was to try them both by the touchstone of pure reason, which would leave only their sound parts intact.

It has been said that Plato cannot be refuted because his reasoning, like an endless chain, leaves no room for refutation. But if that were so, or at least if it were a complete account of the matter, Plato would have reached no positive result at all, and the *Republic* would prove as little as the *Iliad*. The destruction of falsehood, even the exposure of fallacies, leaves a substance which has undergone the hardest process to which truth can be subjected, and has by that method been made definite, if not practical. While the opponents of Socrates were dissecting phrases, and chasing shadows, he was always in quest of the light beyond, the vision behind the veil. The profoundest conviction of his mind was that thorough knowledge coincided with goodness, that the simple man perceived for himself what only the philosopher could explain, that moral difficulties disappeared with the removal of intellectual misapprehensions, that the distinction between intellect and character did not correspond with any real difference at all. He refused to believe that reason could be a blind guide if it were not perverted by influences of character and motive. Otherwise life would be an endless contradiction, and to argue, even with oneself, would be futile, because no trustworthy result could be attained. A man could even be judge in his own cause if he followed reason steadily, and listened to nothing else. No one except Plato has worked this theory out, and insisted upon its full logical significance. Socrates proved such a disturbing

element that he was put out of the way. But though the Athenian public got rid of the man, they could not get rid of the doctrine. The proposition that what is wrong is necessarily foolish, and what is wise is necessarily right, has never died out, and cannot die. It does not depend upon the glamour of Plato's eloquence. It rests upon a foundation which nothing can shake.

HERBERT PAUL.

HEALTH AND THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

It is not common in Parliamentary history that the same measure should, in two consecutive years, pass both Houses of Parliament, with the approval of both parties. It would seem unlikely that anything passed with such impressive unanimity and such unusual repetition should prove a failure administratively. Such, however, seems likely to be the history of the present law with regard to the medical inspection and treatment of school-children.

The provisions in question were first introduced in the unfortunate Education Bill of 1906. They were received with general approval; they passed the House of Lords without any difficulty, but finally went down in the general wreck of that ill-starred measure. The next year the Government announced that they meant to re-introduce the non-controversial parts of the late Bill. This they did in a highly miscellaneous measure, which was passed under the title of the Administrative Provisions (Education) Act, 1907. The most important part of that Act is contained in a few words in Clause 13. They are so important as to be worth quoting in full:

The powers and duties of a local education authority under Part III. of the Education Act of 1902 shall include . . . the *duty* to provide for the medical inspection of children immediately before, or at the time of, or as soon as possible after, their admission to a public elementary school, and on such other occasions as the Board of Education may direct, and the *power* to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of the children educated in public elementary schools.

The distinction between the optional and the compulsory part of the clause, between the 'powers' and the 'duties' of the local education authority, will be noticed. It is perhaps worth while to mention that the clause as originally introduced was entirely optional, and consisted of the latter half only of the present clause. An amendment to render the clause compulsory was introduced. This received the strong and emphatic support of Mr. Balfour. He said, in speaking on the amendment, 'that unquestionably the speeches which had

been made must have proved to all those who heard them that an immense benefit could be done to the children of the present generation if some such scheme as that suggested by the hon. gentleman who moved the amendment were adopted,¹ and he concluded by saying that the Government were the best judges of the practical difficulties, but that for his part 'he hoped that they were not insuperable, and, further, that if they carried out the scheme, which was one of first-rate importance, it would be done thoroughly.' Cheered and fortified by the support of the Leader of the Opposition, the Government next year were emboldened to add the compulsory part of the clause. The measure, therefore, is in no sense party. The credit of its introduction is due to the Government. The credit, however, of its re-introduction in a stronger form is unquestionably due to the Opposition.

There is, however, reason to fear that the good intentions of Parliament may be disappointed by the administrative action of the Government. The loose and vague words of the clause leave great powers to the Board of Education; and it seems probable the policy of the Board, though well-intentioned enough in itself, may do great harm. The danger is that the local authorities may be alarmed and disgusted by the elaborate demands of the Department, and that the Act may be brought into disrepute by the introduction of a costly and unpractical scheme. Most local authorities have no practical experience of the matter. The medical department of the Board has not yet kept its first birthday. The wise policy would, therefore, have been to begin gradually, to allow each local authority to work out its own scheme, and to make experiments. The Board have acted otherwise. The new Code issued in July makes medical inspection a necessary condition of obtaining the ordinary school grant²; and what the Board mean by medical inspection is defined by three circulars (Circulars 576, 582, 596). In the first place, the minimum medical inspection required by the Act is quadrupled by the Board. The Act says that each child must be examined at least once, at its entry into school. The Board says it must be examined four times.³ The Board further defines what is necessary in order to attain the 'minimum of efficient medical inspection.' This 'minimum' includes the whole of the previous history of the illnesses which the child has passed through, and the 'effects of these'; the family history, if that appears interesting; and entries under twenty-four separate heads regarding the child's present condition. These entries start with the child's height and weight (to be recorded both in English and metric measures), and conclude with questions on matters needing such elaborate examination as 'mental condition,' state of 'heart,' 'lungs,' and 'nervous system.' The Board prescribes, in short, the kind of examination required by a specially scrupulous insurance company. An annual statement of the 'facts

¹ *Times*, July 17, 1906, p. 6.

² Code, 1906, par. 25 (c).

³ Circular 582, p. 1, par. 4, and accompanying schedule.

disclosed,' arranged under the twenty-four headings, must also be submitted.⁴ It is true that the Board in the same document expresses the opinion that the elaborate examination prescribed will not take very long. It is obvious, however, that to answer adequately all the twenty-four questions, leaving out of account the child's history and that of its family, must take a considerable time. Consequently, the burden placed on the local authority is exceedingly severe, while the practical benefit to the child appears uncertain.

Now, the danger of these elaborate requirements is a very real one. It is, that the time and resources of the local education authorities will be wasted in fulfilling the minutiae of the departmental requirements, and that no money or energy will be left for carrying out those fruitful experiments from which true progress may be hoped. The matter is one of public interest. What, above all, is wanted is more knowledge. It seems, therefore, that it may be useful to discuss what has been done by the only education authority which has had practical experience on a large scale, and the lessons which may be drawn from that experience. Let us, therefore, consider in detail the problem as it presents itself in London.

As is tolerably well known, the origin of public uneasiness in the matter was the Report of the Inspector-General for Recruiting in the year 1902, followed by an article from Sir Frederick Denison Maurice in the *Contemporary Review*; and from that time the journalistic world was considerably occupied with what it called 'the physical deterioration of the race.' Then came the Report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration. That report may not be unfairly summed up as a piteous cry for more light:

The Committee believe that their labours will result in giving matter for reflection to those who realise the importance of evidence towards the determination of issues of such uncertainty and complexity, and that these persons . . . will await the necessary steps being taken to secure that body of well-sifted and accurate information without which it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion of value as to the general problem.⁵

To obtain these facts the Committee seem chiefly to have relied on the medical examination of school-children.⁶

The direct consequence of this report was the Act under discussion. In England generally the facts needed have not yet been obtained. In London things are otherwise. London is five or six years ahead of the rest of England (with the possible exception of Bradford.) As far back as 1902 the London School Board began systematic medical inspection. It started with the idea of excluding from school children who were dangerous to others, and of selecting children who needed special instruction. Step by step, however, dealing with one subject

⁴ Circular 596, p. 5, par. 6 (d).

⁵ *Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, pp. 92, 93.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 91.

after another, and gradually increasing its staff, this system of medical inspection has been greatly extended. There are now in London three school doctors employed full time, two employed half-time, twenty-three employed for quarter-time, and thirty-two school nurses under a superintendent. Different matters have been dealt with at different times, and with varying degrees of thoroughness, as the Council extended its field of operations. The same result has, however, been found in one department after another. It was uniformly found that inspection created a desire for treatment; that too often the demand of the parents produced no corresponding supply; and that, in consequence, after a certain time no further progress was made.

The eyesight of the children was first examined; and it is probable that the present arrangements are susceptible of but little improvement. After a preliminary test by the teachers, the Council oculist visits the schools and selects the children in need of treatment. A communication is then sent to the parent, pointing out that the child's vision is defective, and urging him to obtain medical advice. The teachers, it should be added, have shown most praiseworthy interest in the matter, and have energetically pressed the need for treatment on the parents. Now a parent who wants a prescription for a pair of spectacles has three courses open to him. He may go to an eye-specialist and pay a fee of a guinea or two; he may attend a hospital as an out-patient; or he may go to an optician and get advice from an unqualified tradesman. This exhausts the list of possible alternatives. The general practitioner does not, and usually cannot, deal with what are called refraction cases; and even the friendly societies, in such circumstances, content themselves with indicating the suitable hospital, or with procuring letters for their members. The danger of applying to an unqualified tradesman is obvious. For the ordinary prosperous artisan the eye-specialist is, of course, out of the question. There remain the hospitals; and, most unfortunately, the out-patient departments of the London hospitals are altogether unable to meet the demand. The first result of inspection was a great increase in the number of child out-patients. Instantly the most urgent remonstrances were received from the hospitals; and these remonstrances have continued, growing in urgency, till the present time. The London Hospital, Moorfields Hospital, the Great Northern Hospital, St. George's Hospital, the Victoria Hospital, and, in fact, nearly all the principal London hospitals, make the same complaint. Their out-patients' departments are flooded, and their resources are overstrained, by the number of cases of children attending from the London schools. At the same time, the demands which the hospitals find so burdensome are only a fraction of what is needed. In 1903, for instance, the Council doctor re-examined 2298 children three months after the date of the first inspection. It was found that 36 per cent. had had 'some sort of advice.' The percentage figures, it

was added, however, appeared much better than the reality.' Much the same results appear from the Annual Report of the Association for the Supply of Spectacles in London Elementary Schools. In the report for 1907 we read :

The committee obtained through the help of the head teachers in some schools lists of the children who needed spectacles and those who obtained them. . . . We give the actual figures obtained from the teachers in two poor schools, a girls' and a boys', in similar circumstances. It appeared here that fifty-nine girls and thirty-eight boys were reported by the London County Council oculist as having defective sight. Of the girls, twenty-three did not obtain prescriptions, twenty obtained spectacles, one was not ordered to wear glasses by the prescribing surgeon at the hospital, and the remainder had left and could not be traced. Of the boys, twenty-three did nothing, three obtained glasses, and no information could be procured with regard to the remainder. In more than one case it appeared that the child had attended hospital once, and had either not used the 'drops' ordered, or had not returned as directed. The girls' department had been the subject of a very special effort on the part of the head teacher, and the result may fairly be taken to represent the best that the teachers can do unaided in a really poor neighbourhood. The difficulty, here and elsewhere, is the difficulty of procuring advice.

As far, therefore, as eyesight is concerned the result of medical inspection has been to show that for many children medical advice is both desirable and unattainable. The practical good effect is strictly limited in amount, and does not appear likely to increase.

Much the same result follows from inspection in other matters. The condition of the children's teeth is very bad indeed, and the parents in London take hardly any interest in the matter. Here, however, inspection has been made in sample rather than in bulk. Comparatively few schools have been examined, and these rather with a view of collecting information than of obtaining practical results. As far as the writer is aware, too, only two head teachers have taken up the matter with any energy. With regard to the teeth of the children, therefore, the position is much what it was with regard to their eyes before 1900. The need for treatment exists, but neither the demand nor the supply. The need is very great. An interesting paper was read, for instance, by Mr. Wallis before the last Congress on School Hygiene. The writer gave detailed accounts of the examination of the teeth of 245 children in a school in the South of London. Of these 245, four were considered to have healthy sets of teeth. 'The total absence of any skilled dental treatment' was also noticed. Much the same results appear from a statement submitted by the British Dental Association to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and School Feeding.⁸ The statement, after giving elaborate tables, and discussing, in the light of these tables, the number

⁷ School Board for London. *Report of the Medical Officer*, 1908, p. 17.

⁸ *Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding of Children attending Public Elementary Schools*, vol. ii. Appendix VI. p. 281.

of recruits to the army rejected on account of bad teeth, winds up with these remarkable words: 'The foregoing tables, and the knowledge that the teeth of children in elementary schools are from a dental standpoint almost entirely neglected, show, we think, why our army loses so great a number of possible recruits.' The private dentist, like the eye-specialist, is a little beyond the reach of the ordinary artisan; and the hospital accommodation is very small indeed. It is probable enough, however, that want of treatment is not responsible for more than about half of the mischief existing. Of the 245 children mentioned above, only three used a tooth-brush. A good deal might be done to teach that dirt is disgraceful. With the spread of that idea many of the evils complained of would disappear. In consequence, the need for treatment, though considerable, is not on the gigantic scale that the figures given might appear to indicate. It is clear, however, that, in the present circumstances, to inspect the teeth of all London children would be a mere waste of money. Additional knowledge is not needed; and it is difficult to see what practical good to the children would follow.

In the same way, the ears of the children in certain selected schools have been examined, and a class has been found who are in urgent need of help. These are the children with discharging ears. Among the poorer schools such a condition is not very uncommon. In 1907, for instance, 1006 children between ten and fourteen were examined.⁹ Out of these seventy-three were found to be suffering from 'chronic suppuration' of the ears. Such a condition is extremely dangerous, sometimes to life, and sometimes to hearing, and needs most careful and assiduous treatment. The ears should be attended to two or three times a day by a skilled nurse, acting under the constant supervision of a doctor. No out-patients' department and no dispensary can possibly provide such treatment. In consequence a large number of the very poor receive no treatment at all. Some pull through; some, it is to be feared, die; and the remainder ultimately present themselves as candidates for schools for the deaf. Children deaf from this cause account for a very considerable proportion of the deaf who are being educated at the public expense. In 1906, for instance, 215 fresh cases of deaf children were examined for admission to special schools. Of these, we are told, forty-two showed some remains of hearing, and these were 'mostly cases of neglected middle-ear suppuration.'¹⁰

Now, medical inspection may be useful in two ways: first, in accumulating facts; secondly, in procuring some good to the individual examined. In this particular case it would seem that the first had been sufficiently secured by an examination of samples, and that the second

⁹ Report of the Medical Officer (Education) of the L.C.C. 1907, p. 24.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1906, p. 40.

was at present practically unattainable. It is hard to see how matters would be further advanced by an examination of all London children. It would take too long to give other instances in detail. Generally it may be said that much the same situation exists with all those cases that are beyond the scope of the general practitioner, but which are not sufficiently serious to be treated as in-patients at a hospital. In all these, for statistical purposes, it is superfluous to examine all school-children repeatedly; and it is not easy to see what other purpose can be served.

To turn to another branch of the same work, similar results have arisen with regard to inspection for cleanliness. Here, too, inspection has done great good up to a certain point. Here, too, matters are at a standstill. A good deal is done in London to secure 'cleanliness.' Cleanliness in this connexion has a strictly technical meaning, and signifies simply freedom from vermin. It is not generally known what a scourge vermin may be among the poorer London children. In 1904, for instance, when the children were first properly examined, we hear of a school where, out of 242 girls, only eighty-seven were found to be 'clean'; and of a total of 2422 girls seen, 1067 were verminous.¹¹ The original attitude of the parents cannot be better illustrated than by the remark of a mother made in answer to some remonstrances on the point from the head mistress. Gazing on the populous head of her offspring, the mother said, with all that pensive pride so often noticed in the possessors of hereditary disease, 'That runs in our family; I was just the same at her age.' Much, however, has since been done. A large staff of nurses now examine the children's heads. The parents of the dirty are warned, and when nothing is done exclusion and prosecution follow. The magistrates have shown themselves most willing to deal severely with such cases. The improvement in the schools is marked. It would be difficult to find now those cases of really bad sore heads which so commonly distressed the visitor in the first years of the century. So far all is well. Humanity has, however, unfortunately evolved two species of parasites; and while the local authority deals successfully with 'pediculosis capitis,' 'pediculosis corporis' is still unchecked in the schools. In plain English, in most parts of London nothing is done, or can be done at present, with the children whose clothes are infested with lice. The difficulty is very real. The eggs are laid in the clothes. They cannot be dislodged, and nothing but a sufficient degree of heat destroys them. If a thick suit or dress is once infested, nothing can be done but to bake it or buy a new one. For people in extreme poverty one is as impossible as the other. They have neither proper ovens nor spare money. So strongly is it felt to be a mere useless cruelty to prosecute people in such circumstances that the County Council does

¹¹ *L.C.C. Report of the Medical Officer (Education)*, 1904, p. 16.

nothing. Children in this condition, in most parts of London, attend school, a misery to themselves and a danger to others. Here and there, it is true, suitable public stoves are provided for this purpose. Two Borough Councils, those of St. Pancras and Marylebone, have made thoroughly good separate provision for children. Some of the remaining boroughs have made none; and the rest are in some cases willing to take children, but only at the houses used for cleaning verminous adults. Sometimes the place is the casual ward, sometimes the shelter for persons turned out of their houses for cleaning purposes. In all cases the stations used for adults are frequented by the most undesirable persons in London. It is impossible for an education authority to take the responsibility of compelling children to attend such places. In consequence, here too it does not appear, under present circumstances, as if much more could be done merely by inspection.

Such, then, has been the general result in London of the inspection of school-children. That result has been to show that inspection is useful, but useful in an exceedingly limited sphere, and somewhat to dash the hopes of those who, like the members of the Inter-Departmental Committee, expected that inspection was the key to all difficulties. It seems, therefore, unfortunate that the Board of Education should choose precisely this time to make an elaborate and expensive system of inspection compulsory.

Parliament has placed the duty of caring for the health of the children upon the local education authority, and the consequent expenses on the education rate. Doubtless there is hardly any manner in which public money can be more profitably expended; but the importance of the subject increases the danger of wasteful and inconsiderate action. Education is costly; the education rate evokes no conspicuous enthusiasm among the ratepayers; and to make the Act unpopular with the local authorities would be nothing short of national misfortune. At present there is much goodwill and a general interest in the subject. This is shown by the experiments which have been made, sometimes by private charity and sometimes from public funds. At Cambridge, for instance, a 'dental school clinic' has been established; and at Bradford a similar institution for eye and skin diseases. The Cambridge institution is supported by private charity; the Bradford institution from the rates. Both are free, a thing which at first sight appears hardly necessary or desirable. Such attempts, however, indicate a great and growing interest in matters relating to the health of school-children. Nothing could be more likely to damp that interest, and even to convert it into hostility, than the introduction of a compulsory and costly scheme of doubtful practical benefit. In their different memoranda, and particularly in their latest circular, the Board show their knowledge of the need for

new experiments and a real desire to foster them. It is not likely, however, that the advice of the Board will bear fruit, or that any large use will be made of the optional parts of the Act if the Board insist on so rigid an interpretation of the compulsory part. A reasonable liberty, advice and encouragement rather than compulsion, is what the local authorities need from the Board.

A. SUSAN LAWRENCE.

REVOCATION OF TREATY PRIVILEGES TO ALIEN-SUBJECTS

INTERNATIONAL Treaties, or Conventions, may be divided into two classes. One class may prescribe and define the sovereign international relations, rights, duties, privileges, and responsibilities of the respective Treaty nations, such as relate to peace and war, contraband of war, neutrality, alliances, guarantees, or to the territorial possessions, or boundaries, of their respective nations; or such other questions of *la haute politique extérieure*, as may affect their sovereign relations, *inter se*, as members of the society of nations.

Another class of Treaties may concede the allowance, and prescribe the conditions, of subordinate, or 'alien-subject,' privileges, or commercial concessions, under which the alien-subjects of another nation are privileged to share with the home-subjects of the conceding nation in certain of their natural rights respecting the trade and commerce, coast-fisheries, territorial admission, transit of persons or goods, residence, or user of territorial easements to all, or to designated classes, of the subjects, or citizens, of other nations. This class of alien-subject, or commercial, concessions comes within the doctrine of International Law that: 'A State may *voluntarily* subject itself to obligations to another State, both with respect to persons and things, which would not *naturally* be binding upon her. These are *servitutes juris gentium voluntariæ*.'¹ Other classifications of Treaties have been made by various authorities on International Law, which divide them into more classes than those suggested above.²

The generally assumed doctrine of International Law on the question of the prerogative power of a nation to abrogate, or vary, Treaties has been thus stated: 'Private contracts may be set aside on the ground of what is technically called in English law the want of consideration, and the inference arising from manifest injustice, and want of mutual advantage. But no inequality of advantage, and no *lésion*, can invalidate a Treaty.'³ Further, as Vattel says: 'An

¹ Phillimore's *International Law* (8th Ed.), v. 1, p. 391.

² Hall's *International Law* (6th Ed.), p. 360.

³ Phillimore's *International Law* (8th Ed.), v. 2, p. 76.

injury cannot render a Treaty invalid. If we might recede from a Treaty because we found ourselves injured, there would be no stability in the contracts of nations.' ⁴ But without impeaching this assumed doctrine as applicable to Treaties which deal with the higher international rights and responsibilities of nations, as sovereignties, it will be found that it has not been universally accepted by other authorities on International Law as applicable to gratuitous or reciprocal privileges conceded to the subjects or citizens of foreign nations; nor by some nations even in the higher relations of sovereignties *inter se*; as when Russia in 1871 sought to revoke the provision in the Treaty of 1856, which 'in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war' the Black Sea and its coasts. The protocol of the signatory Powers to the original Treaty declared that 'it is an essential principle of the Law of Nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a Treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers, by means of an amicable arrangement.' ⁵ To apply such an absolute doctrine to Treaty concessions respecting trade and commerce, coast-fisheries, transit of persons or goods, or other municipal privileges in certain natural rights of the home-subjects of a nation to the alien-subjects of another nation would involve the unconditional surrender of an inherent and inalienable prerogative of sovereignty—in other words, a perpetual national servitude to the alien-subjects of another nation, which would be an international degradation of its *amour-propre* as a nation—not sovereign independence and international equality.

Of the nations which have not accepted the above in its entirety as a recognised doctrine of International Law the United States has been the most pronounced, for it has furnished the largest number of modern instances of the exercise of the prerogative powers of abrogation, or variation, of Treaties entered into by it with foreign nations. And respecting the second, or 'alien-subject,' or commercial class of Treaties, its Supreme Court has said: 'A Treaty may contain provisions which confer certain rights upon the citizens, or subjects, of one of the nations within the territorial limits of the other, which partake of the nature of local municipal law, and which are capable of enforcement as between private parties in the courts of the country. The Constitution of the United States places such provisions as these in the same category as other laws of Congress, and they may be repealed, or modified, by an Act of a later date,' ⁶ without the assent of the foreign nation with which the Treaty has been made.

By the Constitution of the United States, its legislative powers are vested in two departments of the Supreme Government: (a) by Article I., which provides that 'all legislative powers herein granted

⁴ Vattel's *Law of Nations*, p. 194.

⁵ Wheaton's *International Law* (1878), p. 712.

⁶ *Head, Money Cases* (1884), 112 U.S. 580.

shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives'; and (b) by Article II., which provides that 'the President shall have power, by and with the consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided that two-thirds of the Senators present concur.'

Then Article VI. declares that three instruments, viz. :

(a) This Constitution and (b) the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and (c) all Treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges of every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

These articles of the Constitution received an early interpretation by Chief Justice Marshall in their Supreme Court: 'Where a Treaty is the law of the land, and as such affects the rights of parties litigating in Court, that Treaty as much binds those rights, and is as much to be regarded by the Court, as an Act of Congress.'⁷ And the repealing effect of a Treaty over the previous legislative acts of State Legislatures had been earlier declared by the same Supreme Court that 'a Treaty, as the supreme law, overrules all State laws on the same subject, to all intents and purposes.'⁸

It may be conceded generally that whenever, under a constitutional government, a Treaty becomes operative by itself, its confirmation by a legislative act is not necessary. But where it imports a contract, or where money is required to be appropriated, or territory to be ceded, in each of such cases a legislative act becomes necessary before the Treaty can be given the force of law; for the public revenue cannot be appropriated, nor national territory be ceded (except as a result of war) by the Treaty-making power of a Government.⁹

The Congressional power of abrogation was first exercised by the United States in 1798, by 'An Act to declare the Treaties heretofore concluded with France no longer obligatory on the United States.' After a preamble reciting, among other grounds, that the Treaties with France had been 'repeatedly violated on behalf of the French Government,' it enacted 'that the same shall not henceforth be regarded as legally obligatory on the Government or citizens of the United States.'¹⁰

The alleged cause was a decree, or legislative act, of the French Directory of 1796 which declared that 'every vessel found at sea, loaded in whole or in part with merchandise the production of England, or of her dependencies, shall be declared good prize, whoever the owner of the goods or merchandise may be,' thereby abrogating the

⁷ *United States v. Schooner Peggy* (1801), 1 Cranch (U.S.), 108.

⁸ *Ware v. Hylton* (1796), 3 Dallas (U.S.), 199; *Moore's Digest of International Law*, v. 5, ss. 777 and 778.

⁹ *American and English Encyclopedia of Law* (2nd Ed.), v. 28, p. 490; *Damodhar Gordhan v. Deoram Kanji* (1876), 1, Appeal Cases, 382.

¹⁰ *Statutes at Large* (U.S.), v. 1, p. 578, s. 67.

Treaty of 1778, which provided that 'free ships shall give freedom to goods on board of the ships of the subjects of either nation, contraband goods excepted.' ¹¹

A case with Russia affecting this subordinate class of trade and commerce, under a Treaty of 1832, which provided that no higher duty than 25 dollars per ton should be chargeable on Russian hemp, raised the same question. By a subsequent Act of Congress the duty was raised to 40 dollars per ton. An action was brought in a United States Court for a refund of the extra duty; but the Court said: 'To refuse to execute a Treaty for reasons which approve themselves to the conscientious judgment of a nation is a matter of the utmost gravity and delicacy, but the power to do so is prerogative, of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting its independence.' ¹² In a later case, involving the same question, the Court said: 'Congress may render a Treaty inoperative by legislation in contradiction of its terms without formal allusion at all to the Treaty; thus modifying the law of the land without denying the existence of the Treaty or the obligations thereof between the two Governments as a contract.' ¹³

This latter mode has been applied to Canada on more than one occasion by the United States. Shortly after Jay's Treaty of 1794 the Executive of the United States nullified the 3rd Article of that Treaty, which provided that 'it shall at all times be free to the subjects and citizens of both nations freely to pass and repass, by land or internal navigation, into the respective territories of the two nations, and freely to carry on trade with each other.' It further provided that all goods and merchandise (not prohibited by law) should 'freely, for the purposes of commerce, be carried into the United States by His Majesty's subjects; and such goods or merchandise shall be subject to no higher duties than those payable by the citizens of the United States on importations of the same on American vessels into the Atlantic ports of the said States.' The duty payable on such importations at the Atlantic ports was 16½ per cent., but the United States enforced the payment by Canadians of a duty of 22 per cent. at the inland ports along the Canadian boundary line; and also a fee of 6 dollars for a licence to trade with the Indians, not chargeable against American traders; ¹⁴ and so turned into diplomatic irony the closing words of the Article:

As this Article is intended to render in a great degree the local advantage of each party common to both, and thereby to promote a disposition favourable to friendship, and good neighbourhood, it is agreed that the respective Governments will mutually promote this amicable intercourse, by causing speedy and

¹¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, v. 2, pp. 189-189.

¹² *Taylor v. Morton*, 2 Curtis (U.S.), 454.

¹³ *Hopes v. Clinch* (1871), 8 Blackford (U.S.), 801.

¹⁴ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, v. 2, p. 182.

impartial justice to be done, and necessary protection to be extended to all concerned therein.¹⁵

A similar policy was adopted in 1875 by Congress imposing a customs duty on the tin cans in which Canadian fish oil and fish were entitled by Article 21 of the Treaty of Washington of 1871 to be imported into the United States 'free of duty.' The Act of Congress enacted: 'That cans or packages made of tin or other material, containing fish of any kind admitted free of duty under any law or Treaty,'¹⁶ should be subject to a specific duty, though the tin cans when opened were necessarily destroyed, as unsaleable and useless. The effect of this legislation was declared by the British Minister to 'prohibit entirely the importation of fish from Canada into the United States and to render the stipulation of the Treaty illusory.'¹⁷ Canada passed no retaliatory duty on American tin cans containing fish coming into Canada under the same Article.

The diplomatic relations between the United States and China furnish several illustrations of the congressional revocation of Treaties affecting subordinate international privileges, or concessions, to the subjects of that Empire.

By what is known as the Burlinghame Treaty with China of 1868 it was provided that citizens of the United States visiting, or residing, in China, and Chinese subjects visiting, or residing, in the United States, should reciprocally enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as might then be enjoyed 'by the citizens or subjects of the most favoured nation'; and that they should also reciprocally enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the public educational institutions under the control of either nation 'as were enjoyed in the respective countries by the citizens or subjects of the most favoured nation.'

The first Congressional variation of the provisions of this Treaty was made in 1875, by which contracts of service with Chinese subjects were declared void within the United States.¹⁸

In 1880, another Treaty with China provided that the Government of the United States might regulate, limit, or suspend the coming, or residence, of Chinese labourers in the United States, 'but may not absolutely prohibit it.'¹⁹

Notwithstanding the Treaty concession of such reciprocal residential, trade, and educational privileges 'as were accorded to the citizens, or subjects, of the most favoured nations,' Congress passed an Exclusion Act in 1888, depriving Chinese subjects of several Treaty privileges.²⁰ On appeal, the Supreme Court held that 'the Exclusion

¹⁵ *Treaties and Conventions between the United States and Other Powers*, p. 319.

¹⁶ *Statutes at Large* (U.S.), v. 18, p. 308, c. 38.

¹⁷ *Canada Sessional Papers* (1877), v. 10, No. 14, p. 6.

¹⁸ *Statutes at Large* (U.S.), v. 18, p. 477, c. 141.

¹⁹ *Compilation of Treaties in Force* (U.S.), 1899, p. 113.

²⁰ *Statutes at Large* (U.S.), v. 25, pp. 479 and 504, cc. 1015 and 1064.

Act of 1868 was in contravention of the express stipulations of the Treaty of 1868 and of the Supplementary Treaty of 1880'; and that it was 'a constitutional abrogation of the existing Treaties with China'; adding:

The power of the exclusion of foreigners, being an incident of sovereignty belonging to the Government as part of the sovereign powers delegated by the Constitution, the right to its exercise at any time, when, in the judgment of the Government, the interests of the country require it, cannot be granted away, or restrained, on behalf of any one. The inherent powers of Government are delegated in trust and are incapable of transfer to other parties. Nor can their exercise be hampered when needed for the public good. The exercise of these public trusts is not the subject of barter or contract. Whatever license Chinese labourers may have obtained is held at the will of the Government, revocable at any time at its pleasure. Unexpected events may call for a change in the policy of the country. . . . The rights and interests created by a Treaty which have become so vested that its expiration, or abrogation, will not destroy or impair them, are such as are connected with and lie in property, capable of sale and transfer, or other disposition; not such as are personal and intransferable in their character. But far different is the case where a continued suspension of the exercise of a prerogative power is insisted upon as a right because by the favour and consent of the Government of the nation it has not heretofore been exercised. . . . Between property rights not affected by the termination, or abrogation, of a Treaty, and expectations of personal benefits from the continuance of existing Treaty legislation, there is as wide a difference as between realisation and hopes.²¹

And the Supreme Court also held that the sovereign and legislative powers of the Government to exclude aliens from the territory of the United States, who claimed the Treaty privilege of entering its territory, were incident to the inherent prerogatives and sovereignty of the nation, which could not be surrendered to the subjects of foreign nations by the Treaty-making power of that Government; and that such Treaty privilege of entering the territory of the United States was revocable at any time whenever the sovereign interests of the Government demanded it, and the natural rights of its citizens were injuriously affected. This inherent prerogative of sovereignty to exclude aliens from British territory, and to prescribe what conditions it pleases to the permission to enter and reside in it, has been approved by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and is therefore equally the law of the British Empire.²² And the doctrine of International Law concurs that: 'no stranger is entitled to enter the boundaries of a State without its permission, much less to interfere with its full exercise of supreme dominion.'²³

The Supreme Court's decision as to 'intransferable privileges' harmonises with the Roman Law which declares: *Servitutes personales* include *usufructus* and are enjoyable by sufferance or forbearance and subject to *jus domini*. The *usufructuarius* cannot alter

²¹ *Chinese Exclusion Case* (1889), 130 U.S. 581.

²² *In re Adam* (1887), 1 Moore, P.C. 460; *Attorney-General of Canada v. Cain* (1906), App. Cases 542.

²³ *Phillimore's International Law* (3rd Ed.), v. 1, p. 221.

the form or grant of the thing which the *dominus utilis* can. The first cannot grant away his right, the latter can. Such rights as these are for mutual accommodation, and are consequently of a private nature; but they will not be valid where they perniciously affect the public good.²⁴

The fishing privileges conceded to the trade class of 'American fishermen' by the Treaty of 1818 are within this rule as being intransferable to other trade classes in the United States.

These decisions of the Supreme Court have now become incorporated into the International Law of the United States; and have attained the authority of precedents controlling the Treaty-making power of that Government respecting the class of Treaties conceding 'alien-subject' or commercial privileges in what are defined as 'the natural rights of home-subjects'; and must therefore be accepted as exceptions to the generally assumed doctrine of International Law, quoted in the beginning of this article; and as establishing a distinction in the applicability of that assumed doctrine between Treaties respecting the higher international rights and relations which affect nations, as sovereignties *inter se*, and Treaties which concede 'alien-subject' or commercial privileges in the natural rights of the home-subjects of the conceding nation. For a consistent succession of precedents have an authentic force in International Law, and are also invaluable in diplomacy. And if accepted as authoritative precedents by other nations, as governing their Treaty-making powers with the United States, their international force cannot fairly be repudiated by its Government, as not being equally within the inherent prerogative powers of such other nations, nor questioned on the ground that such nations are not entitled to recognise and apply them as reciprocal and authoritative precedents in their international relations with the United States.

The *ratio suavioria* of these precedents seems to lead to this conclusion: The prerogatives of sovereignty are regal trusts vested in the sovereign as the executive authority of the nation, for the protection of the natural rights and property of his subjects, and for the promotion of their welfare and good government; and in the execution of the regal trust of the maintenance of the territorial inviolability and sovereignty of the nation, it is not, unlimitedly, within the Treaty-making power of such executive authority, as the temporary trustee of the national sovereignty, to concede to a foreign nation for the benefit of the commerce or personal privileges of its citizens, either for a limited time, or in perpetuity, or 'in common,' any title, or interest, or privilege, in the natural rights or property to which his home-subjects are entitled. But wherever such executive authority concedes gratuitously, or reciprocally, either by Treaty, or by what is known as

²⁴ Colquhoun's *Roman Civil Law*, v. 2, pp. 17 and 98.

Comity," any such title, or interest, or privilege in the natural rights or property of the home-subjects to citizens of a foreign nation, such concessions are always subject to the inherent prerogative right of revocation at any time, whenever the natural rights, property, or welfare of the home-subjects, or the interests of state policy, or the maintenance of the territorial inviolability and sovereignty of the ceding nation, require such revocation.

And sustaining this reasoning and also the natural rights of subjects in the public property of the nation—of which its coast-fisheries form a part—Vattel is equally explicit :

It is but just to say that the nation ought carefully to preserve her public property and not to dispose of it without good reason, nor to alienate, or charge it but only for a manifest public advantage, or in case of a pressing necessity. The public property is extremely useful, and even necessary for the nation ; and she cannot squander it improperly without injuring herself, and shamefully neglecting the duty of self-preservation. As to the property common to all the citizens, the nation does an injury to those who derive advantage from it, if she alienates it without necessity, or without cogent reasons. . . . The prince, or the superior of the nation, being naturally no more than the administrator, and not the proprietor, of the State, his authority as sovereign, or head of the nation, does not of itself give him a right to alienate, or charge, the public property. If he exceeds his powers with respect to this property, the alienation he makes of it will be invalid ; and may at any time be revoked by the nation."⁶

Respecting Treaties which concede voluntary, or unequal, *servitudes*, without reciprocal privileges or concessions, Hautefeuille sustains the exception to the generally assumed doctrine of International Law quoted above, and says :

Treaties are in general obligatory on the nations which have consented to them ; however they have not this quality in an absolute manner (*cependant ils n'ont pas cette qualité d'une manière absolue*). The unequal Treaty, or even the equal, conceding the gratuitous cession, or surrender, of an essential natural right—that is to say, that without which a nation cannot be considered as existing still as a nation . . . (these Treaties) are not binding (*ne sont pas obligatoires*). They exist as long as the two nations persist in desiring their existence. But each of the two has always the right to discontinue (*le droit de les rompre*) that which affects the cession of an important natural right by anticipating the other party in denouncing the Treaty. The reason of the invalidity of transactions of this nature is that these natural rights of this quality are *inalienable*, and to make use of an expression of the civil law, they are 'out of commerce' ('*hors le commerce*'). It is so of Conventions . . . in which essential natural rights are affected, which operate only on the private, and secondary, interests of the people. But even if they have been declared perpetual, they have no existence but by the continuation of the two wills which have created them. The stipulation of perpetuity has no other effect than to avoid the necessity of renewing the Convention."⁷

⁶ 'Comity extended to other nations is no impeachment of sovereignty. It is the voluntary act of a nation by which it is offered ; and it is inadmissible when contrary to its policy, or prejudicial to its interests': *Bank of Augusta v. Earle* (1839), 18 Peters (U.S.), p. 589.

⁷ Vattel's *Law of Nations*, pp. 118-7.

⁸ Hautefeuille's *Des Droits et des Devoirs des Nations Neutres* (2nd Ed.), v. 1. p. xiii. Hautefeuille is the author of the ablest treatises on the science of

Other authorities hold similar views. Heffter says that a State may repudiate a Treaty when it conflicts with 'the rights and welfare of its people.' Bluntschli says that while a State may be required to perform the onerous engagements it has contracted, it may not be asked to sacrifice, in the execution of Treaties, that which is essential to its potentiality, or the development of its resources; or to perform acts which have become greatly modified by time, and of which the execution has become incompatible with present affairs; and it may consider such Treaties null.²⁸ Fiore says that 'Treaties are to be looked upon as null which are in any way opposed to the development of the free activity of a nation, or which hinder the exercise of its natural rights.' But these views are not entirely concurred with by some English writers. One writer, however, who does not concur, admits that 'internationally, as no superior coercive power exists, and as enforcement is not always convenient, or practical, to the injured party, the individual State must be allowed in all cases to enforce, or annul, for itself as it may choose.'²⁹

It was well said by Chief Justice Jay of the Supreme Court of the United States that 'the contracts of sovereigns are made for the benefit of all their own subjects, and therefore every sovereign is interested in every act which necessarily limits, impairs, or destroys, that benefit. Whatever injuries result to his subjects run back from them to their sovereign.' And he further said that 'a voluntary validity of a Treaty is that validity which a Treaty that has become voidable by reason of violations, afterwards continues to retain, by the silent volition and acquiescence of the nations.'³⁰

Of the many Treaties between Great Britain and foreign nations few appear to have caused so much international friction as those which affect the international relations between Canada and Newfoundland and the United States, especially the concession of the commercial and personal privileges set out in the Fishery Article of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1818, by which Great Britain generously conceded to the 'inhabitants of the United States' who follow the trade of 'American fishermen' to have, for ever, in common with the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, the 'liberty to take fish of every kind' in the coast-waters along the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and from Mount Joli to Blanc Sablon, on the Quebec-Labrador coast of Canada; and from the Rameau islands to Cape Ray and round to the Quirpon islands on the southern, western, and northern coasts of Newfoundland; and from Blanc Sablon in Labrador, along its southern and eastern coasts to and through the Straits of Belle Isle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the Labrador coasts of

International Law that have appeared in France': *Wharton on International Law*, by Lawrence, p. 21 a.

²⁸ Bluntschli's *Droit International Codifié* (5me Ed.), pp. 244 and 263.

²⁹ Hall's *International Law* (5th Ed.), pp. 353 and 356.

³⁰ Jones v. Walker, 2 Paine (U.S.), 638.

Newfoundland; with the liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks (from the Rameau islands to Cape Ray) on the southern coast of Newfoundland; and the further liberty to enter all bays or harbours, for shelter, or repairing damages, or procuring wood and water.³¹ According to Hautefeuille the stipulation 'for ever' has no other effect than to avoid the necessity of renewals, and is not binding in this class of Treaties.

But in any event this 'liberty to take fish' in common with British subjects cannot permit the assertion of any jarring claim of an independent immunity from British laws, nor of any right which could prejudice or limit the earlier, and pre-Treaty, natural rights of such British subjects to fish in their own coast-waters, as regulated by British and Colonial fishery laws.

During the negotiations for the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, the British plenipotentiaries informed the American Commissioners that 'the privileges formerly granted to the United States of fishing within the limits of British coast-waters, and of landing and drying fish on British coasts, would not be renewed gratuitously or without an equivalent.'³² But in 1818 the British Government reversed this policy by stating: 'In estimating the value of the proposal' (to take fish of every kind in the coast-waters of Canada and Newfoundland) 'the American Government will not fail to recollect that it is offered without any equivalent' of either a financial consideration or the reciprocal privilege of fishing within the United States coast-waters;³³ thereby bringing this gratuitous concession of a Colonial natural right within Hautefeuille's class of 'unequal Treaties,' which he declares 'are not binding,' and which Bluntschli and Fiore class as 'null.'

Furthermore, this gratuitous concession has long been an 'entangling alliance,' which has been productive of much international friction with the United States, chiefly caused by the assertion by its Government of untenable claims to certain territorial rights within the Colonial coast-waters, and of the immunity of American fishermen from the British and Colonial municipal laws which are binding on the subjects of the Crown in both Canada and Newfoundland; and also of some grave instances of the misuse by American fishermen of these gratuitous fishery privileges within the Colonial coast-waters.

The coast mileage of the Treaty concession of these fishery privileges gratuitously granted to American fishermen extends along about 2520 miles of the teeming fish-wealth of the coast-waters of Canada and Newfoundland; and now that questions affecting these fishery privileges are about to be submitted to the Hague Tribunal, it is hoped by the Colonial subjects of the Crown who are to be affected by its decision, that Great Britain will raise for discussion, or adjudica-

³¹ *Treaties and Conventions between the United States and Other Powers*, p. 350.

³² *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, v. 3, pp. 705 and 709.

³³ *ibid.* v. 3, p. 705.

tion, the claim of an inherent prerogative revocation-power, similar to that exercised by the United States, as illustrated by the precedents cited in this article, so as to enable her to relieve her Colonies from any future misuse of these gratuitous fishery privileges, and from repetitions of the aggressive claims which have caused so much international friction between herself and her Colonies and the United States in past years. For it should be nationally and seriously realised by Great Britain that the fish-wealth of these Colonial coast-waters is the natural property of the Colonial subjects of the Crown, as part of their food supply, and also as being valuable to them as one of their commercial assets for Colonial revenue and trade purposes.

The earlier misuse of these fishery privileges by American fishermen was thus summarised by Lord Bathurst in 1816: 'It was not of fair competition that his Majesty's Government have reason to complain, but of the pre-occupation of British harbours by the fishery vessels of the United States, and the forcible expulsion of British vessels from places where their fisheries might be advantageously conducted.'¹ And later Lord Salisbury, in forwarding a report of the naval officer at Newfoundland in 1878 to the United States Government, said :

The report appears to demonstrate conclusively that the United States fishermen committed three distinct breaches of the law ; and that in the case of a vessel whose master refused to desist from fishing on Sunday, in violation of the law of the Colony, threatened the Newfoundland fishermen with a revolver.

The breaches of the law were (1) fishing with seines ; (2) fishing during the close season ; and (3) fishing on Sunday.

The naval officer further reported that the American fishermen were interfering with the rights of British fishermen, and their peaceful use of the coast occupied by them, and of their huts, gardens, and lands granted by their Government."²

The reply of the United States to this was the assertion of the immunity of American fishermen from British laws, which was thus met by Lord Salisbury :

I hardly believe that Mr. Evarts would in discussion adhere to the broad doctrine which some portion of his language would appear to convey, that no British authority has a right to pass any kind of laws binding on Americans who are fishing in British waters ; for if that contention be just, the Treaty waters must be delivered over to anarchy."³

The same immunity from British laws has again been asserted by Mr. Secretary Root in 1906 :

Great Britain has asserted a claim of right to regulate the action of American fishermen in the Treaty waters, upon the ground that these waters are within its territorial jurisdiction. This Government is constrained to repeat emphatically its dissent from any such view. An appeal to the general jurisdiction of Great Britain over the territory is, therefore, a complete begging the question."

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, v. 4, p. 256.

² *Foreign Relations (U.S.)*, 1878-9, pp. 224-5.

³ *Ibid.* p. 222.

⁴ *Correspondence respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries* (1906), p. 12.

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³¹ *Treaties and Conventions between the United States and Other Powers*, p. 550.

³² *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, v. 8, pp. 705 and 708.

³³ *Ibid.* v. 4, p. 385.

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³¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, v. 4, p. 356.

³² *Foreign Relations (U.S.)*, 1878-9, pp. 324-5.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 323.

³⁴ *Correspondence respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries* (1906), p. 13.

The chronic misuse of the Treaty privileges of fishing and this frequent repudiation of British laws violate a doctrine of International Law long recognised and enforced by the United States: 'Aliens while within our jurisdiction and enjoying the protection of our laws are bound to obedience to them, and to avoid disturbances of our peace within, or acts which would compromise it without, equally as citizens are.'²⁸

And the British doctrine concurs: 'Every individual, on entering a foreign country, binds himself, by a tacit contract, to obey the laws enacted in it for the maintenance of the good order and tranquillity of the realm.'²⁹

The doctrines of *jus inter gentes* as to national territorial inviolability and sovereignty which govern the decision of this question, the experience of chronic misuse, and of international friction and inconvenience, the repudiation of British laws thereby 'delivering the Treaty waters over to anarchy,' the natural rights of her Colonial subjects in their public property, and the consequent necessity for their relief under the supporting authority of the precedents given above, should guide Great Britain in presenting their case before the Hague Tribunal.

THOMAS HODGINS.

²⁸ Moore's *Digest of International Law*, v. 4, p. 10.

²⁹ Phillimore's *International Law* (8th Ed.), v. 1, p. 454.

THE POET IN 'HIGH ALPS'

Grenoble

THE towns of France are generally led up to, with sufficient dignity, along broad roads, by avenues of trees. It is the distinction of Grenoble that it is led up to by avenues of mountains. North and south of the not too vast but ample city whose broad and quiet, half-deserted quays flank the Isère—whose bridges cross its waters to the old-world suburb that lies under the first of the hills—there stretch, not roads of approach, but straight, wide valleys, green and rich, and civilised and Southern, and by either side of them a succession of mountains, symmetrical and similar, stand like sentinels posted along the stately way.

What city, I wonder, could be entirely worthy of such magnificence of approach? Would Rome be? Or Paris? Would either seem to us as quite the gem-stone for so superb a setting? There must be proportion and appropriateness. But somehow Grenoble, surrounded by a Nature splendid, august, has yet no air of being dwarfed or minimised. The great land that enfolds it—that has the dignity of Poussin's world, and Puvis de Chavannes's—suits somehow the grey, widespread town with squares and towers, and with its broad stream sweeping on to so remote a sea.

The River

The river—any river—is almost a personality. The Isère, here at Grenoble, is like some new acquaintance with a Past we wot not of—a Future that we cannot discern. We know the river's life no more than our last friend's—all that has brought it to the particular point at which we meet it and see its current rushing by the green fields, or the vineyards, or the quays, busy or silent, on which we chance to stand. And our impression of it—like our impression of a person—is formed less by itself than by whatever is about it—by the particular *décor* that gives to it its ugliness or charm. Then, again, it is itself changed, or it seems so, by each town, each countryside, it flows through. Indolent there and ineffectual, here it is given vivacity, impulse, and strength. And, again like the person—or like

the person's inmost soul—it is in essentials the same, whatever phase or facet the circumstances lead it to present. Like the inmost soul, it is alone, itself, even when it seems most pressed upon by neighbouring things. The things that crowd about it now have still no part in it. It came from heights and under skies foreign to them, and passes on to lands that they have no relation with, and shores they never touch.

Hauts Alpes

Words—English words especially, which lack the quality of colour—cannot paint mountains that have eluded Turner's Art. Turner, indeed, succeeded better with mountains than did most men; yet he succeeded only partially, and then when least elaborate. He failed most when bent on chronicling them with intricacy and exactness—failed least in brilliant, summary suggestions of his latest years—those 1845 sketches—the visions which went begging, Ruskin relates, after the veteran's last journey.

Since then, what English painter—and I know of no French one—what painter has dealt adequately with baffling giants that from immense bases lift themselves stage by stage to the translucent skies? I think pleasantly—yes, even gratefully—of William Stott of Oldham, who was poetic sometimes. The modern connoisseur admits, of course, Brabazon, who is poetic always; and, now that Watts's Landscape has come to be known, Watts, with whom dignity was a natural possession. Each of these painters saw the beauty, the ethereal charm, and touched the theme delicately. Each has given worthy hints. But how much lies altogether outside of and beyond their fine suggestions of the scale and majesty and strength of the hills!

The Magic South

The Genevese Töppfer, straying beyond Switzerland, to what was after all a neighbouring land to him—the Duchy of Savoy—was artist and observer sufficiently to recognise that in that land was charm unknown to his own—he saw a world that had 'Swiss mountains and an Italian sky,' he said.

But why great mountains should be always 'Swiss,' and soft and noble skies always 'Italian,' Töppfer did not explain—he chose his words, made his comparisons, with the small knowledge of his day. Seeing Savoy, he did not really see in it either Italy or Switzerland, or quite the blend he fancied of the two. Still less would he have seen either of these, or their best characteristics mixed, had he gone one step further, and passed from Annecy or Aix into Dauphiné. What he had really was a foretaste of the magic South; and in Dauphiné that foretaste is larger and more marked.

So much for Töppfer! One puts it that way perhaps, if one considers, reasons, analyses. About it one feels differently.

What I see in Savoy, as 'through a glass,' a little 'darkly,' and in Dauphiné with more divine distinctness, is just the least familiar side of the great face of France, turned gravely and benignantly towards her lover.

Partial Eclipse

A Paris newspaper, the *Débats* or the *Matin*, reaching these recesses of the hills, informed us that an eclipse of the Sun was happening to-day: total near Barcelona, and very visible in many regions—even here. Particularly here, as far as its effects are concerned, as I should judge, having now experienced it: our little village of La Grave agog about it, all the heart of the afternoon: the smoked glasses of every school-child of the place reminding me how far had penetrated Science and curiosity; and a commotion, as it were, of Nature—a sensation, to say the least—having brought together, in affable accord, persons not previously accustomed to acknowledge each other: the race-glass of a German tourist, on whom I had not looked with favour, having been offered to me with civility, not to say with effusion. Thus is Mankind made one.

Extraordinary were the physical 'effects'—extraordinary, without a shade or a suggestion of darkness. The world was suddenly livid. Violet hues, unearthly, weird—the presage, one might well have thought, of some great change undreamt of, that knew no precedent and had no certain end—passed into the Landscape. And not that alone. A something in the very blood, I felt, excited all one's being. I was elated: I must mount the hillside: I must walk with vigour.

What was it really happened? The weird light did not account for one's sensations. It was a change of temperature so rapid that it came like a shock—or a fillip. I had scarcely guessed at it. But my German tourist, learned, observant, assured me that here at La Grave in ten minutes the thermometer fell seven degrees—much more upon the actual mountain. And the landlord, standing by, bade me notice that on the other side of the valley, under the crests of the Meige, the long cascade that is in truth a slow and constant melting of the ice and snows had ceased to be—the snows congealed; the glacier silent, immovable, its coldness reaching us like a grip. That was the explanation of one's feeling. For the nonce, one was in different latitudes—or upon different summits.

That is now over. All is now as it was—again—the grip relaxed: the world released: one's pulses quieted: and the familiar sunshine of late Summer days flooding, as yesterday, these hills of France.

Monsieur Roblat

There have been placed by me at table—for what reason I am unaware—at what was my own table more or less—three people whom I like; and so I have not bargained for their removal; nay, quite alone for several days, I am thankful for their presence. One of them chiefly interests me—Monsieur Roblat. The others—Madame de Sabré, Madame de Vigne, both of them young—are decorative background to Monsieur Roblat's sad and noble gravity. They are his friends: nothing more than his friends—but of a different world; and it might perhaps be the subject of a subtle inquiry, 'What brings them together?' The curiosity of the hotel is very likely roused at this moment on the theme. What brings them together is more than I can say. A common association with some fourth person, probably—who may be a figure, even a dominating figure, in Monsieur Roblat's Past. I drop that part of the matter.

But Monsieur Roblat himself? Although he listens with amiability and acquiescence to the views and the opinions they propound, you feel his real mind is not at all with his attractive friends. This poor, kind, noble Jewish gentleman is silent while they prattle—is tragic in the midst of their lightness. He comes to me, I confess—here within the field of my just momentary vision—a figure still shadowy, out of the dark. Curiously considerate—aiming always at doing people kindnesses—thoughtful for young and old, for bourgeois and peasant quite as much as for our rare great lady—I know it in a dozen ways already—his face, in quietude, looks ineradicably sorrowful. This hotel life and his attractive friends, the excursions he takes with them—for he has been a climber in his time, and knows this land and can be useful to them now—all that is but a passing show to him. Such things move on the mere surface of his life to-day.

I am not sure, however, that he is not visiting this land because of deeper memories of it, and more poignant hours. Or is he here that the remembrance of poignant hours, passed in far other scenes, may gradually be deadened? And will they be? I know nothing.

Only I know that learned, interesting, highly informed, sagacious as he is, the most profound impression on Monsieur Roblat's mind, at present, is that of his own suffering. And not bereavement only—disillusionment. In the French phrase, which so imaginatively hints at that which is too much to define, '*il est revenu de bien des choses*'—'come back from many things'—and what things who shall say? I know only, they are things that have bowed down his soul.

Napoleon

In the scraps of distantly gathered conversation in which Monsieur Roblat, Madame de Sabré and Madame de Vigne take part, Napoleon's name is often uttered. Frequent and deep appears their interest in

that historic figure. But now I have discovered that the personage the ladies are appraising with brightened eyes is not the Napoleon of History, but a Napoleon of the hills. Of all French guides the most intrepid and most certain, Napoleon has gently piloted these ladies among the shoals and quicksands of the mountains. And then, upon the morrow of some conspicuous triumph, he will walk slowly up from the village to the forecourt of the Hôtel, and while these ladies stand flatteringly about him—as women will, attendant on an oracle—Napoleon slowly prophesies of weather, and advises programmes.

If their admiration had always been directed to as manly and as modest a figure! A little slow of speech, but with chosen words and clear-cut thought even—absolutely intelligent—Napoleon is in truth interesting company. This stalwart son of the High Alps, a mountaineer in Summer, is in Winter, Madame de Vigne tells me—well, not a Parisian, but an inhabitant of Paris. Some undefined department of the Leather trade—he is '*dans les cuirs*,' he says, whatever that may mean—knows him as an expert. And so in Winter months I shall now picture this bronzed figure of the mountains as he goes his slow and steady way amidst the alertness, the excitability, the pallor of Belleville.

Italian Youth

Everywhere in evidence in this Le Lautaret Hotel—about its rooms, its terraces at breakfast time, about its gardens—is an Italian youth who affects my nerves prejudicially. Twenty years old, possibly—well-dressed, well-groomed—he is presumably educated, but has nothing to do. The youth has ever the appearance of beginning; but he is never performing. His hat upon his head, his garments disposed as if for an excursion, nails driven into his boots probably—such is his prowess!—at all events bearing with him at every hour, ostentatiously, a walking-stick with pointed iron at the end for high ascents—my youth prowls round with eyes in search apparently of somebody who never comes, and in this state of expectation, and, as it were, only momentary abeyance, passes the day, except at meal-times, when he is seen in company of female relatives who, with him, in a tongue mellifluous but inexpressive, gabble incessantly of trivial things.

He represents, I fear, a type common enough in modern Italy, and straying here beyond its borders—the idler without opulence, but without obligation: Youth with no aim, no taste, no serious care, no impulse, no initiative—when urged at all, urged only from without—the prey of circumstance, the toy of chance, and the first-comer's puppet.

Those Young French Faces

Those young French faces, so intact physically—new and unblemished, gay and fresh and good—are most of all delightful by reason of the contrast their activity affords with the far deeper fascination of their times of passiveness and of quiescence—the times in which there moves on them no longer the slight life of the moment: the spell instead is their suggestion of so many Pasts—the Pasts of all their Race; careers and passions finished, and hopes dead—so that in their ‘eyes of youth,’ seemingly saddened, and in their expressive, flexible lips, there speaks the Romance of twenty generations of civilisation and of charm—of subtlety, of suffering, of disillusion, of a resigned tenderness. Those young French faces!

Hermance: Le Lautaret

Nothing sad, however, about Hermance; nothing grave even, except that she is sensible—her head ‘screwed on her shoulders’—but certainly no burden of inherited responsibility; only so much of youth and spirit and impeccable beauty—in a new world, it seems, a new creature.

And what is Hermance physically? To talk about her form and colour, her tallness, elasticity, her eyes, her shining, sparkling, energetic hair, would be still in great measure to rest on the outside of things; no one of these being the essential part of her, though they all count in her effect. Her voice, pitched pleasantly, and used so well, so ready and decisive in her perfect speech of France—to name that, to insist upon its cadences, the tone’s expression of the flexible soul, may be to bring you nearer to her.

Instantly merry, instantly indignant. *Un mot vil* for the thing of which she disapproves; and then it is all over. Instantly forgiving.

Caractère gai—she knows it, and she says so. And such a temperament of hopefulness and brilliant courage will be a strong defence against assaults of Time—against the troubles of all days.

Those who feel her personality are raised, when she is present, to a level not their own. To the dispirited some gladness and endurance then seems possible—in contact with a being who has so much of them. She is a tonic to the *santé morale*.

Affectionate, Hermance inspires affection; and volatile, she scatters pleasure. Yet shall I still be understood a little if I add this?—that her effect on you seems less the effect of a delightful girlhood than of a beneficent physical force. You think of Hermance, with her twenty years—well, as a woman certainly—but above all things as of some widespread natural power—as of a flash of morning light: as of the freshness of the travelling wind.

Good-bye, Dauphiné !

Descending to Bourg d'Oisans yesterday—to the great valley with the poplars—from the mountains by La Grave, I felt, while tasting the suave beauty of the newer landscape, a keener thirst for the hills. Upon the summits—amidst the bareness of Le Lautaret, in that exalted silence—I had longed for Briançon and its encircling chain, and just a touch of the Provence which is Romance to me—for it is nothing but Provence which lies below this last 'strong-place' in the mountains—and I had descended to Bourg d'Oisans, within reach of the railways and Paris.

But, once within sight of our more ordinary world, there came to me a yearning for one Good-bye to the mountains. I felt a call, a very summons, to the heights. And so I said to my *chauffeur*, this morning, that the *auto* must turn, and must retrace the road that it had followed yesterday—that great *route nationale* whose state and engineering assure me I am nowhere but in France.

And so to-day, in five hours' steady journeying, I have mounted the slopes and been again to the summits, and seen the greyness, and seen the vegetation—the black-green of the pines, the foliage of the larch, the sunny and gold-green meadows, the incomparable grace of the poplar on the lowlands, the hillsides now rich and radiant—a turn, and they are suddenly austere. And at Le Lautaret itself, I have beheld the bare, grey crags and scanty, precipitous pasturage, and have looked along the downward slopes towards lower mountains, behind which lurks Briançon and its promise of the South.

Thus have I had, of all Dauphiné, as it were, one last vision. And to Dauphiné a Good-bye. 'Again some day?' 'Again next year?' one asks one's self. What does the Future hold? Again never?

FREDERICK WEDMORE.

THE ROYAL OPEN-AIR STATUES OF LONDON

THE progress which is being made with the great memorial to Queen Victoria, opposite Buckingham Palace, will probably cause not a few people to turn their attention to the royal statues that are dotted about London, in more or less conspicuous places ; it may also, it is to be hoped, cause those responsible for the decoration of the metropolis to consider the advisability of filling up the numerous *lacunae* that exist ; for some of the most notable of those who have ruled over this country are still lacking what of immortality a statue can give. As a matter of fact the Sovereigns of England would appear to have had something less than justice done them in this respect, at least in the capital of the Empire ; for either are they without such memorials at all, or they have received statuary fame in a sadly belated manner ; while in most cases the statues that have been erected have been placed in such isolated positions that many of them are but little known even to those who are no strangers to the complexity of London. Indeed not a few people would find it difficult to satisfactorily answer a carefully formulated examination paper on the subject, or even to reply intelligently to the casual inquiry of a stranger to the metropolis. Where, for instance, does William the Third bestride his ambling charger ? How many statues are there of Queen Anne, and where do they stand ? Where are we to look for Richard the First, and Charles the Second, and George the First ?

Even those who have some hazy notions as to the positions occupied by the statues of these sovereigns would be hard put to it to name the date of their erection or the sculptors who executed them. And this is the more to be deplored inasmuch as a representative and complete series of royal statues would help to form a vivid commentary on the history of the country, and would present to us in plastic form the embodiments of what are often otherwise but dim and shadowy personalities.

From Charles the First to Victoria, the series of statues of British monarchs is a fairly complete one ; but before Stuart times only four sovereigns are represented : Richard the First, by Baron Marochetti's

equestrian figure in front of the House of Lords; Henry the Eighth at the main entrance to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, erected in 1702; Edward the Sixth¹ in the first court of St. Thomas's Hospital, the work of Scheemakers, and originally set up by Charles Joyce in 1737 in an earlier building of the hospital; and Queen Elizabeth over the side entrance of St. Dunstan's in the West, a statue which originally graced the west front of the old Ludgate, and one of the few relics which survived the Great Fire of London.

When Temple Bar was still an interesting though cumbersome memorial of past times, four more sovereigns stood in effigy upon it, notably James the First, Anne of Denmark, Charles the First, and Charles the Second, the work of an indifferent sculptor named Bushnell who, not inappropriately, died mad in 1701. The selection of Stuarts to decorate Temple Bar was due to the fact that they were placed there during the reign of Charles the Second in 1670; but notwithstanding this, the statue of Anne of Denmark was for long popularly supposed to represent the great Elizabeth; and on the anniversary of that Queen's accession a wreath of gilded laurel and a golden shield with the motto 'The Protestant Religion and Magna Charta' were affixed to the figure; while Roger North states that the Pope in effigy was solemnly burned beneath it, what time the assembled crowd was accustomed to shout lustily:

Your popish plot and Smithfield threat
We do not fear at all,
For lo! beneath Queen Bess's feet
You fall, you fall, you fall!
O Queen Bess! Queen Bess! Queen Bess!

although it was really the somewhat colourless consort of James the First who was standing proxy for the fair Virgin throned in the West!

One other great name must be mentioned as amongst the rulers of this country prior to the Stuarts who have received statuary immortality—that of Boadicea; and the fearless wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, still seems to defy the Roman legions, in Thornycroft's group which was placed in its present position, at the corner of Westminster Bridge, in 1898.

Probably the most beautiful statue in London is that of Charles the First, at Whitehall, the first equestrian statue ever erected in London; in any case the sad fate of the monarch, the hold he still exerts over the minds of the people, the interesting history attached to the work, and the legend surrounding the fate of its sculptor, all combine in endowing it with an interest which is absent from any other statue in London, perhaps in the world. As most people know, it

¹ There was formerly another statue of Edward the Sixth over the entrance to Christ's Hospital in Newgate Street, now demolished.

was the work of Hubert le Sueur, a pupil of John of Bologna, and was executed in 1633, at the charge of Lord Treasurer Weston, and not, as has frequently been stated, of Lord Arundel. Lord Weston intended the statue for his gardens at Roehampton, and the agreement between him and the sculptor provided for 'the casting of a horse in brasse, bigger than a great horse by a foot; and the figure of His Ma^y King Charles proportionable, full six foot.' It was also arranged that Le Sueur should discuss the matter with 'His Majesty's riders of great horses,' which is interesting as proving that no pains were spared to make the work complete and accurate. The sum agreed upon was 600*l.*, 'for the full finishing the same in copper, and setting it in the place where it is to stand,' and the time given for its completion was eighteen months.

There is a traditionary story to the effect that when completed, Le Sueur challenged anyone to find fault with the work, and that upon someone pointing out that the saddle-girth had been forgotten, the sculptor in a fit of mortification committed suicide. Unfortunately for the anecdote, the saddle-girth, although not very noticeable, can still be distinguished!

The statue was not yet erected at the commencement of the Civil War, and it was therefore sold by Parliament to one John Rivett or Rivet, a brazier living at The Dial, near Holborn Conduit, according to Walpole, with strict injunctions that it should be broken up; and, inasmuch as fragments of brass were sold by Rivett to devoted royalists, as mementoes of the Royal Martyr, the contract appeared to have been duly carried out; when lo! at the Restoration, the statue was produced safe and sound from the cellar where the wily brazier had carefully hidden it.

Kennett, in his Register for 1660, mentions the finding of the statue, and the application of the Earl of Portland (the son of Lord Treasurer Weston) to the House of Lords for its restitution to himself. This was granted; but whether Rivett proved recalcitrant, or was able to satisfy the Lords of his legal right to the statue by purchase, does not appear; in any case, it is probable that he made a good fight for it, as it was not till 1674 that the figure was finally placed in its present position, the site being selected as that on which Queen Eleanor's Cross originally stood, and where, later, Harrison and certain other regicides were executed. The beautiful pedestal on which the horse stands was the work of Joshua Marshall, Master Mason to the Crown, who was also responsible for some of the decorations to Temple Bar, and not, as Walpole states and as is generally supposed, of Grinling Gibbons.

Sir Christopher Wren made two drawings for the base, which were, however, not used, although one was very similar to Marshall's design; but Sir Christopher superintended the erection of the statue to which on each succeeding 30th of January 'people pay that reverence as

they pass' as Waller, in the lines he wrote when it was first set up, said they then did.

Le Sueur's name and the date, 1633, is inscribed on the near fore-foot of the horse. The George which hung round the King's neck has, however, disappeared, the hole from which it was suspended being still visible, while the sword with its buckles and straps was stolen on the night of the 13th of April 1810. These were said to have been subsequently picked up by a porter named Moxam, and the Board of Green Cloth apprised of the circumstance.* If this was so, then it is probable that they were restored to the statue and a second theft perpetrated, for report has it that they disappeared again in 1844, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's opening the Royal Exchange. In any case, they no longer decorate the statue.

In 1855 the pedestal was repaired by Sir G. G. Scott, who took the opportunity of more securely fastening the feet of the horse to the marble slab on which it rests.

Collectors of eighteenth century broadsides will remember a Jacobite effusion entitled 'A Dialogue between the Old Black Horse at Charing Cross and the New One, with a Figure on it in H—Square,' in which 'King Charles's black nagg' is supposed to make its way to Hanover Square, and hold discourse with 'a strange Beast' on which sat one that 'look't like a lout, and was dress'd like a King,' the latter being a statue of George the First which appears to have been formerly in the centre of Hanover Square, but of which all trace seems to be lost.

If only one statue remains of Charles the First, his successor is luckier, for there were at one time at least four of Charles the Second in London. One of these, the work of Grinling Gibbons, formerly occupied the centre of the large quadrangle of the Royal Exchange where now that of Queen Victoria stands, but when the latter was erected Charles was removed to the south-east angle. At a later date her late Majesty was more chary of allowing the removal of a statue to make place for one of herself; for when it was suggested that the figure of Queen Anne in front of St. Paul's should be taken away for a like purpose, she immediately vetoed the proposal, saying that she in her turn might be removed to make way for a successor if such a precedent were created.

The other existing statue of Charles the Second was also the work of Grinling Gibbons and stands in the grounds of Chelsea Hospital, appropriately enough, since the inception of that institution was due to Nell Gwynn. It was the gift of Tobias Rustat, page of the backstairs to the King, who was, besides, a benefactor to the Hospital itself to the extent of 1000*l*.

Of those statues of Charles the Second which have disappeared,

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1810.

one, as we have seen, once formed part of the decoration of Temple Bar, while another formerly stood in the centre of Soho Square. This was the work of Caius Gabriel Cibber, the father of the better known Colley Cibber. It had an elaborate base with emblematical figures representing the Thames, Severn, Tyne, and Humber, and altogether gave Cibber some claim to Cunningham's remark that 'he must be regarded as the forerunner of whatever is poetic in the sculpture of Great Britain.' In 1876 the statue, having become damaged, was removed to the grounds of Frederick Goodall, the Royal Academician, at Harrow Weald.

One other statue of Charles the Second once stood in London in the Stocks Market in Walbrook, but it probably perished in the Great Fire which destroyed the market itself. I say it was a statue of Charles; I ought perhaps rather to have said that it was intended to represent the Merry Monarch, for here is what Pennant writes about it: 'In it (the Stocks Market) stood the famous equestrian statue, erected in honour of Charles the Second by his most loyal subject Sir Robert Viner, Lord Mayor. Fortunately his lordship discovered one (made at Leghorn) of John Sobieski trampling on a Turk. The good knight caused some alterations to be made and christened the Polish monarch by the name of Charles, and bestowed on the turbaned Turk that of Oliver Cromwell!' Walpole, however, puts a slightly better complexion on the matter by affirming that the statue 'came over unfinished and a new head was added by Latham.'

James the Second is represented by a single statue; but it is one of great merit, and, being the work of Gibbons, it could hardly be otherwise. It was executed in lead, and was erected on the 31st of December 1686, or, as some authorities say, on New Year's Day, 1687, in the precincts of Whitehall. Tobias Rustat, whom we have seen engaged in a like pious act with regard to the effigy of Charles the Second, paid for it. It has been pointed out as an evidence of the mild character of the 1688 Revolution that this statue was allowed to remain undisturbed on the spot on which it had been set up two years previously. The inscription on the pedestal, which was only added when the statue was removed from its original position, runs: '*Jacobus Secundus Dei gratia*' Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, MDCLXXXVI,' and this in conjunction with the fact that the King is habited as a Roman is supposed to be responsible for the fact that it was once popularly believed to represent Julius Caesar!

Not uncharacteristic of the fate of the monarch has been the destiny of this figure. Left disdainfully alone during the Revolution, it was in 1897 brought from its harbour of refuge behind the Banqueting Hall into a temporary glare of publicity by being placed on

* This, by a serious error, has been written '*gratia*'—and has been allowed to remain so!

the small green patch next to old Gwydyr House. A few years since it was again sent roaming, and now it stands, forgotten of most people, but more appropriately, near the Admiralty, and facing the Mall, where it is to be hoped it will be allowed to remain long enough to become habituated to the new condition of things obtaining in this quarter of the town.

Walpole very properly speaks of 'a great ease in the attitude and a classic simplicity' in this figure, and he mentions that Vertue once met with an agreement signed by Gibbons for its erection, the price being 300*l.*, to be paid in instalments. Peck in his '*Desiderata Curiosa*' gives a list of Rustat's benefactions where an entry shows that the 1000*l.* paid by that loyal subject included the payments both for this statue and that of Charles the Second at Chelsea. When Whitehall was destroyed by fire the statue of James the Second was surrounded by flames, whereupon some wit of the period remarked that it was the first time the King had ever stood fire!

The 'little Dutchman' had till recently but one statue 'in London, although he is to be found thus commemorated both in Dublin and Glasgow, but he stands in the centre of the most notable of London Squares—that of St. James. His statue has a somewhat curious history. In 1697 the idea was mooted, and the figure was ordered to be erected; indeed matters went to the length of the selection of materials—it was to have been of brass, and the design for the base was to have included mottoes and emblematical figures. For some reason or other nothing appears to have been done until 1721, when the sculptor David tried to get up a subscription for a statue, not of William, but of George the First. Being unsuccessful, the matter lapsed until three years later, when one, Samuel Travers, who, as Luttrell tells us, was a Member of Parliament, and Surveyor General of their Majesties' lands in succession to Mr. H. Harbord who died in 1693, left a sum of money 'to purchase and erect . . . an equestrian statue in brass to the glorious memory of my master, King William the Third.' The sole effort made to fulfil this bequest was to set up the pedestal. However, in 1806, the money thus left having been discovered among some unclaimed dividends, the younger Bacon was commissioned to execute the statue, not in brass, but in bronze. For many years it stood in the centre of the basin of water which formerly occupied the site of the present garden, and which was not drained off until some sixty years since.

If King William is badly off in the matter of statues, his sister-in-law, Queen Anne, has less reason to complain, for there are two presentments of her^a in London; the better-known one being that

^a There is a statue of William in front of Kensington Palace, recently presented to his Majesty the King, as representing the English people, by the German Emperor.

^b The statue in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, is frequently supposed to be of Queen Anne, but it really represents Queen Charlotte, and was erected by General Strode.

in front of St. Paul's which marks the western boundary of the old cathedral. This statue is a modern rendering of the former one, substituted in 1886, and the work of Messrs. Mowlem, Burt and Freeman. The original was executed in 1712, by Francis Bird, and is now, according to Mr. Hare, preserved at Holmhurst, near Hastings.

Although Mackay, in his *Journey through England*, speaks enthusiastically of Bird's work, Dr. Garth wrote some scurrilous lines on it, aimed at the person of majesty rather than at the representation of it; while a French writer made it the occasion for a wholesale onslaught on the sculpture of this country: 'à l'égard de la sculpture,' says our author, 'le marbre gémit, pour ainsi dire, sous des ciseaux aussi peu habiles que ceux qui ont exécuté le groupe de la reine Anne, placé devant l'Eglise de St. Paul.' Indeed, the statue was furiously abused on all sides as a work of art; but, as far as one can tell, it had at least the merit of being like the Queen. Bird, the sculptor, received 250*l.* for the figure itself, 220*l.* for the four allegorical figures at the base, and 50*l.* for the coat-of-arms on the pedestal.

It is a pity the writer of the lines quoted above, and others who found fault with the figure, had not seen or remembered the beautiful statue of the Queen which now stands in a niche in Queen Anne's Gate, at the point where a wall formerly ran across the street and gave the place a little more the semblance of the square which it formerly was. This statue was originally placed above the portico of St. Mary-le-Strand; but that this was only a temporary resting-place is proved by Gibbs, the architect of the church, who, in his *Book of Architecture*, states that it was intended to surmount a column 250 feet high, which was to have been placed 80 feet from the west front of the church. This column, he adds, was approved by the Commissioners (for the fifty churches projected at this time), but the death of the Queen caused the matter to be laid aside. As the church was commenced in 1714 and finished three years later, it is probable that this marks the approximate period when the statue was removed to what was then Queen Square, Westminster; but this is as uncertain as is the name of the sculptor; indeed, the only fact generally accepted about the statue is that on every anniversary of her death the Queen descends from her pedestal and solemnly perambulates the square three times!

As we have seen, Queen Anne stands in front of St. Paul's, and very nearly occupied a similar position before St. Mary-le-Strand, but it was reserved for her successor to actually surmount the top of a church, and on the summit of Hawksmoor's ridiculous steeple of St. George's, Bloomsbury, 'a master-stroke of absurdity,' as Walpole calls it—which, by the by, is to be seen in the background of Hogarth's *Gin Lane*—you shall see his gracious majesty gazing at the sky! The figure was erected at the expense of William Hucks, a rich brewer, who died soon after, in 1740. It is hardly surprising that a feature

lending itself so easily to satire should have called forth the following contemporary epigram :

When Henry the Eighth left the pope in the lurch,
The Protestants made him the head of the Church ;
But George's good subjects, the Bloomsbury people,
Instead of the Church make him head of the steeple.

In addition to the statue of George the First, which is said to have once occupied a position in the central garden of Hanover Square, another and still more notorious image of the monarch once stood in the capital. This was Van Nost's equestrian figure of the King which was originally at Canons, the seat of the ' Princely Chandos,' and which was set up in the centre of Leicester Square by Frederick, Prince of Wales, it is supposed, to annoy his father, George the Second. It was unveiled by the Prince with great ceremony on the 19th of November 1748, which day was the anniversary both of his birth and of that of Charles the First; and in this latter connexion it is a curious fact that Van Nost had modelled the horse from Le Sueur's beautiful work at Charing Cross.⁶

When Wyld's great globe occupied the centre of the Square in 1851, the statue was let down into a pit dug for that purpose beneath the building; and, on the removal of that stupendous eyesore, was again placed *in situ*. In process of time the central garden of the Square became a mere rubbish heap and a receptacle for all the refuse of the neighbourhood; while the statue itself was treated to various indignities, culminating, on the night of the 17th of October 1866, in the horse being painted white with black spots stencilled over it, a fool's cap being placed on the head of majesty, and a broomstick against his shoulder—for he had already lost an arm, as his horse had, a hind leg and a forefoot. On the 24th of February 1874 the miserable relic, which had been sold two years previously for 16*l.* was finally removed, as it should have been long before.

Van Nost was responsible for yet another statue of George the First, which has, however, long since disappeared. This was the gilt equestrian figure erected by Sir Richard Grosvenor in the centre of Grosvenor Square, when that ' great builder ' developed his property in this neighbourhood. It was set up in August 1726, and in the *Daily Journal* for the 17th of that month is an account of the ceremony. The spot on which the statue stood was practically that once occupied by Oliver's Mound, a fortification erected by the parliamentary troops during the Great Rebellion, from which Mount Street takes its name.

⁶ This was not the first time that a model had been taken from this statue, for in 1719 leave was given to Mr. John Hoeset for the same purpose for a statue of George the First. Can this have been the statue which was formerly in Grosvenor Square, which was made by Van Nost, and erected in 1726?

The statue of George the First do not seem to have been lucky, for this one, soon after its erection, was subjected to the indignity of being dismembered, and a traitorous paper affixed to the pedestal ; and although Sir Richard Grosvenor did all in his power to bring the perpetrators of the deed to justice, offering 100*l.* for their apprehension, they were never discovered.

Of George the Second no statue exists in London ; and although one once stood in the centre garden of Golden Square, representing the monarch habited as 'an antique Roman,' also the work of Van Nost, and, like that of George the First, formerly at Canons, it has long since disappeared, and can only be seen in Bowles's view of the square.

Even George the Third is to-day only represented by a single statue,⁷ that in Cockspur Street, the work of M. C. Wyatt, unveiled on the 3rd of August 1836, by the Duke of Cumberland, and representing his Majesty in a prodigious pigtail, and riding an excellent horse, in silk stockings ! in fact, as he appeared when reviewing the Volunteers in Hyde Park in 1803,⁸ although one of the monarch, which has disappeared, formerly occupied a position in the central garden of Berkeley Square, and was executed by Beaupré, under the direction of Wilton, for the Princess Amelia. It exhibited the King as Marcus Aurelius, and was erected in 1766 (removed in 1827), when it was subjected to a good deal of criticism, as most statues are, Mason sneeringly referring to it as a 'Phidian work,' while Allen speaks of the 'clumsy' pedestal which supported it.

As with his father, so with George the Fourth ; one statue remains, one has disappeared. The former may be seen by all men at the north-east corner of Trafalgar Square, waiting, it would seem, for a companion at the other corner of the Square, and apparently waiting in vain. Perhaps this is as it should be, for surely no appropriate companion can be found for that so incomparable 'first gentleman of Europe' ! The equestrian figure was the work of Chantrey, and was originally intended to surmount the Marble Arch when it stood in front of Buckingham Palace. The King, who was fond of seeing reproductions of his august person, ordered the statue himself in 1829, and agreed to pay 9000 guineas for it—certainly a royal sum ; but, as a matter of fact, he only paid a third of the amount, the second instalment being found by the Office of Woods and Forests on the completion of the work, and the last by the Treasury in 1843, *after the sculptor's death* !

The other statue of the King, a miserable one, we are told, gave its name to King's Cross, which was formerly known as Battle Bridge. The figure, which was set up in honour of the King's accession, was mercifully removed in 1842. It was made of composition and was

⁷ If we except the one in Somerset House precincts, the work of Bacon.

⁸ It was originally intended that this statue should stand on the site now occupied by the Guards' Memorial.

about 11 feet high. It surmounted an octagon-shaped building, first used as a police-station and afterwards as a public-house; and the basis of the nose of the statue is said to have been a drain-tile!

We must journey to the heart of the City to find William the Fourth, who stands at the junction of King William Street, Cannon Street, and Eastcheap, and seems to direct the unresting traffic over London Bridge. The statue was the work of Samuel Nixon, and was erected in its present position on the site practically of the Bear's Head Tavern, made famous by Shakespeare, in 1844. The base is formed of two blocks of granite of prodigious weight, and as the District Railway runs beneath, special precautions had to be taken to support it while the line was in course of construction.

Apart from figures forming integral portions of public buildings, such as that over the entrance to the Victoria Tower at Westminster, and that in the centre of the façade of the new Victoria and Albert Museum, to mention but these, there are only two statues of Queen Victoria in London.* One is appropriately the work of the Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, well known as an accomplished artist. It was erected a few years since, and represents the late Queen, when young, seated and crowned, holding the sceptre and orb, and gazing towards that memorial which the people erected as a recognition of the great qualities and blameless life of Prince Albert. Readers of Mr. Barrie's *Little White Bird* will not need to be reminded that this statue of the Queen is referred to in that delightful book as 'The Big Penny.'

The other statue of Queen Victoria stands on the Middlesex side of Blackfriars Bridge, and was set up in 1896 by Sir Alfred Seale Haslam, as a token of loyalty. It is the work of C. B. Bird, who executed it in 1893. It seems strange, considering the length of her reign, the splendour of her rule, and the great qualities of her mind, but above all, the remarkable hold she had on the affections of the people, that only two statues at present exist of Queen Victoria in the capital of the Empire; but perhaps it is the very fact of her memory being so firmly enshrined in the hearts of her subjects that makes any outward reminder of her personality unnecessary.

The statues of royal personages other than sovereigns in London seem to properly demand a word; one of them, indeed, fitly holds an inseparable place by the side of the great Queen—that of her beloved Consort, Prince Albert, of whom there are three in London. One of these is the equestrian figure on Holborn Viaduct, which was executed by Bacon, and unveiled in 1873. The Prince is shown saluting the City of London and appropriately gazing towards the

* There is one in the centre of the Royal Exchange by Lough, and of course the great memorial to the Queen in front of Buckingham Palace, now in course of erection, will contain one; also there is one, together with that of the King and the late Duke of Clarence, in the Temple Bar Memorial.

east, where the wise men dwelt. The cost of the statue was defrayed by an anonymous donor, while the Corporation voted the sum of 2000*l.* for the pedestal on which it rests.

The second statue is that which stands near the Albert Hall in what were formerly the grounds of the Royal Horticultural Society, and leased by that body from the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition. Prince Albert opened these gardens, which had been laid out by Mr. Nesfield, on the 5th of June 1861, and therefore the statue has a *raison d'être* for its position; especially as it faces the Royal College of Music and is in close proximity to those vast buildings in which science and art go hand in hand in the education of the people—all matters this enlightened Prince ever had closely at heart.

The third statue¹⁰ is the colossal gilt figure which occupies the centre of the Albert Memorial. It is by Foley, who was also responsible for perhaps the finest of the four emblematic groups at the base, that representing Asia. The Memorial was erected from the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott, the cost, 120,000*l.*, being defrayed by public subscription, aided by a grant from Parliament of 50,000*l.*, and further supplemented by a contribution from Queen Victoria.

A little-known statue of a royal personage is that of the Duke of Kent, by Gahagan, at the north end of Portland Place; a very obvious one, that of the Duke of York, second son of George the Third, which stands on the top of the great column in Carlton House Terrace, on the site of that Carlton House where he so often indulged in the unholy revels of the Prince of Wales. The statue, set up on the 11th of April 1835, is the work of Westmacott; while the column, 124 feet high, was designed by Wyatt; and both were erected by public subscription, a wondering posterity still asking itself why. Some wit once said that the Duke was placed there to be beyond the reach of his creditors; in any case, he seems during his life to have extracted sufficient money from the country generally to have obviated the necessity for asking the public to subscribe to a posthumous statue!¹¹

One other effigy which requires a few words has long since disappeared. It represented the Duke of Cumberland—the Butcher—‘in his habit as he lived,’ and was erected in Cavendish Square in 1770 by Lieut.-General Strode, the sculptor being John Cheese, who executed it in lead gilded over.

The inscription on the pedestal was as follows :

William, Duke of Cumberland, born April 15th, 1741—died Oct. 31st, 1765. This equestrian statue was erected by Lieutenant-General William Strode, in gratitude for his private friendship, in honour of his public virtue, November 4th, *Anno Domini*, 1770.

¹⁰ There is also one by Lough in the Royal Exchange.

¹¹ In *The Examiner* for April 12, 1885, there is an account of the raising of the statue to the top of the column.

This extraordinarily worded effusion naturally gave rise to a good deal of criticism; as did the fact that the Duke was represented in the military garb of the period, and not, as had hitherto been the rule, in classic attire. Even Sir Joshua Reynolds found fault with this, and in his *Tenth Discourse* took occasion to remark that 'in this town may be seen an equestrian statue in a modern dress, which may be sufficient to deter modern artists from any such attempt.'

The figure was removed in 1868 in order to be recast, but for some reason or other it was never replaced, and its fate is still open to conjecture.

Taken as a whole, the royal statues in London are not satisfying, inasmuch as for no less than four of Charles the Second, counting those which have disappeared, we have two of Victoria; George the Fourth is represented and Edward the Third neglected; Henry the Fifth, Edward the First, and William the First have none of them been honoured in this way; but James the Second stands by the Admiralty, and George the First, against all the canons of art and good taste, dominates the steeple of a church!

E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR.

PRINCE BÜLOW

AN APPRECIATION

THE present German Chancellor is one of the very few continental statesmen whose speeches frequently attain to headlines and double columns in the British Press, privileges it rarely grants to any foreigner. Many of his phrases have become international catchwords like those of Bismarck and Disraeli ; and his opinions are quoted and criticised as having an importance to Europe equalled only by those of some four or five rulers and outstanding personalities, with whom the general public is far better acquainted. All his movements are carefully chronicled, and every declaration of policy receives the gravest attention, both within and beyond the limits of his own country. Few public men of the present day have been so savagely attacked or so warmly defended, and few indeed can be said to hold so dominating an influence on the world's affairs.

But if he is one of the most striking, he is also one of the least understood, of the personalities of contemporary history. It is possible to read long and intimate descriptions—more or less reliable—of the likes and dislikes, the daily life, and personal traits of a score of smaller celebrities ; but the study which shall deal even ever so lightly with the aims and convictions, the life apart from politics, in a word the real self, of the highest official of the German Empire has yet to be written.

Of Prince Bülow the German Chancellor, the world hears much but knows little ; of Bernhard von Bülow the man, it knows absolutely nothing. No doubt, as far as his private life is concerned, this is owing to his own reserve, to the almost studied aloofness from anything like the self-revelations so freely given by other prominent actors in the political drama—his own Sovereign or President Roosevelt for example. For it is one of his many paradoxes that while few statesmen are so accessible to the Press, or so frank and courteous in their dealings with it, so long as it is concerned merely with questions of policy ; yet if a correspondent attempts to get the faintest personal note into the interview (be he German or foreign) he is gently but firmly baffled, and that in such a way that not the most intrepid of American

reporters has hitherto succeeded in breaking through the fence of tacit reticence and quiet dignity with which Prince Bülow surrounds himself. This is to be regretted, because the great majority of people are of Abraham Lincoln's opinion, that 'the man I don't understand is the man I don't like,' and, moreover, the public is apt to consider that it has a sort of vested right to know as much as it chooses of the inside life of anyone who is prominently before it, and to resent any curtailment of such right accordingly. Also it is very difficult to judge a man's political work with any justice if one knows nothing of the deeper motives, the guiding principles, which are the source of his actions. Prince Bülow is now in his eleventh year of office—from 1897 to 1900 as Foreign Secretary, and thence onward as Chancellor of the Empire. Looking back over this period, many will think they can detect great inconsistencies and serious mistakes, as well as brilliant achievements and undoubted progress. But most of his critics ignore two facts in their survey. Firstly, the terrible difficulties—especially with regard to foreign affairs—which beset him on every hand, difficulties not of his own making, for he either inherited them from the former Chancellor or encountered them afresh from a too-impulsive Sovereign, bent on being to a great extent his own Foreign Minister and easily influenced by other counsels than those of his responsible advisers. Secondly, that German politics cannot under any circumstances be measured by British standards, and that, therefore, thanks to the hopeless division of parties, the predominant influence of the Crown, and many other factors, much that would be incomprehensible in English Parliamentary life is a simple necessity of political existence in Germany.

His eight years as Chancellor have been practically one long series of conflicts—with the Socialists on home government, with some hostile Court influence on foreign affairs, with the Centre on Colonial questions, and finally with extremists of all parties, who would cheerfully wreck the Empire in order to carry out some theory of their own, or to serve the 'particularist' interests of their special State as against the welfare of the whole. But in spite of all this he can look back on a great deal of good work accomplished—accomplished, too, in the teeth of difficulties such as might well have dismayed a man less resolute of will, less dauntless of heart. Almost the first speeches he made in the Reichstag dealt with the Boer War; and since every sentence that could possibly be twisted into offence to British ears has been quoted, or rather misquoted, a dozen times, I should like to draw attention to a brief but noble tribute paid to British soldiers in the course of a speech made at the very time when popular sentiment, not only in Germany but all over the Continent, was most strongly opposed to Great Britain. He said: 'Let us never forget that the British Army in South Africa has shown the world that its soldiers knew how to die.' His first task of great moment, the revision of the

tariff, was not carried through the Reichstag without a long and bitter fight, but it ended in victory; and the seven important commercial treaties successfully concluded on this new basis falsified all the predictions of the Chancellor's enemies. I must now touch lightly on that much-vexed question, the Morocco Crisis; but only in so far as it immediately concerns Prince Bülow, for this is neither the place nor the time to indulge in reflections on an event far too recent and too complicated for even the most unprejudiced to pronounce any historical verdict upon it.

But there have been attempts made to represent him as at any rate primarily responsible for the tension caused in Franco-German (and, by a kind of reflex action, Anglo-German) relations during that period. This I believe to be a most utter perversion of the true facts of the case. It was not the existence of France's *ententes*, but the undisguised hostility towards Germany with which her then Foreign Minister strove to imbue them, that awoke that suspicion and resentment in the German people which rendered a crisis of some sort inevitable.

Now that the clouds are dispersed—at any rate for a time—I think no sensible person can doubt that it was not the Anglo-French Agreement, or the good understanding to which it testified, but the continued slights and provocations of M. Delcassé which threatened Europe with the danger of war. For that there was such a danger no one who was in Germany during the summer of 1905 can question for a moment. It is all very well for M. Delcassé to say that Germany would never have gone to war merely for Morocco—Prince Bülow said as much himself in the Reichstag; but he added that any Great Power worthy the name will fight to the last gasp if it believes its prestige, its honour, and thereby the very safety of its existence, threatened. And there we come to the crux of the whole matter. Rightly or wrongly, the great majority of Germans did believe their country so threatened. They may have been mistaken, but at least they were sincere, and it was in that very sincerity that the danger lay.

Now, it has been suggested that throughout the crisis two distinct policies were being pursued in Berlin—one by the Kaiser, favourable to France, the other by Prince Bülow, hostile to her. To those who know the German Constitution such an idea is absurd on the face of it; for since no Chancellor can hold office a day longer than the Kaiser chooses, and since Kaiser and Chancellor must be in constant touch with each other, owing to the former's personal control of State affairs, it is fairly evident that a serious difference on vital questions of policy (which this most certainly would have been) must lead to the instant resignation of the Chancellor. It is quite true that Prince Bülow's enemies tried to prejudice the Kaiser against him, but his Majesty was far too loyal to his First Minister to heed such counsels; and that Minister undoubtedly exerted his influence with

his impetuous Sovereign in the cause of peace—of course, 'peace with honour,' and, so far as it could be assured, security for Germany. When the French declared their willingness to go to the Algeciras Conference, and so virtually dismissed M. Delcassé, the acute tension passed away and Germany gradually forgot her anger and alarm. But of one thing I feel very sure, and that is that if ever the full and true history of the Moroccan incident is revealed Prince Bülow will stand out as a peace-maker rather than a peace-breaker. The harassing worries of that time told on his health, which had already withstood years of constant overwork. He would not spare himself, and it was characteristic of him that, ill and worn out as he was, he insisted on being present at a foreign affairs debate in the Reichstag and personally vindicating his policy. The result was a severe fainting fit, which compelled even him to take a brief respite from his overwhelming routine of work.

After a long absence, not by any means all holiday, he returned to Berlin, soon to prove himself in his old fighting form during the brief and stormy session which preceded his dramatic dissolution of Parliament. Indeed, the great speech on the foreign relations of Germany which he made in the Reichstag on the 14th of November 1906 was one of the most brilliant ever heard in that Assembly. But the powerful Catholic 'Centre' Party which had for so long supported him on national questions—and especially with regard to those laws widening and furthering Social Reform which have been one of the most noteworthy achievements of his policy—suddenly failed in their allegiance. There can be little doubt that this was owing less to dissatisfaction with the Colonial Estimates of the Government (the ostensible cause of the quarrel) than to their attack on the new Colonial Minister, Herr Dernberg—an attack which it was believed would have resulted in his instant dismissal.

Prince Bülow, however, was not the man to throw over one of his ministerial colleagues at the bidding of a few party leaders, even though they were among his most influential supporters. He has been called 'Napoleonic' in his discipline, but invariably kind and considerate to his subordinates and loyal to his fellow-ministers. Demanding from them the same unsparing devotion to their work which he gives himself, he had long been anxious to secure a more efficient head of the Colonial Office.

In Herr Dernberg he had at last found one, and therefore it would have been an injury to the Empire to sacrifice him, as well as an impossibility to the Chancellor's chivalrous nature. I think I have said enough to show that though the conflict with the Centre is deeply to be regretted, yet at the time it was a political necessity, as well as a point of personal honour. For the Colonial question had become of such grave consequence to Germany that to suffer interference in it from a section of the Reichstag, however important, would have

been an act of criminal weakness on the part of the statesman responsible. The dissolution and the results of the following elections are too well known to need recapitulation here. The Liberal-Conservative 'Bloc' which now constitutes the Government majority appears to form but a frail bulwark for the best interests of Germany—for that it is to her best interests that the present Chancellor should remain in office I most firmly believe. Fresh questions, such as the Polish Bill, too rashly criticised by sentimentalists who have little or no knowledge of Prussia's complicated and thorny task with regard to her disloyal Polish subjects, and the more pressing difficulty of the Prussian franchise affair, seem only too likely to split up the Nationalist parties. No one will deny that the present electoral system of Prussia is miserably inadequate; but to alter it at once to the 'one man one vote' plan would be to encounter all those dangers inseparable from too violent, and above all too sudden, a change in the structure of the State. As the Empire already possesses universal suffrage the question can hardly be as urgent as the Socialists strive to make it appear. What is needed is a policy of sane and moderate reform; but the nations are slow to learn from history, and from Nature herself, that all great and enduring progress is made gradually.

In spite of these difficulties, however, the differences between the right and left wings of the Bloc have been composed at least temporarily, and the session which opened so stormily closed in comparative calm.

It is as grand an aim as ever statesman set before him, this brave attempt of Prince Bülow's to teach the German people the real meaning of Constitutional Government; but whether it is possible for it to succeed under the present political conditions may well be doubted. Yet even if it fails there are some failures which are nobler than success, and a new element—the *vox populi*—will have been brought into German politics, never wholly to disappear.

The great problem of the re-organisation of the national finances is one on which the various sections that make up the Bloc are grievously divided, and it seems well-nigh impossible that any practical scheme can be evolved which will at all reconcile the conflicting views of this unstable majority on whose continued existence that of the Chancellor himself, politically speaking, perhaps depends.

Nevertheless he has fought and won so many desperate parliamentary battles in the past, that it is surely not too much to hope that the old dauntless courage, the old superb power as a leader of men will enable him yet again to overcome the terrible obstacles which confront him, and to build up a really strong, united, and trustworthy majority out of the chaos of parties that now compose the Bloc.

It must be remembered that a firmly established, pacifically inclined German Government is one of the best guarantees for European peace.

An excited nation is often a quarrelsome nation, and it is better for the whole world that so important an item of it as Germany should be quiet, contented, and prosperous. It is scarcely needful to emphasise Prince Bülow's earnest and consistent efforts to place the mutual relations of Germany and Great Britain on a more cordial and friendly basis. In his speeches, personally, and above all in his actual foreign policy, he has done his utmost to remove misunderstandings and to avoid friction. The kindly hospitality to the British journalists who visited Berlin last year, the straightforward declarations of policy, and the warm-hearted approval of every scheme for enabling the two nations to know more of each other, and so to like each other better, will be fresh in the memory of all. It is probable that nothing has damaged the cause of Anglo-German friendship more than the recent German Navy Bill, and the distrust it has aroused in a country whose very existence depends on her naval supremacy. That Great Britain must retain this supremacy unchallenged is a fact recognised by virtually every party in the State. But it should be remembered that Germany has never pretended to have either the will or the ability to challenge it, and that in view of the changes wrought in naval warfare by the practical demonstrations of the Russo-Japanese conflict and the introduction of more powerful battleships, every first-class Power has been compelled to re-organise its naval defences. Germany is not the only Power who has started building *Dreadnoughts*—France, Japan, and the United States have done the same, and they are not suspected of designs on their neighbours' property. It is only fair to admit that Germany has at least one obvious reason for strengthening her fleet—namely, the rapid development of her trade and mercantile interests, and her responsibilities as a Great Power to protect her subjects settled in foreign lands, tasks which she must render it strong enough to perform. Surely the fault lies rather in the unsatisfactory state of feeling between the two countries than in any measures which either of them may deem it necessary to take in their own defence.

I feel that any sketch of Prince Bülow's political career would be incomplete without a brief allusion to the so-called 'Camarilla.' It is probably true that a small clique bitterly inimical to him, both personally and politically, had a certain amount of influence in Court circles, though I think this has been much exaggerated. Their hostility was, of course, carefully concealed from the Emperor, but nevertheless it constituted a real danger. For the painful *dénouement* which finally removed these persons from the arena of public life the Chancellor was not in any way responsible, directly or indirectly. It will be said, perhaps, that he ought to have warned the Emperor against them. But the answer to this is that he had no proofs, and that it would be impossible for a Minister to rid himself of his enemies by advancing unsubstantiated accusations concerning them to his

Sovereign. It only remains to be said that political antagonism in Germany is disgraced by a ferocity and unscrupulousness for which England happily has no parallel. No slander is too dastardly, no lie too outrageous, to be employed for the purpose of discrediting an adversary.

I have spoken of Prince Bülów's 'enemies,' and that word is not by any means too forcible to describe the intimidation and the spiteful intrigues which any statesman with a resolute policy, disdainful alike of bribes and threats, has to encounter when he holds the supremely difficult post of German Chancellor.

Turning from the official to the more personal side of his character, perhaps the first thing to strike anyone who has even a slight acquaintance with his private life is the contrast between the imperturbable, almost cynical attitude assumed in public and the gracious, kindly, chivalrous nature revealed to those who know the real man—a nature retaining the magic charm of sincerity and singleness of heart, in spite of that wide knowledge of the world and brilliant culture which have made him one of the foremost diplomatists in Europe. With most people the outside veneer disguises the commoner material underneath, but with Bernhard von Bülów it is the exact opposite—the veneer is assumed in order to hide the beauty of that which underlies it. It is for this reason that, although he is justly acknowledged to be a great orator, his speeches are in a sense misleading, for if they occasionally reveal his true character, they are more often mere brilliant *tours de force*, epigrammatic, flippant, almost reckless; but representing after all rather fireworks thrown up to dazzle and bewilder than the steady light of his resolute purpose.

It may as well be admitted at once that this is a dangerous attitude for any man to take up with regard to public opinion, for it is safer to court popularity than to despise it; and since the world generally takes you at your own valuation, it is the wisest plan to proclaim your virtues from the housetops.

But there is a certain type of temperament which is proud to such a degree that it prefers being misjudged to explaining itself. Those who belong to it have to pay the price of their pride, sooner or later, but even then they suffer in silence. If ever the day should come when the Fourth Chancellor is driven from office like his great predecessor, his enemies will not be gratified, as were those of Bismarck, by a storm of passionate protest; for where the pride of one led to self-vindication, the pride of the other would seal his lips from anything sterner than a careless jest. The *beau sabreur* of debate, Prince Bülów is never merciless to his opponents, relying more on the weapon of good-tempered irony than on the savage invective to which the Reichstag is so much addicted. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that the airy manner which so exasperates his foes has nothing deeper and more earnest beneath it; not that it is an affectation, for it springs

from that sunny disposition and keen sense of humour which are the best aids for keeping heart and temper unspoiled in the cruel strain of political life.

When one remembers the crushing weight of responsibility, the overwork, and the many anxieties to which he is constantly exposed, this indomitable buoyancy of spirit is one of the most valuable gifts he possesses.

In personal appearance the Chancellor is a worthy representative of that Mecklenburg aristocracy the gallant bearing of whose members made such an impression on the great Napoleon that he said to his Marshals: 'I can make you into kings, but not into Mecklenburg nobles.' Tall, with a stately carriage of the head and shoulders which gives him grace and distinction, he has the broad brow of intellect, and a mouth and chin (clean-shaven except for the soldierly moustache) which show courage, energy, and decision. But it is the eyes which arrest attention—eyes beautiful and fearless, that meet you with a directness and sincerity rare indeed in any class, but for a diplomatist almost unique. It is a face steadfast, proud, and self-reliant; yet with a sunny-tempered kindness and grace in it which wins straight to the heart.

A man's faith is a sacred thing, not to be lightly commented on by strangers; and it is only possible to allude very briefly here to the deep religious feeling, which is shown sometimes even in his speeches; but those who ignore or overlook this aspect know very little of his true character. It is many years now since he married the beautiful and gifted woman whose devoted comradeship has made an unfailing background of love and sympathy for a life politically so stormy and eventful. To those who have seen them together it is difficult to think of one apart from the other, so perfect is the community of thought and interest. And if the Princess wishes—as it is said sometimes that she does—for a life in which there would be no anxiety for his safety, a life in which they would be able to have more time to themselves, and to dwell far from the noise and strife of the great new-built metropolis of Central Europe; yet there is no more gracious hostess, no more helpful Minister's wife, to be found in any of the world's capitals than the present German 'Reichskanzlerin.' It is at Norderney, the little storm-swept island in the North Sea, where they have spent the summer holidays for some years past, and where their charm of manner and kindness of heart have made them universally beloved, that they are able for a few short weeks to enjoy the freedom from public life and the simple open-air pleasures which they find so refreshing after the stress of the Berlin Parliamentary season. But even here the whole forenoon is generally occupied with work, and it is only after lunch that the waiting 'Kurgäste' are rewarded by the appearance of the Chancellor, almost invariably accompanied by his wife, his favourite white carnation in his buttonhole, and a service-

able countrified stick in his hand, setting out for one of those long rambles over the sand-dunes, or by the sea, in which they both take such a delight. At Norderney, too, Prince Bülow can indulge to his heart's content in the riding of which he is so passionately fond, for there is any amount of splendid galloping to be had on the well-nigh boundless expanse of firm, level shore. But this forms only a brief interlude in that life of earnest work whose many-sided activities leave so little room for recreation of any sort.

In trying to sum up the general trend of Prince Bülow's policy, I think I cannot do better than quote from one of his own speeches :

I cannot govern this country solely for the benefit of Catholics, or solely for the benefit of Protestants, any more than I can conscientiously govern with the support, and therefore wholly in the interests of, any one of the great political parties. That might secure my own majority, but not the true welfare of the State. I am willing to co-operate with any party which has this at heart ; and it is my duty to hold the balance even between conflicting interests to the best of my ability, and strive always to promote the good of the whole, giving justice to all, but favour to none.

No one who knows modern Germany can deny that it is just such a brave, yet moderate and far-sighted policy as this which she requires at the present time. For there is no doubt that she stands now at a very critical period in her history. The extraordinary and rapid increase in national prosperity has brought in its wake a great wave of materialism which is fraught with the gravest dangers to the State. 'Where there is no vision the people perish,' and the practical Hedonism of some phases of the national life, more particularly in the great cities, is deadly alike to soul and body. Bismarck's proud boast, 'We Germans fear God and no one else,' will cease to be true if the old steadfast faith is undermined, for the nation which has forgotten the fear of God has taken the first step towards learning the fear of man. All who love Germany must earnestly hope that she will speedily win back that noble idealism which is so especially the heritage of her people. But the grandest code of ethics never availed to save one soul, much less to uplift and inspire a nation ; and the great need for Germany to-day is not so much, as some would have us believe, Liberalism—some wonder-working formula of self-government—as the old, old need of humanity : 'Back to Christ.' Prince Bülow's wise and patient statesmanship seeks first to educate the people to a better sense of what is desirable and what is attainable in the national existence, and meanwhile to gradually give them more and more power of self-government, by enhancing the importance of the Reichstag to an extent never known before in German politics, and by striving to draw from that body all the elements making for good in the State, and fuse them together into a governing majority which shall be patriotic but peaceful, loyal to the old traditions, but steadily pro-

gressive towards new and wider ideals. He has to a remarkable degree that indefinable charm, often called 'personal magnetism' for want of a more accurate description, and few who have experienced it can form a perfectly impartial opinion with regard to him; but of this I am sure—there is no more gifted or noble personality in present-day European politics than the Fourth Chancellor of the German Empire.

SIDNEY GARFIELD MORRIS.

THE TRANSVAAL TO-DAY

FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

WHAT is the Transvaal to-day ?

Gazing from one of the highest points outside Johannesburg, the eye wanders over miles of wild, impressive country. To the right a belt of trees rises like an island on the swelling plain ; to the left, beyond the irregularly scattered houses, a sweep of uncultivated veld stretches to the Pretoria hills ; beyond those hills loom the Magaliesberg mountains, rugged and austere, usually outlined strong and bold against the hard, bright sky, yet often shrouded in mist, like a mist of regret for the dead who lie there, almost forgotten, among the steep kopjes and the shadowy valleys—those dead who, alas ! almost seem to us now to have given their lives for a vain cause.

To the eye the Transvaal is a magnificent country, full of space, full of possibilities, and full of welcome. It is a country in which all men ; farmers, prospectors, miners, engineers, should find ample scope in which to make a living. Not only is the earth abundantly rich in minerals, but the soil is so fertile that if the modern methods used in other countries were applied to it, it would soon be converted from a great desert into flowering gardens, smiling fields, and thick forests. As it is now, however, the Transvaal is merely one huge monument to the memory of slaughtered soldiers, blighted lives, and wasted energy, money, and time. It is also a vast playground for treachery. The old white flag trick is being enacted over and over again upon another field. Under the promise of peace and amity, under the pretext of retrenchment and reorganisation, hundreds are being hurled daily towards starvation and degradation. Here an unfortunate clerk is mulcted of his 300*l.* a year, there other poorly paid civil servants have their local and marriage allowances cut off ; but a wealthy Boer farmer obtains a pension of 1000*l.* a year !

I am afraid that few men sitting at ease in London can realise to what an extent the last few years in South Africa have been wasted, or can understand what the present situation means to those who lived in either of the Dutch republics before the war. Then, though our right to live in the country of our choice was questioned, and

existence there rendered difficult by the persistent sneers levelled at us and at everything British, we all felt that the state of things could not last. We all knew that though the British lion is hard to rouse, when aroused he is awake to some purpose; and when war was declared, we told each other, we home-makers in a new land, that deliverance was at hand.

War was declared, and from all parts of the globe the angry sons of England hurried to defend the rights of their brethren and the honour of the flag.

For myself, though war meant parting for a time, it seemed more tolerable than what has followed, because of our hope. Besides, I was allowed to join my husband before many months had passed, and was thus able to share with him the trials of the campaign.

It was a life of haunting anxiety, often aggravated by personal ill-health, by the wail of a sick child, the sight of a little, wan, pinched face, and the knowledge that a dear one was ailing for lack of necessities which were readily available to the Boer women and children in the concentration camps. There is nothing picturesque or romantic about modern warfare; it is monotonous and tedious in the extreme; and long before the end my ears had grown tired of listening to the ceaseless tramp of men marching to their death, tired of the distant echo of rifles and the occasional booming of big guns. When it was over, however, there followed a sense of satisfaction. The insults had been wiped out; English women and men could hold up their heads and gaze the world in the face. To be told that one belonged to a nation of cowards had been the least of the gibes flung at the English settlers by those who owed allegiance to their sovereign—an insult that is as hard for a woman to bear as for a man! Indeed, after the war things began to improve in a remarkable manner, for the Boers had found, it seemed, that the English were not a nation of cowards, and that it would be better to live at peace with them. It was then that the great pronouncement was made: *Racialism was dead!* ‘Your late enemy will in all probability become your ruler—we were told—you must not only work with, but under him. You must love him. More than that, you must immediately forget that you ever fought against him, although you have proof in your family of what that long war cost you in the shape of a child who will be an invalid for life owing to the hardships endured. You must bury even the smallest memory of that unrighteous campaign, and incidentally the memory of the friends you lost in it. You must kiss your late enemy on both cheeks. You must put away all recollection of his many deeds of treachery in the past, and trust him with your entire future career and prosperity.’ If we agreed to bury the hatchet in this complete manner, what a harvest were we not supposed to reap from it!

To begin with, the terms Briton and Boer were to be obliterated. Shame on anyone who used them ! We were to become Africanders, Transvaalers, Springboks, yet members of that great British Empire of which we were all so inordinately proud. South Africa, and in particular the Transvaal, was to become the richest asset of that wonderful Empire, and all the dwellers in the Transvaal who valued and loved it were to combine to defeat the rapacious capitalists and greedy fortune-seekers, who only came to rob the land, then leave it again. It was to be a white man's land, a married man's land, not a land of grass widowers and extravagant women.

The previous Government had been too lavish ; over-generous salaries had been given to men who did nothing discernible to earn them and who had done little noteworthy in the past. These men in most cases had no wish to remain in the land, neither had they fought for it on one side or the other ; they had merely come like vultures when the fray was over, and when they had gorged enough they would fly away again. It was through them the country was being ruined, and this must cease. Retrenchment was certainly to take place, but married men with large families were to have first consideration, more especially the men who kept their families in the Transvaal.

These golden schemes were all propounded to us before the elections. It soon became a common thing to see Dutchmen slapping Englishmen on the back, and to hear them calling each other ' old chap,' to hear of them hobnobbing at sports, and shooting side by side.

At times this sudden change from a deep-seated hatred to a full-blown friendship on the part of so conservative and tenacious a people as the Boers seemed strange to us ; still, as trees grow quickly in the Transvaal, why should not love and new ideals grow quickly also ? Thus, on promises which seemed so full of good sense and fair play, and also on the votes of a number of thoroughly deluded Englishmen, the Boer ministry came into power, and everyone predicted that it would not be long before the prosperity of the country would be well and lastingly assured.

Eagerly men leaped into matrimony, while others who, for the sake of economy, had kept their families in England, now hastily recalled them. A hint also began to be circulated that a knowledge of Dutch would soon not be merely useful, but absolutely essential, and all those who could command a few words of the Taal began to exercise those words with zeal, while others, who would have jeered at the idea of learning it a few years ago, now commenced to do so. Parents also hurriedly decided to send their children to school in the Transvaal, and letters were written to Dutch friends and acquaintances of the pre-war days, letters full of the spirit of conciliation, almost of veiled regret at the past years of discord.

These letters remained unanswered. Instead of the prophesied

universal brotherhood, never did Boer appear less friendly to Briton. Disquieting rumours soon began to spread that the Government was appointing various commissions to inquire into the state of all departments, with a view to cutting down expenses, and consequently salaries and staff. Singularly enough, the retrenchments, once started, seemed solely at the expense of the hard-working English official.

Christmas came and went—not a very pleasant Christmas for any of us along the Rand—and insecurity, not to say actual privation, increased. Depression was universal. Men who used to drive to their work now began to patronise the trams; others who had always gone into town by tram either studied how they could make the cheapest fare answer or took to walking the entire way. Men who had always gone to hotels or restaurants for dinner suddenly discovered that it suited their health better to eat sandwiches; sometimes the few sandwiches meant for one man's midday meal served to feed a still more unlucky mortal who otherwise would have starved. With every successive week the stream of workers deprived of their livelihood grew larger. Some struggled homewards. Others stayed in the Transvaal buoyed up with the hope that things would surely improve, only to find themselves brought so low that they were forced to resort to unskilled work for a maintenance. Many well-educated men were actually reduced to working in the sewerage trenches at a wage of from 2s. 6d. to 4s. a day.

It was at this time that it became apparent that by a 'white man's land' the Boers meant a land in which Englishmen would be compelled through want to accept lower wages than the niggers; and that by a 'married man's land' they meant a land for the Dutch family. Englishmen began to grow afraid of being seen speaking to Englishmen. To be British meant to find that every avenue of decent employment was closed. With the dwindling Civil Service the shops and stores began to close down, furniture sales became more and more common, and everywhere auctioneers could be heard yelling at apathetic crowds who gathered in sale rooms for the purpose of killing time, not for the sake of buying. The pawnshops alone did a thriving trade, and among the various things with which men parted in order to realise a few shillings were King's and Queen's medals. Heirlooms, jewellery, works of art, and even dresses were also sacrificed—the jewellery, &c., being sent to Europe for sale in foreign towns; the clothes often finding their way on to the backs of overfed Kaffirs who, with well-starched collars round their grimy necks and jeers in their goggling eyes and on their puffy lips, shoved us unlucky members of the paramount race superciliously out of their path. One even heard cases of Europeans begging for food and shelter from the natives, but the natives have no sympathy for poverty among whites. Well the black man knows that if he were treated as 'the

Britisher' is being treated in the Transvaal now, there would be a mighty outcry at home; he knows that his own welfare has been carefully safeguarded, and this knowledge increases his insolence. His growing conviction that white men, and consequently white women, are of no importance, coupled with the reductions in the police, have led to a recrudescence of ghastly crimes, unfit to mention.

With every successive proof of his power the Dutchman's dissatisfaction with all things English increased. Guttural voices openly proclaimed that in this, the country of the Dutch, Dutch children should not learn English. Neither would their parents continue to adopt British methods of education. Had it not been proved long ago that the old methods were better and more suited to South Africa? Was not South Africa once again a Dutch country, to be ruled by the Dutch? Why also should there be so much talk about developing the land? The land was already producing too much; it was producing more than the Boer farmer could consume, and he was being driven to the absurd expense of exporting! Rampant again was the old lazy Boer spirit, which was always suspicious of progress, even if it spelt prosperity, because at the same time it might spell work. A little anecdote illustrative of this peculiar point of view may not here come amiss. A Boer girl once told me that her brothers used to play marbles with the eggs which they found on the farm in great quantities. When I expressed horror at the wanton waste, she replied: 'What would be the use of collecting the eggs? It means a lot of work for nothing; all one can get for them in town is 5s. or 7s. a dozen; who would trouble to work for so little? Better let the boys play marbles with them.' This is the spirit of the back-veld Boer who to-day rules the Transvaal and will soon rule South Africa.

Never has the antipathy to modern improvement and to those who are best qualified to maintain it been more disastrously shown than in the destruction of the South African Constabulary. Men who have spent their lives from youth in forces such as the Basutoland and Bechuanaland Police, who speak both Dutch and the native languages, and who have a real knowledge of the native races, are now deprived of the work for which they alone are suitable. The services of many stalwart Colonials have also been discarded. Canadians—some of whom had served with the North-West Police—Australians, and New Zealanders have been labelled 'not wanted,' and literally worried out of the country. Among these are many who had grown to care for the Transvaal, and had hoped to make it their home. They were quite ready and willing to get on with the Dutch, in whom they took a genial interest; they were ready to impart to them their greater knowledge of the world; and they set them a valuable example of order and cleanliness, for the Boer is proverbially slovenly and careless about his person, dirty in his house,

his horses, and his farm. The constabulary also formed a valuable link between scattered villages and farmhouses. But the Dutch were suspicious of them. To the farmer they were strangers who had no business in the South African veld; to the politician they were advanced men who might teach the ignorant Boer to think and act for himself and not as his leaders told him. Besides, as Colonials, these men should have fought for the Republics, not against them—this is a point on which the Dutch will never give in, or understand the absurdity of the theory—and as they fought against the Republics, out of South Africa they must go. And so they are going, back to their own homes, vowing that never again will they fight for the Empire. Once they were proud to call themselves 'sons of the Empire,' now they are Canadians, or Australians, as the case may be, nothing more.

The Transvaal to-day is not only a grave where wasted energies and shattered ideals lie heaped; it is also the dumping-ground of squandered British money. I do not refer to the big sums expended by capitalists, but to the modest hundreds, often paid with difficulty by the small man, in the shape of ill-spared monthly instalments. Have not numerous clerks and officials, men of all descriptions, in fact, laid out all they could possibly afford, and often a great deal more, in the hope of eventually becoming their own landlords? The great idea of the majority in any South African town is to own their own house; and quite rightly too, if they are going to live permanently in the country. There are hundreds of such houses empty now. Those who struggled, and often stinted themselves, to pay the interest on the capital sum have lost everything. They might as well have spent the money on themselves and enjoyed life a little more.

Curiously enough, Germans, Italians, and other foreigners seem to get on in the Transvaal; indeed, on a Saturday night one almost questions whether it is really a British colony or not. The Dutch tolerate foreigners, even if they do not like them, but their feeling for the English is very different. The Dutch want to see the English starve or, as they themselves say, 'go under.'

No doubt there were many mistakes made in the first settlement of the country after peace was declared, but even the mistakes might eventually have turned out for good if matters had only been left alone once set going. Rubinstein said that if all the false notes he played could be collected at the end of one of his concerts, there would be enough of them to make a sonata, but I do not suppose that his hearers ever realised that a false note had been struck. If he had paused to correct it, he would only have been advertising a mistake. So it has been with the Transvaal. Because of a few errors the entire symphony was stopped, the rhythm was changed, and the result is discord and confusion.

One of the most substantial mistakes, from a woman's point of observation, was undoubtedly the volunteer movement. It was like everlastingly rehearsing a funeral before the eyes of a lately bereaved parent. By the time peace was declared, people were so tired of martial law that they did not even care to read about it, and this mimic reproduction of a military occupation only served to irritate. It forced one to live those hateful days of war over again; and to make it still more vexatious it was principally the men who had done little during the campaign whose names became so prominent during sham fights; yet I am told that they proved as useless on the drill ground and at amateur warfare as they had done on active service. Majors, captains, and colonels, how plentiful they have been on the Rand these last few years, and what little claim they have to these titles! Officers in the T.M.R. or C.S.A.R.V. they are no doubt, but, when playtime is over, nothing more than clerks in some big store or traffic superintendents. I have heard it remarked that the volunteers formed a link between Dutch and English, but I also happened to hear that the Dutchmen joined the volunteers with a laugh up their sleeves at the chance of learning British methods of warfare, also at the chance of once more getting hold of a rifle and ammunition. Furthermore, it was a heavy expense to the country. Even volunteers are not mobilised for nothing, and armoured trains do not dash up and down the line without consuming coal and water and tearing up the road. It would have been better for the country if the money thrown away on the volunteers had been spent in firmly establishing the South African Constabulary, for in a country like the Transvaal the police force is an absolute necessity, while the volunteer system there is merely another word for recreation or inefficiency.

Personally, among the many pictures which the weary sound of the bugles always brings back to me are two which perhaps I may be permitted to mention.

The first, a squad of dusty soldiers coming slowly across the barren country, some toiling wearily on foot, others mounted on thin, half-starved horses. With them a herd of wretched sheep and a few waggons drawn by lean oxen; leaner still the faces of the women and children peering out with red, tear-dimmed eyes from the waggons. A small column of soldiers is bringing in some Boer families to the concentration camps. Probably most of those women are still alive, and on a Sunday afternoon, as they listen to the bugling of the volunteers, the sound must recall that bitter period when they were obliged to accept the hospitality of their enemies, and they spit at their men-kind for even venturing to whisper the word 'conciliation.'

The second, a horse lying on the square of a Transvaal dorp. Every few minutes the dying animal raises its head and looks round

in dumb appeal. The hardened troopers, however, go past unheeding, and before the sun has set in the cloudless sky away on the edge of the treeless plane, the tired life has flown. This picture is symbolical to me of the present position of the British in the Transvaal, and of those who have lately been expelled from that country. It is the English characteristic to suffer in silence. We lie down in patience, dogged and dumb we meet death, and those who ought to help us walk by unheeding.

We English in South Africa are not asking for charity, but justice, for our right to work—to live. We do not even ask to be compensated for our ruined homes, though the Boer has been duly compensated for the home which he lost in his warfare against the British!

At this present time there are many old people, both at home and in South Africa, who, till recently, considered the future of their sons assured, and were preparing to end their own days in well-earned ease, but who now have to face the necessity of helping their children and grandchildren. Single women also are depriving themselves rather than see a brother or a sister want. It is hard on them, and hard also on the sons and brothers who, after many years of strenuous work, find that they have to depend on those who, according to the laws of nature, should be depending on them. Have we not a right to the land in which we have made our home, under the approval and protection of the Mother Country? Our children who were born yonder, and are now exiles with us, are sick with longing for it. More than we, they yearn for the peculiar glamour of that land, the magic buoyancy of the air, the mesmeric enchantment of the starry nights. Why should such power over our lives have been given to this narrow-minded, egotistical people, with its deep-seated resentment against our race? It might well have been foreseen how they would use this power.

I wonder if the Government at home realise to what an extent the Boers are unfit for the privileges they so gaily granted them. They want to close the country to every avenue of progress. Already the train service from towns like Port Elizabeth to the Rand has been reduced to three times a week. Already there is a whisper that the train service from Cape Town will be limited, and that soon there will be no regular mail from England. By degrees they will get back to the old days of trek oxen. The Boers do not want to encourage prospecting, because they do not want the prospector. If more wealth were to be discovered in the country it would mean more work. Like the dog in the manger they sit on gold reefs and growl at every man who wants to come and turn the wealth of the land to some account; they do not want it for themselves, but neither must anybody else have it. They are, moreover, indulging in a policy of petty revenge and spite. The men who fought against them are

marked, and their sons will be marked after them. They do not care if by trampling on them they ruin the country; let it be ruined, providing they can rid the country of hated names. The spy, the fence-sitter, the camp-follower, the man who tried to serve both sides, may be allowed to remain a little longer, but those who took an active part against these self-styled elect of God must go.

Ask a Dutchman straight if he is grateful to England for her recent unprecedented magnanimity, and he will prevaricate. His eyes will grow shifty, he will twiddle his thumbs and with forced laugh he will exclaim, 'Man! If there is one thing I admire, it's the way *you English* can make pals with us. I feel right knocked into a heap by it.' He lays a slight emphasis on the words 'you English,' it is an emphasis of contempt, for to him this policy of conciliation is the policy of fear. 'They are afraid of us,' is what the Boer really thinks on the subject. 'They don't want to set us against them again; they only won by a fluke; just wait and see what we will do next time.' Then he looks up at the Union Jack floating in the sky, and wishes in his heart that next time was come.

We all know the old proverb about setting a beggar on horseback; to-day in the Transvaal the beggar is sitting on horseback with a long *ejambok* in his hand, and his late enemy lies beneath his horse's feet. Is there no one who will dare to interfere?

This is the Transvaal to-day. A land of cruel want, where the wind comes laden not only with dust, but with the sobs and wails of a despairing people, who find themselves being literally trodden down to the level of Kaffirs. It is a land of emptiness, of bankrupt sales and growing desolation. There are gold reefs and tin fields crying for development, but it is of no avail for the prospector or the miner to go to the Transvaal in search of employment. There are miles and miles of uncultivated land waiting for the plough, but it is useless for young Britishers to go out there to settle and farm. For the land, with all that is in it or upon it, belongs to the white Boer, who will cringe and beg and steal and fight, but must not work. He promised his great-grandfather that he would never work, for it is a disgrace; and he must do everything in the same way that his great-grandfather did; and he must never allow himself or his children to be led astray by modern ways, which are the invention of the devil.

We did not feel very uneasy about ourselves when we first heard the word 'retrenchment,' for my husband, though still in the very prime of life, had been for twenty-three years on the fixed establishment of the Civil Service; but as time dragged on we began to grow anxious. By degrees men were signalled out and numbered among those to go who should have been quite safe, according to the promises made in the early days of electioneering. Even then we did our best to believe in the good intentions of our new allies, for no one likes to suspect

that pledges can be so quickly forgotten, promises so easily broken. The words 'anxiety' and 'suspense' were nothing new to me, for I had sat in Bloemfontein for over two months before war was declared with my boxes ready packed, waiting the verdict to leave; but this was worse. Day after day I remained at the house watching for my husband's return from town, and day after day he arrived with the same sentence on his lips: 'No news yet, but I believe I am all right.' Some days he would come back with a tantalising report of a better billet and higher pay; other afternoons he would be disturbed by hints that all salaries were to be reduced, and that the very necessary local and marriage allowances were to be stopped. This would mean an evening of futile calculations and useless resolutions, which would always end in the decision that it would be madness to make any move until we were quite certain. In fact, it was fully twelve months before we learnt what our fate was to be, and until two weeks prior to knowing it my husband was still hearing that same old sentence, 'You are all right.' In addition to the fact that he had been in the Civil Service for so many years he held letters from imperial officers, given to him during the war, to the effect that he was to lose none of his past service or privileges; but it was now questioned whether the letters of military officers given during the heat of war were in any way binding; and on the strength of a small clause in the Cape Civil Service rules and regulations, whereby a man can be placed on temporary pension, he was shoved aside on the retrenched list. He wished to appeal, as, according to the rules and regulations, an appeal is permissible, but this was curtly refused him. He was told that as he was only placed on 'temporary pension,' no discussion could be entered into on the subject of how he had been treated.

As 'temporary pension' meant an income not quite a quarter of what his salary had been and no chance of re-establishment, and as in the Transvaal there was now to be no progress, and therefore no work, and especially no fair play, the outlook was hopeless. We sold our furniture at a complete loss and started home with our five children, the youngest only six months old. Needless to say, I could afford no nurse. For the second time we were refugees, but now, with how much more desperate prospects! Home we came to London to swell the ranks of ill-used British subjects clamouring for employment, which employment is encouragingly promised us over here, but is somehow like the tail lamp of a train, always vanishing round some far curve. Indeed, to use another metaphor, one feels inclined to cry out with the famous Alice, 'Jam yesterday! Jam to-morrow! but never jam to-day.' It is very easy for those in affluent circumstances to say 'wait,' but what suffering this waiting means to some! The problem of trying to make the limited amount in the bank last for an unlimited time is at present the only reward of those who served their country a few years ago.

Reward! I hear an indignant voice cry, 'Loyalty should need no reward.' Granted, but why should it be punished?

Our case is typical of numberless others. There are, of course, isolated instances of 'Britishers' who fought for the Empire during the war, who are still holding their positions in South Africa, and much is made of this fact. The reason why they swim when others sink is, however, neither far to seek nor satisfactory when found. Either they have married Dutch girls with influential Boer relations, or else they are themselves only English on the father's side, and in manner and thought are as thoroughly Dutch as the mothers who bore them.

EMILY OLIVIA CAROLIN.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.*

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCLXXXI—NOVEMBER 1908

THE CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST

I. THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN CASE

THE month of October 1908 inaugurated a new phase in the Balkan problem. By a series of events which were from the outset clothed in what is technically called a *fait accompli*, the entire aspect of the various local, international, and semi-international relations of the States and nations in the South-Eastern Peninsula has assumed a new shape and novel potentialities. For days nothing short of a very serious conflict of interests was expected to follow, and it can hardly be denied that the waves of deeply agitated political and religious passions surged over parts of Europe with no ordinary vehemence. The interests involved are, in more than one case, of a far-reaching character, and, directly or indirectly, the whole of Europe pays close attention to the issue of a crisis that only a few years ago no one would have believed to be amenable to a solution other than that of war.

Fortunately for the higher interests of all concerned, the arbitrament of war has not been, nor will it be, resorted to. We are therefore in a position to take a more dispassionate and a calmer view of the events of October 1908. In fact, so rapidly have events and

persons moved during the last weeks, that it is, I take it, quite possible to find one's bearings and to fix the perspective of the latest 'crisis in the Near East' with tolerable certainty. In order to do so, I considered it, of course, my principal duty to secure the most authentic and authoritative information at the very quarters where the events and *faits accomplis* had originated. This valuable information was granted me at first hand and in a liberal manner. As in all great political moves and measures, there was, no doubt, in the latest Balkan events more than one consideration, motive, or preparatory action which has never found its way into the official documents which were put at my disposal. It may, nevertheless, be safely stated that both the principles and the essential facts can very well be gathered from, and properly valued on, the basis of the information obtained. This, I hope, will contribute to a clearing of the atmosphere, and to the conviction that in this latest Balkan crisis, as in most other crises of life, Necessity has played a greater part than has Malice.

I.

The latest Balkan crisis implies events in several Balkan States, and it will be conducive to greater clearness as well as to greater justice if we treat of each of these States separately. I will accordingly first treat of the recent measures of Austria-Hungary; then of those of Bulgaria; and finally of the aspirations of the Servians and Montenegrins. Inasmuch as the interests of Turkey proper must necessarily be taken into consideration in the discussion of each of the preceding points, it is unnecessary to treat of Turkey separately. First, then, as to Austria-Hungary.

In 1866 the Austro-Hungarian Empire lost her last possessions in Italy, the province of Venice. It was but natural that the Austro-Hungarian Government was constantly looking out for compensation for the great territorial losses of 1859 and 1866. It is to the present day not yet clear in what quarters arose the idea of offering Austria-Hungary compensation in the Balkans. Some say it originated in Russia; others maintain it was a suggestion of Bismarck. It is not unlikely that something to that effect was planned at the Ballplatz of Vienna too. '*Halb zog sie ihn, halb fiel er hin,*' as Goethe says. At any rate, when at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, the proposal was brought before the Powers, it met with great favour, England especially manifesting great zeal in the recommendation of an 'occupation' of two Turkish provinces by Austria-Hungary. It was in reality one of those moves on the chess-board of Europe which enables all the partners concerned to indulge in the satisfaction of having made a 'good' move. Bismarck was glad to think that Austria-Hungary was henceforth obliged, in her own interest, to deviate considerably from the lines of Russian policy in the Balkans. Russia, on the other

hand, was not dissatisfied to see Austria-Hungary settle down in the Balkans, where, by anticipated victories over the Turks, Russia hoped soon to have the upper hand. England could not but feel sympathy for the improvement in the Balance of Power, which, while adding nothing to the strength of Germany, was likely to increase the prestige and resources of Austria-Hungary. It is superfluous to labour the reasons why the proposal of compensation in the Balkans was particularly agreeable to Austria-Hungary. If, then, we cast a last parting glance on the famous treaty of 1878, as far as it concerns the present crisis in the Near East, we are fortified in the conviction that what was then done was a matter not of neighbourly or friendly kindness, but a measure growing out of the necessities of the European balance of Power.

By Article XXV. of the Treaty of Berlin, Austria-Hungary was empowered to occupy and to administer, to the exclusion of any other sovereign, the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two mountainous and beautiful provinces were then, as they are to-day, inhabited by a people speaking the same Slav languages (Croato-Servian), but in point of religion divided into half a million Mohammedans, a little over half a million Greek Orthodox, and about three hundred thousand Roman Catholics. The men are much more numerous than the women. The two provinces join the southern border of Austria-Hungary, and constitute the hinterland of Dalmatia on the Adriatic. They were, before 1878, the most northern of the European dominions of Turkey. They gave Austria-Hungary a leverage in the Balkans; and since, by the Treaty of Berlin, Austria-Hungary was even charged with the purely military administration of the Sanjak of Novibazar, to the south of Bosnia, the Dual Monarchy seemed to have received the tacit mandate to advance to what is relatively very near to Novibazar—to the Aegean Sea.

Austria-Hungary, in accepting the task of full and uncontrolled administration and government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at once set to work in the most efficient way. It will be well to remind the reader that the 'occupation' of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary was, from the standpoint of international law, essentially different from the occupation of Cyprus or Egypt by Great Britain. In the case of Cyprus the administration of the island is, by the Convention of the 4th of June 1878, concluded at Constantinople between Great Britain and Turkey, expressly tied down to a condition which places its temporary character beyond a doubt. It is needless to dwell on the specific nature of Great Britain's hold on Egypt. The 'occupation' of Egypt by Great Britain is, from the standpoint of international law, even much more indistinct and amorphous. It is undoubtedly a necessary fact; it is, nevertheless, legally an indistinct state of things. In the *Statesman's Year-Book*, under 'Egypt,' not a trace of the real position of Great Britain on the Nile can be found.

The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary

was of quite a different character. As in all the dominions of Turkey, formerly and at present, the various European Powers had, by so-called Capitulations or Treaties, obtained the right of administering justice to their subjects who happened to stay in Turkish Bosnia and Herzegovina, in a court of law consisting of consuls or judges taken from among the citizens of the European Power in question, and not from among the Turks. Both in Cyprus and in Egypt this system of Capitulations is still in force, in spite of the British occupation. It was entirely different in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Once these provinces were occupied by Austria-Hungary, no European Power claimed, even in a single case, the rights given by the former Capitulations applying to the two provinces; and all Europe at once recognised that Bosnia and Herzegovina were henceforth within 'the comity of nations,' in that they had passed into the sovereign rights of an acknowledged Power. No stronger proof of absolute sovereignty could possibly be advanced. Much of the law administered in the two provinces is indeed still Turkish law; for, the agrarian customs and usages of Bosnia and Herzegovina being, as they are, very much at variance with those prevailing in either half of the Dual Monarchy, it was necessary to leave the old Turkish law of Real Estate more or less untouched. This, however, cannot affect the right of sovereignty as *de facto* exercised by Austria-Hungary in all matters connected with the administration of law. As a further consequence of that Austro-Hungarian right of absolute sovereignty *de facto*, the Bosniaks and Herzegovinians were at once subjected to the law of general military service obtaining in Austria-Hungary, and the recruits of the two provinces were sworn in as soldiers of the Emperor-King of Austria-Hungary. In the same way, treaties of commerce, and all international acts referring to Bosnia and Herzegovina were, since 1878, concluded by the authorities of Austria-Hungary alone. Even in a minor fact of public life that absolute sovereignty *de facto* of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina manifested itself in the least doubtful manner. According to the criminal code in force in the two provinces before the recent change of status, any person insulting the Emperor-King of Austria-Hungary, or a member of his family, was subject to the penalties of *lèse-majesté* proper (§§ 140 and 141); whereas similar insults directed against the Sultan of Turkey were, like those levelled at any other crowned head, subject to the minor penalties of ordinary defamation (§ 445). Of all the former rights of the Sultan in Bosnia and Herzegovina, two formal privileges alone remained in force. One was the permission given to the Mohammedan Bosniaks to mention, in their prayers, the name of the Sultan. The other was the permission to hoist on such Turkish Minarets, where it had been customary to do so, the Ottoman flag during prayer-time. It would be impossible to invest these two privileges with the faintest semblance of the power of real sovereignty.

For thirty years, then, Austria-Hungary exercised in Bosnia and Herzegovina all and every right and privilege of absolute sovereignty. This is not the place to show in detail that those rights and privileges were, by Austro-Hungarian officials, exercised to the lasting benefit of the two provinces. In several weighty communications sent by various Englishmen to *The Times* in the month of October enough has been said to bear out the well-known impression of the great efficiency of Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thirty years ago there were no railways in the provinces; now there are over one thousand miles of railway, over two thousand miles of telegraph lines, and nearly four hundred miles of telephone wire. Close on seventeen million letters and postcards are now forwarded in the provinces where formerly the postal service was exceedingly primitive. These and similar facts all testifying to the great work of civilisation done by Austria-Hungary in a country that had for centuries been in a state of neglect and stagnation, have long since been made familiar to the conscience of Europe. Nobody seriously doubts them, and it is superfluous to insist upon them. What, however, must be insisted upon is the legal fact that this occupation, with all its *de facto* exercise of absolute sovereign power, was by the Congress of Berlin meant to be entrusted to Austria-Hungary, not as that of Cyprus was to Great Britain—that is, for a limited period—but for an unlimited one. In other words, it cannot seriously be maintained that the Congress of Berlin viewed the ‘occupation’ of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in a light other than that of an absolute cession veiled temporarily in the guise of one of those legal fictions which both in private and public law are only meant as preliminary makeshifts for subsequent realities of a different character. Nor did the Sultan of Turkey view it in any different light. Whatever process of legal interpretation may or may not be applied to the Convention of the 21st of April 1879, made, in further elaboration of the Berlin Treaty, by Austria-Hungary and Turkey; one point remains stable, clear, and unanswerable—to wit, that the Sultan, in Articles II. and IV. of the said Convention, stipulated, as the only rights of active sovereignty which he could and did claim, the religious privileges mentioned above, and the circulation of Ottoman coins as legal tender in the two provinces. Of these two rights, the first is purely moral; and the second has, by contrary usage, long since become objectless. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there has, these twenty years, been no coin circulating other than Austro-Hungarian coin.

To the Western mind, long since used to definite and clear delimitations, both in political institutions and in political territory, the indistinct legal measures frequently applied in Oriental or African politics offer more than one difficulty. The progress of international history in Central and Western Europe has made for greater plasticity and simplicity, whatever complications may still prevail in the home-

policy of the various nations. The present German Empire is not a fiction, as was 'the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nation.' Its territory is completely rounded off and neatly demarcated to within a square inch. Its organisation, as a public and international body, is absolutely clear, and lends itself to no fictions whatever. The same holds good of Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, France, Holland, Belgium, and, of course, of the oldest of all self-contained realms, of Great Britain. The same quality does not, however, attach to countries in the south-east of, or outside, Europe. In those parts of the world the conflicting interests of the dominating European Powers have up to very recent times found it almost impossible to promote the crystallisation of political relations in forms of definite, clear-out, and unequivocal outlines. All the contrivances by means of which Western and Central Europe used, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, to patch up differences between States and nations, between denominations and sects, or dynasties and peoples, and which contrivances have since the French Revolution been either in abeyance or radically removed; all these *enclaves*, 'public or international servitudes,' 'constitutional fictions,' and inarticulate 'arrangements' of political problems have of necessity been the order of the day in the Balkans. Politics, more especially international policy, are, however, not altogether a legal process; it is pre-eminently an historical one. Thus, in the present case, it cannot possibly be denied that, while the above temporary contrivances and fictions had their complete *raison d'être* as long as the political life of the Balkan nations was in a state of backwardness, they can no longer be held to fulfil a useful function at a time when the political maturity which in Central and Western Europe has caused their disappearance has at last reached the Balkan Peninsula too. In one word, the Balkans, too, have arrived at that stage of political life when crystallisation in forms of unequivocal outlines becomes a matter of urgent necessity. Fictions will no longer do; patched-up compromises and obnoxious servitudes can no longer be endured. Those temporary contrivances have outlived themselves, and bring the nations still enduring them into a constantly increasing maze of *impasses*.

This is precisely what has happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The position of Austria-Hungary in the two provinces 'occupied' by her became, as a matter of fact, almost unbearable. As invariably happens in such cases, Austria-Hungary was placed between two evils, and had to decide which of the two was, if submitted to, the lesser of the two. One evil was an unavoidable conflagration in and around the two provinces, owing to the constant intrigues and smouldering revolt of the Southern Slavs, principally the Servians, who hoped to avail themselves of the false position and legally fictitious sovereignty of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the purpose of a sort of Pan-Servianism. Of these very serious intrigues

I will at once give the requisite data from official and partly unpublished sources. At present we shall briefly indicate the second evil hinted at above. It consisted in a formal incorrectness, which did not entail any substantial damage on any of the non-Turkish nations in the Balkans, nor on the Great Powers, and which conferred upon the most interested party, on the Turks proper, a considerable advantage. This formal incorrectness was the declaration by Austria-Hungary, made on the 7th of October last, to the effect that she annexed the two provinces; or, in other words, that she named her actual and complete sovereignty by its true name.

It is quite alien to the purpose of this article to attempt denying that in the action of Austria-Hungary there was an element of formal incorrectness towards the Powers who had, in Article XXV. of the Berlin Treaty, entrusted Austria-Hungary with the occupation and complete administration of the two provinces. It is not contended that if a previous effort had been made to obtain the consent of the Powers the procedure would have been more incorrect. On the contrary, the procedure would, in that case, have been formally more correct. Nor is it here meant to use the *tu quoque* argument, for which the history of all the Great Powers concerned supplies more than a goodly number of precedents. It is even not intended to press the well-known tacit condition of all international treaties, the clause *rebus sic stantibus*, to its finest ramifications. All that it is here meant to state is this, that Austria-Hungary found herself in the course of the last two years in a condition of what is commonly called *force majeure*, in consequence of which she was compelled to choose the lesser evil, as the one that was most likely to bring about the desired improvement not only fully, but also as speedily as no other procedure, least of all an international conference, can ever bring about.

II

It is now necessary to give a full statement of the facts which placed Austria-Hungary in the position of being under the pressure of *force majeure* over two years before the new *régime* in Turkey proper profoundly altered the entire political aspect of the Balkans. All of those facts come back to the indubitable, well-organised, and most dangerous attempts of the Servians and Croatians to oust Austria-Hungary from Bosnia and Herzegovina. To the English reader, to whom Serbia or Croatia appear merely as small fry, such attempts and efforts on the part of a little nation against a great Power do not seem to be invested with much importance. However, a very short reflection of how these factors are constituted in reality will induce even a casual observer to view Servian and Croatian intrigues and agitation in Austria-Hungary in quite a different light.

Croatia, Slavonia, Styria and Carinthia, let alone Istria, or, in other words, entire provinces of Austria-Hungary, are teeming with

several millions of Southern Slavs who talk practically the same language with their immediate neighbours, the inhabitants of Bosnia, Herzegowina, and Servia. If we add the very numerous Serb-speaking population of the south of Hungary proper, we may safely state the remarkable fact that the whole south of Austria-Hungary is in its vastly preponderating majority a mass of people who naturally, and still more in consequence of continuous and active propaganda, deeply sympathise with the political aspirations of the Slavs in Servia and in Bosnia-Herzegowina, and even in Montenegro. If, then, the Servian secret propaganda of the *Slovenski Jug*, or the 'Slav South,' as their association is called, should be allowed to advance on the lines hitherto trodden by it, there can be no doubt that Austria-Hungary would soon be confronted with a revolt of nations who are still in the epic stage of heroic traditions and have at all times been desperate fighters. As compared with such a danger, the Polish peril in Eastern Germany is a mere child's play; and it has hitherto not yet been noticed that the benevolent attitude of the German Emperor to Austria-Hungary is, in the present case, not quite uninfluenced by the fact that the troubles obviated by the act of the 7th of October refer to another Slav centre of disturbance. The Slav danger, whether in Poland or in the south of Austria-Hungary, is not a mere bogey.

This will perhaps suffice to show the importance of Slav agitations in Bosnia and Herzegowina, in a general way. The impression is indefinitely intensified by a closer study, first of the Press of the agitators, then of their deeds. As to the Press it is probably not out of place to remark that in those parts of the world political journals may be said to wield considerably more influence than they do in western countries. Literature proper there is very little among the South Slavs. The average South Slav will read hundreds of newspapers before he will read one book proper. The passion for political discussion, unremittingly going on in all the numberless cafés, inns, and restaurants of Bosnia, Servia, Croatia, is kept up almost exclusively by the local Press. It is under these circumstances impossible to minimise the influence of a political organ which reaches the inhabitants of the smallest village and has practically free scope for the spread of its propaganda.

The Servian Press in Bosnia and Herzegowina has published innumerable inflammatory articles, the declared purpose of which is to oust Austria-Hungary from Bosnia and Herzegowina. It was said in that Press, day after day, that the occupation of the two provinces was only a provisional measure; that the Sultan was their true ruler, whereas Emperor-King Francis Joseph I. was only their *Upravitelj*, or pacificator. The Sultan is called *naš uzviseni suverain*, our genuine sovereign. The ordinances and decrees of the Austria-Hungarian Government for the two provinces have, that Press says, no legal power, in that Austria-Hungary act only *samovoljno*,

or arbitrarily, illegally. Of the people it is said that it is 'sweated.' The Austro-Hungarian officials are mere 'gladnice,' or beggarly loafers. In the newspaper called *Otadžbina*, published at Banjaluka, there appeared, on the 14th (27th) of September 1907, an article under the title '*Posljednje vrijeme*,' or the End of Times, giving a most lugubrious and totally untrue picture of the alleged misery of the people in the two provinces. In the same paper, No. 8, the 29th of February (the 12th of March) 1908, there appeared a leader which in expression and tendency could not possibly be more inflammatory. It is there said as the upshot of the situation in the Balkans: '*Bratu brat, Svabi rat!*' i.e. 'To our brethren we shall be brothers, to the Svab (Austrian) we will be enemies.' Racial war is openly threatened. Articles of a similar tendency appear not only in papers published at the capital of Bosnia, in Serajewo, more particularly in the *Srpska Rijet*, but also in Croato-Servian papers published in Dalmatia, such as the '*Dubrovnik*' of Ragusa. As early as the 21st of April (4th of May) 1907, the '*Narod*' of Mostar openly declared that the Austro-Hungarian occupation in the two provinces must incontinently cease, or that otherwise the ensuing Revolution will destroy Austria as a dynamite bomb does a house. The '*Musavat*' of Mostar frequently had articles to the same effect. The Christmas numbers of these papers are full of poems imploring the people in the most passionate manner to free themselves from the yoke of the foreigner. 'Now is the time to die for the holy cause of Liberty,' says Skrgo, one of the best-known local poets, in one of his Christmas carols. In the '*Musavat*' of Mostar, No. 13, of the 16th of April 1907, a 'jurist' discusses the Article XXV. of the Berlin Treaty and tries to show in guarded but distinctly provocative language that no mayor of a town in Bosnia can legally be held to swear fealty to any one else than to the Sultan of Turkey. Since, as a matter of fact, all Bosnian mayors take the oath to the Emperor-King, it is easy to see in what intention this article was written. So seditious were the articles in the *Srpska Rijet* of Serajewo that that paper has, before the end of September last, been confiscated not less than seventy-five times. This paper, as well as the *Otadžbina* of Banjaluka, is really the property of the Servian Government represented by a certain Gligoriye Jeftanovich, who was handed the sum of 30,000 Austrian crowns, with which sum he bought shares in the printing concern of the paper. The editors of the *Srpska Rijet*, although the paper is published in the capital of Bosnia, at Serajewo, have always been Servians. In fact the whole pan-Servian Press in the two provinces is directed from the so-called 'Cultus-Section' at Belgrade, the capital of Servia, where one Spaykovich is entrusted with the propaganda. In addition to newspapers the Servian and Croatian agitators have at times flooded the country with pamphlets of all sizes, one more incendiary in tone and spirit than the other. And lest the cool outsider underrate the force and momentum of all these agitations by means of the written or

spoken word, it is sufficient to adduce the following facts : As a result of all the seditious articles, pamphlets, addresses, the Bosnian inhabitants of a large number of places in Bosnia have as late as September last tried to organise meetings and to draw up memorials, the avowed and unavowed objects of which were disloyalty to the Austro-Hungarian authorities. The names of the places, where these movements have taken place, and partly visited by various fines and penalties, are D. Tuzla, Zvornik, Ključ, Puračić, Gornji Vakuf, Prača, Jezero, Petrovač, Stolač, Otoka, Serajewo, Presteniča, Jeruske, Gorjevač, and others.

So far we have considered only the verbal activity of the relentless foreign enemies of the Austro-Hungarian régime in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If now we go to their deeds, we are at the outset confronted with the fact that no less than 15,000 Mauser rifles and bombs made in the artillery arsenal of Kragujevatz in Serbia were, in autumn 1907, brought by the conspirators to the frontiers of Bosnia and there deposited in a blockhouse called Krajčinovac, as also in the Servian monastery of Banja near Priboj. Some of those bombs were sent to Montenegro, where they were seized by the authorities on the 5th of November 1907. The Servian conspirators, it appears, wanted to exterminate the members of the family of the Prince of Montenegro, together with that Prince, so as to facilitate thereby the union of all the Western Balkans, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the leadership of a Servian dynasty. Servian bands, under a Servian ex-Minister of War, whose name was General Atanatzkovich, and with the moral and material support of Servian patriotic associations, such as the '*Srpska Bratsha*,' and the '*Kolo Srpskich Sestara*,' raided Austro-Hungarian territory. Officially, of course, the existence of these bands was repeatedly denied. It is nevertheless beyond a doubt that Servian officers and Servian soldiers were, with the connivance of the Servian Government, sent into Macedonia, as well as into the regions bordering on Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the manifest object to create mischief and spread the spirit of revolt. Fethi Pasha, the Turkish envoy at Belgrade, knew every movement of those bands, and M. Simich, one of the most active of the Servian agitators, made no secrets about them to earnest inquirers. Nor can it be a mystery to whosoever studies the latest history of the Servian aspirations that they have long since learned to use the assassin's knife as an ordinary political weapon. It is, amongst other things, an ascertained fact that Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria has, as a rule, and certainly since 1904, abandoned any intention of travelling through Servian territory, except in profound secrecy, and with the passport of a merchant. At Sofia they will, so they say, not be surprised to find some day or other the same sort of bombs, filled with '*Schneiderit*' or with '*Wassit*,' that were found at Cetinje, in Montenegro.

It can under these circumstances not be a matter of surprise

that all this vast amount of revolutionary activity on the part of the Pan-Servians has finally led to the formation of an organisation, the secret plans of which were revealed by M. George Nastich in his pamphlet '*Finale*' (1908). In that remarkable publication we read the elaborate 'Statute' of the 'Organisation' hatched out in Servia for 'the Liberation of all South Slavs, or Slovenes, Croatsians and Servians,' which is meant in the first place for the people of Bosnia and Herzegowina. The contents of this lengthy Statute, the facsimile of the original Servian draft of which lies before me, consists of eleven sections: (1) Introduction (On the Situation; showing it to be 'ripe' for action, i.e. for ousting Austria-Hungary from 'South Slavia'); (2) name of the organisation, which runs: 'South Slav Revolutionary Organisation'; (3) object of the organisation ('complete liberation of all the South Slavs'); (4) character of the organisation ('revolutionary'); (5) area of activity ('wherever Slovenes, Croatsians, and Servians dwell,' the Bulgarian being as yet excluded); (6) schedule of work, in seven sub-sections—(a) work on the propaganda; (b) preparatory labours; (c) relation to Governments and parties; (d) relation to foreign countries; (e) supply of money; (f) absolute secrecy; (g) agitation in the Austro-Hungarian Army; (7) head office in America; (8) membership, in eight sub-sections; (9) branch organisations; (10) tactics of the organisation ('to use anything and everything likely to promote the object'); (11) epilogue. This vast organisation, meant to undo all Austro-Hungarian prestige, or power in the two provinces, was concocted at Belgrade, and drawn up by Milan Pribichevich, aided by Bude Budisavljevich and by Wasso Pribichevich.

These, then, were the facts staring the Austro-Hungarian Government in Bosnia-Herzegowina in the face. There was in 1907 and 1908, to the exclusion of any reasonable doubt, a wide and dangerous revolutionary movement among the South Slavs, the one clear and unmistakable object of which was to 'liberate' the Slovenes, Croatsians and Servians, i.e., among others, the Bosniaks and Herzegowinians, from the 'yoke' of Austro-Hungarian sovereignty. I do not for a moment hesitate to admit that had Bosnia and Herzegowina been an internationally acknowledged member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, such as in Styria or Carinthia, the revolutionary activity of the Pan-Slovenes, or Pan-Servians, could have been readily dealt with by Austria-Hungary without her drawing upon ultimate resources of diplomacy, and without leaving the ordinary way of quelling disturbances. It can, on the other hand, not be denied that under the actual circumstances in 1907 and early in 1908 Austria-Hungary was most seriously handicapped in her natural desire to defend her sphere of legitimate governance. Once Bosnia and Herzegowina are formally annexed by the Dual Monarchy, it is comparatively easy to foil or reduce revolutionary movements by the legal means of repression. But as long as Austria-Hungary is not, in law as well as in fact, the acknowledged sovereign of the two provinces she is not in a position

to strike firmly. A Servian intriguing in Bosnia is, legally, intriguing in Turkish territory. How can, under the circumstances, Austria-Hungary take him to task with becoming severity and expedition? One hesitates; one compromises; that is, one renders the situation more and more embroiled and more and more weak. If, again, one is provoked beyond the limit of endurance, as undoubtedly Austria-Hungary has been by the Slovene revolutionaries, then nothing remains but war proper. To the incessant cabals and plots of the Slovenes and Servians the Austro-Hungarian Government could have replied in one way only—by marching on Belgrade. This means war, and would have been only another confirmation of the experience which Austria-Hungary had in 1878, when, despite the mandate of the Powers, she had to conquer the two provinces by a regular campaign. I do not in the least attempt to press this point. Yet it is perfectly clear that, just as Austria-Hungary was obliged to possess herself of Bosnia and Herzegovina by right of war, or *droit de conquête*, even so she would have unavoidably been driven to maintain that conquest by a new war with the South Slavs. This much the most prejudiced of her critics cannot but admit.

When things had come to that pass, when war seemed the only issue out of an intolerable situation, the Turks by their otherwise admirable political revival precipitated events in such a manner that a statesman of the calibre of Baron Aehrenthal had no other choice left. By the introduction of constitutional government into Turkey it became at once manifest that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina might claim to be represented in the Parliament of Constantinople. As a matter of fact agitators have claimed it; see especially the *Srpska Rijec* of the 22nd of September 1908. Nor could it be said that the law of Europe was formally against such claims. In reality it strengthened, nay encouraged, such claims. For were not Bosnia and Herzegovina still Turkish in law? The new Constitution in Turkey thus added a most dangerous weapon to the arsenal of the countless foreign enemies of and secret plotters in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Herzegovina. The time had come. Austria-Hungary needed a *fait accompli* to obviate war, and to render her position at least endurable. To submit the question to a Conference would have involved months, perhaps years of negotiations, without absolutely insuring peace. In an ever-famous case Austria-Hungary had acquired the conviction that even the formal previous consent of the Powers, obtained by means of laborious and costly negotiations, did not obviate the terrible war of the Austrian Succession. On the other hand, a firm action would, it was confidently hoped, obviate war. The events have justified this expectation. Can it be seriously called in question that Austria-Hungary has, by its act, rendered war in the Balkans a matter of very doubtful possibility? That process of crystallisation which has in the last thirty years been the dominating principle of the historic growth of the Balkans; that process making for clearness,

accurate delimitation of power, and peace—that process was understood and acted upon by Baron Aerenthal. Is that really a crime? Is an act based on the prompt understanding of the meaning of historic currents or ideas to be considered an infraction of the law of nations? Above the law of nations there is the history of nations and its superior law. What can more conclusively prove that than the fact that there is in the Chancelleries of Great Britain, France, or Russia, not the slightest doubt about the anticipation that the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina will in an eventual Conference not be discussed, but simply referred to (*constat*)? Baron Aerenthal has done in 1908 what the Congress of Berlin did in 1878—he has entered on the registers the results of historic forces. If he has done that somewhat faultily in externals, there can be little doubt that, as he did not in the least mean to insult the Powers, so the Powers do not at all mean to resent it gravely. *Force majeure* is an accepted principle. If ever a statesman was under the pressure of *force majeure* in the true sense of the term, Baron Aerenthal was. This is clearly understood in London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. It will undoubtedly be taken for granted at the forthcoming Conference. This and nothing more is meant when Austria-Hungary's 'unwillingness' to join the Conference is mentioned. There is no unwillingness to correct formal incorrections. There is unwillingness to admit that historic necessities were wanton breaches of law.

III.

When the present article was commenced I intended to treat of Bulgaria in some detail. However, the process of crystallisation repeatedly referred to as the feature of contemporary politics in the South-East of Europe, has been proceeding with such rapidity that a formal and cordial understanding between Turkey and Bulgaria is now almost a certainty, if not a *fait accompli*. In Bulgaria, too, the historic growth of events and facts so outstripped the growth of legal doctrines that it became, for Prince Ferdinand and his people, a mere matter of necessity to render the situation more defined and clear by articulating the facts in the form of an imperatively needed declaration of independence. The Turks themselves have admitted this much by their deeds and their conciliatory attitude to Bulgaria, if not by words. As soon as hopeful negotiations were started by the former vassal and suzerain, all Europe applauded both the magnanimity of the Turk and the boldness of the Bulgarians. Under these circumstances it is not necessary to add any further details to a question the satisfactory solution of which is close at hand.

As regards the various aspirations of the Servians, it is difficult to see what 'compensation' the Powers in conference could possibly offer them. Territorial compensation could be given only at the expense of the Turks or of Austria-Hungary. The former is excluded

by the official declaration of Great Britain, France, and Russia ; the latter cannot seriously be thought of for a moment, in that it would constitute the classical *casus belli* in the Balkans. Serbia will, no doubt, obtain a seat on the Danube Commission and certain privileges not accorded her in the Treaty of 1883. Her Pan-Slovene or Pan-Servian aspirations are for the time being doomed to failure. In all the preceding statements of fact regarding the revolutionary actions of Serbia in Austro-Hungarian territory, I did not at all mean to sit in moral judgment on a nation so old, so valiant, and so gifted. I stated the facts ; I drew the logical conclusion from them ; but it is far from me to condemn the Servians altogether. They try to do what all nations attempt doing : they want to assert themselves. According to the geographical and historical situation in space and time, each nation does that in its own way. All I claimed was the right of Austria-Hungary to do it in her way.

The case of Montenegro, which amounts to a rectification of the servitudes imposed upon Montenegro by the Treaty of Berlin, and at present belonging to Austria-Hungary, is quite different. Those servitudes can largely be rectified, and that rectification will without any doubt meet with much sympathy on the part of Austria-Hungary.

The upshot, then, of the much-maligned actions of Austria-Hungary on the one hand, and of Bulgaria on the other, is this, that the perennial crisis in the Near East has been advanced by several most important steps towards a permanent regulation and crystallisation of the indistinct, amorphous, and thus dangerous situation in the Balkans. Turkey may perhaps effectively claim some financial indemnification from Austria-Hungary ; at any rate, she can obtain again full control of the Sanjak of Novibazar, which Baron Aerenthal spontaneously offers to her. She may also hope to improve her international position by an abrogation, or partial reformation, of her Capitulations. The question of the Dardanelles will not be raised at present. Crete is in reality no difficulty whatever. The new constitutional *régime* in Turkey has evidently come to stay, and the probable friendship between Bulgaria and Turkey will be a very strong guarantee of peace in the Balkans. War has been obviated, and no substantial damage has been entailed on any one of the Powers, great or small. Has crisis ever been more salutary ? Can the statesman by whose thought and promptitude the larger part of this so-called crisis has been brought about, be characterised by no fitter title than that of a law-breaker ? To him and to many an anonymous politician in the Balkans all Europe owes no small gratitude for the clearing of a political horizon on which ominous storm-clouds used to gather with fatal celerity. The *amour propre* of several Powers may have felt uneasy as long as the necessities under which Baron Aerenthal acted were not known. It is hoped that these necessities will now be understood with somewhat greater readiness.

EMIL REICH.

THE CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST

II. THE BULGARIAN POINT OF VIEW

THE Bulgarian proclamation of independence and the Austro-Hungarian declaration that Bosnia and Herzegovina have been incorporated with the Empire as a Crown dominion have brought about a crisis in the Near East which it has been very generally assumed must increase the state of political instability that has been for so many years a menace to the peace of Europe. The disregard shown by the rulers alike of the Dual Monarchy and of the Balkan Principality for the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, and the precipitation with which they have acted, without even communicating their intentions to the signatories of that treaty, certainly afford grounds for this apprehension; but a calm and impartial examination of the causes which have combined to produce the present undoubtedly critical situation will serve to show that the final outcome of the present turmoil will be to ameliorate the situation in the Near East and to produce a degree of stability which could not have been expected to result merely from the establishment of constitutional government in Turkey, important as that reform may prove to be in removing some of the causes of unrest.

The Treaty of Berlin, concluded over thirty years ago, was of the nature of a compromise; it was not founded upon any principles of scientific statesmanship; it did not take into account the natural aspirations of the peoples for whom it professed to legislate, but was designed merely to maintain the equilibrium which then happened to exist in the Near East. Even then the existence of new forces had to be recognised, and the treaty itself formally approved and sanctioned the beginning of the dismemberment of Turkey; for it gave complete independence to Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, and handed over to Russia the territories of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, until then undisputed parts of the Turkish dominions in Asia. It was soon followed by the practical severance of Cyprus and Egypt, and, later on, of Crete from the Turkish Empire; while in 1881 the greater part of Thessaly and Epirus passed to Greece. The signatory Powers have been in discord over every clause of the treaty, and more especially

during the last five years as regards the solution of the Macedonian question, the immediate and direct cause of the present crisis. It is very evident, now that it is too late, that had this question been solved by the Powers, neither Bulgaria nor Austria-Hungary would have ventured in the present case to take independent action. Everybody is aware that certain of the Powers were in reality, for various reasons, not anxious for a solution; and this proves that the Berlin Treaty, for whose maintenance intact they were all responsible, had in fact already become a dead letter. That is to say, events had proved that the task which Europe undertook when framing this treaty was beyond her resources at an epoch when civilisation was developing with such rapidity in the Balkan Peninsula.

'*La force prime le droit.*' Had Austria and Bulgaria not possessed powerful armies they would not have cared to risk incurring the displeasure of the Concert.

It has become usual to minimise the importance of the Dual Monarchy in foreign questions owing to the existence of serious internal dissensions. It is now seen that on a foreign question of serious moment the Crown can rely upon a united army; the possession of this formidable armed force has enabled Austria to carry out a strong policy. In a similar way Bulgaria has ventured to realise her ambition to become an independent monarchy because she possesses a well-equipped and, in proportion to her population, large army, in which every able-bodied man is anxious to serve his country.

That it was ungenerous to seize the moment when the institutions of Turkey were in a state of transition cannot be denied; but it must be remembered that one of the reforms most prominently announced by the New Party was the reorganisation of the military forces, and it was perhaps too much to expect that international chivalry should go so far as to induce the smaller State to wait until her big adversary was perchance ready to take the offensive and to endeavour to re-occupy Eastern Roumelia. By the Peace of St. Stephano, which brought the Russo-Turkish War to an end in 1878, Eastern Roumelia was assigned to Bulgaria as an integral part of the Principality. But the Treaty of Berlin, which followed immediately, nullified this arrangement, and the province remained under Turkish rule. The Christian inhabitants were by no means satisfied, however, and in response to their appeals Bulgaria occupied the country in 1885; an agreement was then drawn up between Turkey and the Powers under which the ruler of Bulgaria has since administered Eastern Roumelia. Though it is to all intents and purposes a part of Bulgaria, Turkey, had she desired to raise the question, might with some show of reason have maintained that the international status of Roumelia was still that of an autonomous Turkish province, and have claimed that the constitutional reform recently achieved in Constantinople entitled her to resume its administration.

It is generally admitted that the injury inflicted upon Turkey has been entirely moral, for she has lost no territory over which she exercised direct authority, while she has obtained the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, a very considerable advantage. It is most satisfactory that she has behaved with admirable calm and patriotism, and that no weakening of the New Party is apparent as the result of recent events.

Other States have been deterred from asserting their pretensions solely by their military weakness. Serbia, whose hopes of expansion have been in large measure frustrated, has naturally been the loudest in her protests. Her claims, however, to an eventual aggrandisement through the acquisition of part of the provinces which have just passed to Austria are based upon no more solid grounds than that their Slav population is of Servian extraction. Such a reason as the affinity of races has never yet been admitted when considering the solution of the Macedonian question. In the case of Serbia, again, we see how force is the main factor; for could she dispose of an army equal to that of Bulgaria, she would have long since marched westwards and given Austria more trouble than she cared for to repel her.

The Turkish Empire, at the moment of its greatest expansion some five centuries ago, held the whole of the vast peninsula from the Mediterranean and Adriatic to the Black Sea, stretching northwards to the gates of Vienna, where the Ottoman advance was at length checked by Western Europe. While compelled gradually to retire the Turks still held for a long time all the country from the Mediterranean, northwards, as far as and including modern Serbia and Roumania, and embracing Greece, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. Though conquered, however, the national spirit of the original inhabitants of these lands was not extinguished, and found its opportunity in the gradual decay and weakening of Turkey.

Greece, greatly aided by British sympathy, was the first to earn her independence by the war of 1821-9. By the Treaty of Berlin, signed in July 1878, the independence of Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania was formally recognised, and each received a considerable accession of territory; while Bulgaria became an autonomous Principality, owning only a nominal allegiance to the Sultan. It is clear, therefore, that the process of the disintegration of Turkey was attended by a corresponding increase in the degree of independence granted to countries which, after being at one time integral parts of the Ottoman dominion, won first the relative independence of autonomous provinces and finally achieved the freedom of sovereign States. In the case of Bulgaria it could but be expected that history would repeat itself, as soon as she had gathered the necessary strength to enforce her will and to strike out to free herself.

It has perhaps been too hastily assumed in some quarters that the motive of Austria, in proclaiming the final annexation of territories

already practically her own in everything but name, was to cast discredit upon the new Turkish administration, and, by weakening its prestige, to pave the way for the re-establishment of the corrupt and weak autocracy. This policy would, however, be short-sighted, inasmuch as a strong Turkey, while never a danger to Austria herself, might some day be of no little value to her in aiding her to resist the pressure of other Powers. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that Austria's policy has been quite other, and that it has been directed against the Southern Pan-Slav union. It is notorious that there has been for many years past a widespread movement amongst the Slavs south of the Danube, of whom there are at least some twelve millions when the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins, and Croatsians are included, towards a union of interests, whilst each separate State maintained autonomy. Austria has been well aware of the danger which such a combination would have created for her at a moment in the future when, perhaps, she might have to face internal complications coupled with grave external troubles; the policy followed at the present crisis has indefinitely postponed, if it has not rendered entirely impossible, the realisation of these Slav hopes. By the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as integral parts of the Empire a wedge is driven between Serbia to the east and Montenegro and Croatia to the west and north. Bulgaria, also, has alienated more than ever the friendship of Serbia and Montenegro by the advantage she has gained; and, her present ambition satisfied, she will not be disposed to embark on a policy of adventure merely with the object of assisting her Balkan Slav rivals.

The withdrawal of her troops from Novi Bazar is strong testimony that Austria has no designs against Turkey.

The suggestion that German interests have been advanced by the recent annexation and declaration of independence will not bear examination. Germany's influence in the Near East has, on the contrary, received a decided check, for Turkey no longer feels the same friendship and confidence; the greatest sufferers, Montenegro and Serbia, are anxious to take any opportunity which may arise; whilst Bulgaria, no more friendly in reality to German influence in Macedonia than heretofore, holds ready her powerful army to assist in driving back a German advance which might seek in the future to clear the way to Salonika.

The net result of recent events in the Near East, therefore, if no fresh complications arise, is that the aspirations for a Southern Pan-Slav union and German influence in the Balkans have received a considerable check; Turkey gains a material advantage in the withdrawal of the Austrian troops; the prospects of a better understanding between Turkey and her northern neighbours are improved; and the chances of a pacific settlement of the Macedonian question are far greater than at any time since the Powers began, now more than

five years ago, actively to interfere in the administration of that province.

If, and when, a European Conference assembles its first duty will be to take stock of the actual situation in the Balkans, of the growth of national life in Bulgaria, and of the progress which that country has made in civilisation, in education, and, let it be added, in the art of war. It will have to say whether Bulgaria has not vindicated her right to independence and to take her place among the sovereign nations of Europe. The Bulgarians are a small people, but they have all the elements of greatness, a love of liberty, a love of knowledge, capabilities of self-government, and capabilities also to make great sacrifices to retain what they have won. Europe, and least of all Great Britain, cannot pretend for ever to keep them in leading-strings. The Treaty of Berlin has served its purpose, *tant bien que mal*; the time has come for the revision of its provisions in the face of new conditions.

PERCY H. H. MASSY.

THE CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST

III. EUROPE AND THE TURKISH CONSTITUTION: AN INDEPENDENT VIEW.

It was at the very outset of the recent events in the Near East that the public opinion of Europe betrayed an uncommon degree of ignorance and want of experience in political and social matters in connexion with the problem before us. To begin with, the great surprise caused by the success of the Young Turkey party is quite incomprehensible. It was in 1864 that I met by chance a few young Turkish gentlemen, engaged upon editing a revolutionary paper, called *Mukhbir*, i.e. 'The Correspondent,' directed against the then almighty Aali Pashi, whose absolutist tendencies had long ago raised the anger of the younger Turkish generation, who were brought by a smattering of Western political views into collision with the ruling spirit at the Sublime Porte. As time advanced the opposition grew stronger and stronger, and the object of their attack was not only single high dignitaries, but their criticism extended also to the precincts of the imperial palace, whose officials were accused of all kind of vices and misdeeds, and particularly of leading astray the sacred person of the Padishah, whom, at that time, nobody ventured to assail. It is very natural that after the death of Sultan 'Abdul Aziz, and during the terribly absolutist and ruinous rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid, the number of the Young Turkish party should have attained excessive dimensions and embraced not only the easily inflammable young members of the Turkish society, but even many of the Efendis and Pashas of a riper age; nay, ladies and young girls took part in secret societies, and as an occasional contributor to Turkish revolutionary papers, and as a well-known friend to the Turkish nation, I have got letters in my possession in which ladies render thanks for my sympathies shown to their nation and encourage me to further participation in their cause. Considering the very faint knowledge the Yildiz camarilla could acquire in spite of the host of dearly paid spies and delators, we must not wonder at all that the Western world remained in utter darkness with regard to the part played by Young Turkey in the Ottoman Empire. The number of Turkish revolutionary papers had grown up like mushrooms, their editors expelled from one

place took refuge in another. London, Paris, Brussels, Geneva, Athens, Alexandria, and Cairo were successfully used, and the publications of the revolutionary committees being looked upon as literary dainties went off quickly in Turkey. Turkish, being a language with which but a limited number of Orientalists are conversant, was not within easy reach of our politicians and publicists, and the proceedings of Young Turkey remained for a long time shrouded in mystery. Of course single explosions of the carefully laid mines could not be prevented, and the quiet outbreak of discontent in Kastamuni, Erzerum, Bitlis and a few other places may be well looked upon as the forerunners of the military rising in Macedonia. In fact, the proper commencement of the Turkish revolution dates from the time when the meeting of the 'Committee of Union and Progress' declared itself to have left the field of mere theory and entered the arena of political activity, which is equivalent to saying: We are now strong enough to come out publicly and to fight, if necessary, for the sacred principles of Right and Liberty.

Now, to speak candidly, I am far from pretending that the firm decision and the strong will of the Young Turkish party would have become master of the situation if Sultan Abdul Hamid had had sufficient means to clothe, feed, and pay his army regularly, and if his soldiers had not looked with envy upon the gendarmery under the command of European officers. No! To go about hungry, naked, barefooted, and unpaid is a sacrifice too onerous even for the most patriotic man, and I am ready to admit that zealous and patriotic officers, like Enver and Niazi, would hardly have succeeded in their very risky undertaking if the aforesaid privations and sufferings of the soldiers had not acted in their favour. But at the same time I cannot help saying that the state of affairs created by the horrible and abominable doings of the Yildiz clique could not have gone on for any length of time. The straw which broke the back of the Turkish camel was ready at hand, and, assuming that the catastrophe might have been staved off for a year or two, there is not the slightest doubt that the apple was steadily ripening, and in any case would have fallen into the lap of the well-prepared party of Young Turkey.

Such being the case, as proved by evident facts, I do not see the reason of the great surprise which the recent events in Turkey have created in Europe. The collapse of the Hamidian rule was, as the result of a long misrule, unavoidable, and in the face of this phenomenon we have no reason to wonder at the unanimity manifested in the movement; we must not be struck by the fact that the whole went off without bloodshed, and that the revolution was accomplished in a peaceful and quiet manner hitherto unheard of. We may reasonably ask ourselves: Whose blood should have been shed? There was no opposition, since the whole nation indiscriminately belonged to the Young Turkey party; no social or religious objection could have

been raised, since the teachings of the Koran clearly prohibit the application of despotic and autocratic measures; and no government is legal if it proceeds without taking counsel with public opinion, which we call Parliament. The Koran says: 'V'amruhum shura bainuhum,' i.e. 'the Prophet commanded they must take counsel;' and further it is said: 'Any obnoxious measure taken after consultation is preferable to a salutary measure taken arbitrarily.' There is besides the standard principle—'Kulli islam nurr,' i.e. all Moslems are free, and one must be intentionally blind to pretend that Constitution and Parliament do not suit the social and moral conditions of the Mohammedans, and that there is no hope for a successful introduction of these Western institutions amongst Mohammedan peoples.

Unfortunately, the proper and just appreciation of the real state of affairs in Turkey has always been checked partly by ignorance, partly by a preconceived notion, tending to show that we Europeans are the sole chosen people for progress and civilisation, and that the man in Asia will be always prevented by climate, religion, and racial peculiarities from attaining that degree of culture on which we pride ourselves to-day. Ideas like these have found expression in the writings of eminent English scholars and politicians, and even the regenerator of Modern Egypt, whose high capacities are justly admired by everybody, is a sceptic on this question. Without trespassing beyond the limits of modesty, I beg leave to say—*Anch'io son pittore*—I, too, have seen something of the Near East, and as my fifty-two years of intimate connexion with various nations of the Mohammedan world have given me an insight into the social, moral, and political conditions of the Near East, I cannot help saying: the aforesaid disparaging criticism is certainly wrong. Turkey is decidedly on the path of progress, many features of her national characteristics have changed and are continually changing; but similar observations can be only made after a careful comparison between Turkey half a century ago and Turkey of to-day. When, fifty-two years ago, living in a Turkish family as a teacher, I tried to explain natural phenomena in accordance with the laws of physics, which, of course, ran against the superstitious notions of my pupils, I was derided and persecuted. Foreign languages were at that time hardly taught; girls grew up without any instruction at all; and even leading statesmen were utterly ignorant of the geography and history of their own country, not to mention that of the Western world. If we look at Turkey of to-day we shall be surprised at the great advance in the field of public instruction and the steadily spreading enlightenment. Not only central places, but even small towns have got their Rushdie and Idadie (normal and middle) schools, where modern sciences and European languages are freely taught and the younger generation of Turkish society is brought up in a way which will forcibly strike the unbiassed European visitor.

The spiritual progress is particularly reflected by the simplification of the language and by the extraordinary innovations on the field of literature. The modern Turkish writer has divested himself of the bombastic Asiatic phraseology and of the sickening poetical metaphors. He imitates the French and English authors, whose standard works are steadily being translated into Turkish; his muse begins to be more Western than Eastern; and even in the field of exact sciences there are Turks who have gained distinction, and amongst other instances I may quote the fact that parts of the Hedjaz railway were constructed by Turkish engineers. The consequence of these and many other signs of progress manifests itself in the entire change of views and ideas. Hundreds, nay thousands, of the younger Turkish generation of to-day have thoroughly imbibed the political and social tendencies of the West; they cannot be looked upon any longer as Asiatics, but as Europeans, and as modern Europeans, who naturally found themselves strangers in Turkey under the Hamidian rule, and who had to break the fetters in spite of the despotic form of government. If I add to these short outlines of the spiritual and cultural change in Turkey the fact that intercommunication with Europe has of late immensely increased and that our high schools and capitals are frequently visited by all classes of Turkish society, the reader will easily comprehend the reason of the success of the Young Turkey party; nay, he will get the conviction that a nation which struggles so hard for her regeneration cannot relapse into the former barbarism, but will on the contrary try all means and resources to advance steadily on the path of modernisation, and to accomplish the work begun by Sultan Mahmud, and continued by Reshid, Aali, Fuad, and other reformers. I see there are many Europeans who are afraid of a reactionary movement and who see already the havoc caused by the unbridled fanaticism of obscurant Mollas. There is no fear of such a movement. The influence of Young Turkey spreading all over the country is strong enough to prevent an eventual outbreak on the part of those who, not out of principle, but for personal interests, are anxious to reinstall the former reign of disorder and anarchy and to profit by it. There is undoubtedly a vast amount of problems to be solved and extraordinary difficulties to be surmounted, and it is idle to conceal from ourselves the manifold dangers in the way of the reformers, for faults and misgivings of many hundred years cannot be corrected in a few weeks and months. The hatred and animosity existing centuries ago in a heterogeneous country between the various creeds and races cannot be easily removed, and the common bond of an Ottoman nationality will not be so quickly realised as Young Turkey hopes and desires.

If the Ottoman Empire were out of the way, and not in close proximity to Europe, we might well look with calm indifference upon her struggle and her future. But unfortunately this is not the case. Many European vital interests, political and material, are strictly

interwoven with the destinies of the Near East, and the slightest shock in Turkey makes itself felt even in the remotest part of Europe. It is for this reason that every friend of the peace and tranquillity of our world must support and encourage the Turk in his present efforts towards civilisation, and in his arduous task to heal the wounds of the unfortunate *régime* of the past thirty-two years. Nobody will deny that the Young Turkey party has shown so far great moderation and wisdom in all their doings, and there has hitherto been no revolutionary movement in the world which went off without any vindictive act and without feelings of revenge against the criminal tyrannic power overthrown. Young Turkey has, therefore, full right to claim our assistance in its need and our indulgence towards the unavoidable mistakes. Judging the present situation in Turkey from this point of view, the recent political changes in the Balkans are much to be regretted, for they augment the troubles in store for the reformers, they discredit the foresight and capability of those who have put themselves at the head of affairs, for they will be accused of having precipitated the country into a danger which the former, although detested, reign has wisely avoided. Austria-Hungary, which has bestowed so many blessings upon the occupied provinces, raising them from dire anarchy and misrule to flourishing conditions, might have assisted the consolidation of the new rule in Turkey and encouraged the new men in power by postponing the act of annexation for a year or two, as from such an indulgence very little or no injury might have accrued to the policy of the Dual Monarchy, whose strong position cannot be shaken by the plots and vapourings of the minor Balkan countries. If the European Powers are earnestly bent upon the avoidance of troubles in the Near East, and if they have sincerely made up their mind to assist the process of revival and invigoration of Turkey, then they must give a trial, and a fair trial, to the Young Turkey party. They must forget the old animosities and rivalry, and, reflecting upon the immeasurable calamity and disaster resulting from an utter collapse in Turkey, they will obviously understand the necessity of sincerely supporting the new *régime* in Turkey as the only means for a restoration of order and as the bulwark against the threatening danger of a great European war.

It is certainly most afflicting that up to the present there are very few relieving signs on the political horizon of Europe. There is only one country, namely, Great Britain, which, remaining faithful to her old principle of lending assistance to the liberal aspirations of oppressed nations, has come out unequivocally in defence of Young Turkey, and, as proved by the letter of King Edward to the constitutional Sultan, has manifested official interest in the future development of affairs in the country of her old ally. The rest of Europe, far from sharing these sympathies, has taken the rôle of a dumb spectator, and is not at all content with the benevolent policy of the Cabinet of St. James's. Voices have become loud, saying :

England has no right to oppose the annexation of Turkish provinces, as she will undoubtedly annex Egypt, and she is certainly the last of the European Powers entitled to complain of the policy of grab, followed by her centuries ago over all the globe. I dare say to such accusations one might easily answer: England has not yet annexed Egypt, and if England had been zealous for the conquest of other nations, the Union Jack would flutter over a far greater realm than the present. Nor do the motives, to which the British sympathies for Turkey are ascribed, answer to the real state of things. An opinion is prevalent on the Continent that the British position in India compels the policy of the Cabinet of St. James's to support Turkish affairs, and to court by this policy the sympathies of the sixty million Mohammedans in India. It is only defective knowledge in matters connected with India that underlies this argument, for the Moslem subjects of the English Crown are much more in need of British sympathies than *vice versa*. In a word, the majority of European nations have hitherto shown themselves very lukewarm towards the Turk, who tries by all possible means to gain the affection of the mighty West, and who will certainly take great care not to ruin the reputation won by the wonderful moderation and wisdom hitherto shown, through some rash and inconsiderate step. It is only a pity that the details, which have oozed out from the interview between Izvolski and Grey, have had a depressing effect on the Bosphorus, and that the Turks begin to despair of their future. There is no reason for scepticism. I am sure the Turks will take great care to avoid war with any of their neighbours; for it must be fresh in their memory that the result of the victories of their arms in Serbia and in Greece was futile and void, and the same will be the case if they vanquish the Bulgarians. It is much wiser to endure temporary humiliations and to prepare the country for a better future than to wage a war, if even victorious, of a doubtful issue. As to the Turkish disappointment in the help expected from England, the good Osmanli patriots ought to consider that England cannot run against the policy of the whole world; but, on the other hand, the sympathies of the British nation and of the Government are an asset of immense value in the great task of reforms before them. For the present, the Turks are mostly in need of peace in order to open up the vast resources of their country and to prepare and pave the way for the introduction of reforms, a work in which the counsel of a sincere friend will prove of great use. As far as my personal information from Constantinople goes, the Young Turkey party have decided to avoid any warlike complication and rather to turn their eyes towards the great problem of remodelling and reshaping the administration of the country than to follow the path of empty glories.

A. VAMBERY.

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE BALKANS

THREE-AND-THIRTY years ago the late Colonel Valentine Baker (Pasha) published a work entitled *Clouds in the East*. Within a few months of its publication the clouds burst; the storm, happily, was localised, but never since that date has the political horizon in the Near East been at 'Set fair.' During those three-and-thirty years I have devoted no inconsiderable time to the study of the Near Eastern Question. I have accompanied the Turkish Army in two campaigns, and have learnt to appreciate the value of the Turkish soldier and the defects of the Turkish military administration. I have paid repeated visits to all the countries of the Near East, and have seen their armies at work in camp as well as in quarters. I count amongst my friends officers in all these armies, and I trust that nothing I have here written will be construed into an unfriendly act. Clouds are still in the Near East; for the past five years they hung dark and lowering, threatening at any moment to deluge Europe with blood: then, thanks to the discipline of the Turkish Army and the marvellous powers of command exercised by a group of young officers, they were for the moment dispersed and Europe breathed freely again. The danger is only momentarily passed, its causes still exist—the racial hatred between Greek and Bulgar, the religious feud between Islam and Christianity, the land hunger of neighbouring States. No sane man can believe that the bitter wars which have been waged for the past thousand years will cease because Turkey has been endowed with a Constitution. In the first delirium of joy, when Greek metropolitan and Bulgarian bishop embraced on public platforms, when Moslem khodja and Jewish rabbi pledged each other in the cause of universal brotherhood, some few believed that a new era had dawned in the Near East; but signs are abundant that we have not yet reached the Millennium.

The Eastern Question is far from settled, and there is a strong opinion amongst the statesmen in the Near East that it never will be settled until it has been submitted to the arbitrament of war. That

war may be delayed for years, it may break out at any moment ; all the elements of danger exist, the mine is charged with explosives, the train is laid ; who knows when the match may be applied ?

Within the last few weeks public attention has been directed to the Turkish Empire and to the wonderful manner in which a change has been effected in its form of government. Little, however, is known of the armies of those States which claim an interest in the settlement of the Eastern Question. In the following pages I have endeavoured to give a succinct account of the military systems in vogue in the Near East. Before dealing with the nations separately, I will endeavour very briefly to explain what the various military systems have in common.

(1) Military service in all is obligatory, commencing as a rule at the twentieth and lasting until the fortieth or forty-fifth year. This liability is divided into three periods, the first being spent in the Active Army, the second period in the Reserve, and the third in the Territorial Army, which is only liable for service in case of grave national danger.

(2) The territorial system is in vogue in all. The countries are divided into a certain number of military districts, each furnishing one or more units of all branches of the Army.

(3) The squadron is the tactical unit of cavalry regiments, which are divided into four (in the case of Turkey five) squadrons, the peace strength varying from sixty to one hundred men and horses ; in war the strength is increased to about two hundred. In all the countries very great difficulty would be experienced in bringing the regiments to a war strength.

(4) Infantry regiments are composed of four battalions each of four companies, the peace establishment of a company varying from eighty to one hundred men, the war strength being 250. The arm of the infantry in Turkey and Servia is the Mauser ; in Roumania and Bulgaria the Mannlicher ; and in Greece the Mannlicher-Schönauer rifle.

(5) The artillery is in course of reorganisation in all the armies. Turkey and Roumania have selected the Krupp ; Bulgaria, Greece, and Servia the Schneider-Canet quick-firing field-gun. In all, the calibre of the field and mountain artillery is 7.5 centimetres (about 3 inches). The whole of the Turkish Army in Europe is now armed with the quick-firing gun. Bulgaria also has her new field armament complete ;¹ Roumania hopes to receive the balance of her equipment in the course of the next few months ; but some time must elapse before Greece and Servia are fully equipped.

¹ Bulgaria has yet to receive eight howitzer and eight mountain batteries, with 148 rifle calibre Maxims.

(1) TURKEY

Situated in three continents, Turkey possesses an area of upwards of 1,150,000 square miles, with a population variously estimated at from 24,000,000 to 30,000,000 souls, composed of various races and various creeds, many of which are fanatically hostile to each other. Its land frontiers are conterminous with no less than ten different nations, whilst its long stretch of sea-coast and its many practically defenceless harbours are at the mercy of the fleets of those Powers which have more or less advanced their claim to the reversion of certain portions of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the 'Sick Man' is by no means at the point of death, and has recently given undeniable proofs of renewed vitality. For military purposes the Empire has been divided into seven districts, each the headquarters of an Army corps, with two independent divisions in the more inaccessible portions of the Empire. These are situated as follows :

The First Army Corps, with headquarters at Constantinople

Second	"	"	"	Adrianople
Third	"	"	"	Salonica
Fourth	"	"	"	Erzingjan
Fifth	"	"	"	Damascus
Sixth	"	"	"	Bagdad
Seventh	"	"	"	Sana'a in the Yemen

The two independent divisions have their headquarters at Medina, in the Hedjaz, guarding the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and at Tripoli in Northern Africa. Of the seven Army corps, three have their headquarters in Europe and four in Asia. Until the declaration of the Constitution on the 24th of July last the term universal service was hardly applicable to the military system of Turkey. All Christians were exempt, paying a small tax of 6s. 8d. per head in lieu thereof. Moslems in the capital and in Scutari in Albania were also legally exempt; whilst the Arabs in the Yemen, the Kurds, and the inhabitants of Tripoli, resolutely refused to obey the call to arms. Albanians served when it so pleased them, and could only be relied on in time of war. The whole military burden fell on some 10,000,000 Moslems of Central Anatolia; now Christian as well as Moslem will be called on to serve; and it is difficult to see how Albanian, Arab, Kurd, or Tripolitan can escape the net of military discipline. The whole system will need reorganisation, and at the present moment a very strong committee, under the presidency of that fine old soldier Ghazi Moukhtar Pasha, is sitting at the War Office to discuss what must be an exceedingly intricate question.

The liability to military service commences at the twenty-first birthday and continues until the man is forty. The first nine years are passed in the Nizam or Active Army, three years with the Colours

and six in the Reserve ; at the conclusion of the Nizam service men are passed into the Redif or First Reserve, in which they remain for a further period of nine years. Having completed their service in the First-Class Redif, men are transferred into the Ilavah or Second-Class Redif, in which they remain for two years.

The normal strength of an Army corps is fixed as follows :

(a) One division of cavalry, composed of three brigades, each consisting of two regiments, with a battery of horse artillery.

(b) Two divisions of infantry, each consisting of two brigades, with one rifle battalion ; the brigade being composed of two regiments each of four battalions.

(c) One regiment of artillery, consisting of thirty field and six mountain batteries, with a certain proportion of howitzer batteries, varying with the situation of the Army corps.

The above consist entirely of Nizam troops—that is, men with the Colours. In consequence, however, of the condition of affairs in Macedonia and the Caucasus, and the fact that the Bulgarian Army was superior in numbers to the second and third Army corps, a change was made in the establishment of the corps in Thrace, Macedonia, and Kurdistan. The fourth corps was permanently increased by one, and the second and third corps by two complete Nizam divisions ; whilst a fifth division was brought over from the Army corps at Damascus and temporarily attached to the third corps. The Reserve of the Nizam contains a sufficiently large number of men, not merely to bring units up to war strength, but also to furnish men to fill the wastage of a campaign.

The Redif

The First-Class Redif Infantry is organised into regiments, brigades, and divisions, with Staffs complete. In the Greek War of 1897, and later still in Macedonia, on the Persian frontier, in Yemen, and more recently in Kurdistan, brigades and divisions of Redif infantry have been mobilised and have done excellent service. The first six Army corps have four Redif infantry divisions, each being composed of two brigades of two regiments, the division consisting of thirty-two battalions. The first three corps have also a division of Redif cavalry, comprising four regiments. There would be much difficulty in horsing these troops. At present there is no organisation for the Redif artillery, but this will doubtless soon be remedied, six field batteries being attached to each Redif infantry division.

The First-Class Redif consists entirely of men who have done their nine years in the Nizam, and is a most valuable force. The Ilavah or Second-Class Redif consists in part of men who have passed through the ranks of the Nizam and the First-Class Redif, but more largely of men who have altogether escaped military service owing to the annual contingent of recruits being in excess of the men required

for Nizam service. It is consequently of doubtful value, and as yet has no higher organisation than that of battalions. In the first five Army corps there are forty-two divisions of these troops; the sixth and seventh corps have no Second-Class Redif.

Officers

The officers of the Turkish Army are drawn from two sources: those in the engineers and artillery, and the greater number of those in the infantry of the Nizam, from the military colleges; whilst the officers of the Redif are mainly men who have risen from the ranks. From the Academy on the Golden Horn about one hundred officers are annually drafted into the engineers or artillery. There are now six colleges for the education of the officers of cavalry and infantry: one at Pancaldi, a suburb of the capital, and one at the headquarters of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Army corps. From these about 600 cadets are annually passed into the Army. The system of military education is sound. The cadet is caught early; at the age of from ten to twelve boys may enter one of the thirty-six elementary military schools which are distributed throughout the Empire. Here they receive a general education, special attention, however, being paid to modern languages and to such subjects as will be of use to the lads in their after-career. At the age of fourteen, if the boy has reached a certain standard, he is transferred to one of the nine superior military schools, styled *Rushdieh*, where he remains until he is seventeen, when, after a searching examination, he is admitted either into the Academy for the scientific branches or into one of the six military colleges for cavalry and infantry. Here the education is purely military, but particular attention is paid to European languages; all cadets must take up two languages, French being obligatory, either Russian or German being the second. In the Naval College at Halki, for which there is also a preparatory school, English is the obligatory language.

In no army in Europe has more progress been made in the education of its officers within the past thirty years than in that of Turkey. The younger officers are full of zeal, and certainly the equals of those in the Balkan States. The new military map of the Bulgarian and Greek frontiers would do credit to the corps of Royal Engineers; it is entirely the work of young Turkish officers. Of their linguistic attainments everyone speaks in the highest terms. As to their other soldierlike qualities, the events of last July show them in a light which reflects the highest credit on their moral qualities and on their tact and judgment.

The Kurdish Hamidieh Cavalry

I have alluded to the disinclination of the Kurds for regular military service. This has been overcome by the organisation of a special

force of cavalry, named after the Sultan, to whom the idea is due, Hamidish Cavalry. It consists of two regiments of regular hussars attached to the second corps, and of sixty-six other regiments, varying in strength from two to six squadrons, drawn from the different Kurdish tribes according to their numbers. These regiments are commanded by their tribal chiefs, they wear a special uniform, provide their own horses, lances and sabres, and are only liable to be called out in time of war.

The Turkish Soldier

As to the fighting qualities of the Turkish soldier there is no dispute. Lord Wolseley—no mean judge—who has seen him in action, described him as ‘the finest soldier in the world.’ He is a marvellous marcher, apparently incapable of fatigue; accustomed to frugal fare all his life, he is content if he gets his ration of bread or biscuit daily. The commissariat of such an army is simple enough: an occasional meat meal, a few sheep distributed amongst the men on one of their religious festivals, a fairly liberal supply of tobacco, a cup of coffee if possible to begin the day with, vegetables in plenty when they are to be obtained, is all they ask. Even when bread and tobacco run short, when meat and vegetables are not forthcoming, an appeal to their finer feelings will stifle all grumbling; whilst the distribution of a few piastres after a stiff fight and the gift of a Medjidieh to the wounded are more than enough to rouse drooping spirits and to kindle again the lust for war.

(2) BULGARIA

Bulgaria, in which Eastern Rumelia must of course be included, has an area of upwards of 38,000 square miles with a population of more than 4,000,000 souls. For many years the principality has devoted its energies to perfecting its military system, and I believe it is universally conceded that the Bulgarian Army stands head and shoulders above that of any of the other States in the Near East. The peace strength of the Army is 64,000, capable of expansion in time of war to 300,000. The training is most severe, but officers and men have thrown themselves heart and soul into their task, with the result that the Army may now be considered fit for any work it may reasonably be called upon to perform.

Service is of course obligatory, and all men are liable to serve in the Active Army from their eighteenth to their fortieth year, with a further liability of six years in the Landwehr. The period with the Colours is two years in the infantry, three in the other arms. The average number of young men becoming liable to service annually is some 60,000, of whom last year 47,000 were found fit; of these 22,600 were retained for their full term of Colour service,

and 24,000 for six months' training only. During the annual manoeuvres in 1897 no less than 120,000 men were under arms. The high standard of training and discipline excited the admiration of all the military *attachés* present.

The principality is divided into nine military districts, with headquarters at Sofia, Philipopolis, Sliven, Shumla, Rustchuk, Vratza, Dubnitza, Eski Zagra, and Plevna. Each division is again subdivided into four regimental districts under the command of an officer specially concerned with the recruiting duties of his zone. Each divisional district has to furnish recruits for four regiments of infantry, one regiment of artillery, and the usual proportion of other arms. The peace establishment of a division (which in time of war automatically expands into an Army corps) is laid down at :

- (a) One regiment of cavalry composed of two squadrons only.
- (b) One regiment of artillery consisting of nine field batteries.
- (c) Two brigades of infantry each comprising two regiments of four battalions.

In addition to this force, there is a cavalry division of two brigades (the first has its headquarters at Sofia, the second at Dobrudj); a regiment of mountain artillery, and one of 4·7-inch howitzers—the former of nine, the latter of eight batteries. The horses for the artillery and for the cavalry divisions, as well as for the Bodyguard, are purchased in Hungary; those for the divisional cavalry are purchased locally, or are supplied from the Government studs, which are now doing good work.

The Bulgarian infantry is composed of thirty-six regiments, which in peace have an establishment of two battalions only, each with four companies. The main idea underlying the organisation is, that on mobilisation each company shall automatically expand to a battalion by the inclusion of the reservists of the Active Army—a battalion expands into a regiment, a regiment into a brigade, and a brigade into a division. So far as the rank-and-file are concerned, this presents no great difficulty, but the question of a sufficient supply of officers and sectional leaders has not been satisfactorily settled. The actual deficiency in infantry officers is stated to be 1700.

Officers

The officers of the Army are obtained from two sources : (a) The Military College at Sofia, and (b) non-commissioned officers of superior education, who have to undergo a course of practical training at the college in order to qualify for the commissioned grades. This college, which is one of the most perfect institutions of its kind in Europe, is not intended solely for those who wish to embrace a military career, but the majority of the pupils from the nature of their environment naturally gravitate to the Army. Cadets enter at the age of ten, and until their fifteenth year follow a general course of education ;

they then begin to specialise, and at the age of twenty-one, after passing a stiff examination, are admitted to the various arms according to their position in the final lists.

Sergeants of infantry of good education, who have served two years with the Colours, may on the recommendation of their commanding officers be admitted to the non-commissioned officers' school at Sofia, where they undergo a two years' technical course; after examination they are gazetted lieutenants and posted to the Active Army.

A school for officers of the Reserve has recently been established at Sofia. Young men of good education who are drawn for the annual contingent are admitted, provided they have obtained certain diplomas; they then can go through a two years' course, at the expiration of which they are attached to a corps for twelve months' practical instruction, and on the recommendation of their commanding officers are gazetted as lieutenants of the Reserve and are called out for training with men of their class and year.

Three instructional battalions have been formed where selected N.C.O.s are trained for the important position of sectional leaders in the event of war. Notwithstanding all these efforts, there is no doubt that the supply of officers in Bulgaria is by no means sufficient for the large force that she expects to be able to put into the field. One point must not be overlooked. The Bulgar is a glutton for work, he shows marked aptitude for picking up military lessons, and the officers are indefatigable in their efforts to instruct their men. Summer and winter is alike to them, and it may truly be said that Sofia is the only capital in the Near East where no officers are to be seen in *cafés* or restaurants until sunset.

The total strength of the Bulgarian Army when mobilised for war may be roughly estimated at 200,000 infantry, 7000 cavalry, with 500 guns, and there are sufficient trained men in Bulgaria not merely to bring the force up to its full war strength, but also to furnish a body of 180,000 reservists ready to fill casualties, with about 70,000 Landwehr for the defence of strategical points and the lines of communication. It is anticipated that mobilisation would occupy seven days. In the construction of her railways Bulgaria has always borne in mind the necessity for strategic lines.

(3) GREECE

Although Greece, like Rumania, cannot strictly speaking be considered one of the Balkan States, yet there is no doubt that she must be looked upon as such when discussing the question of peace or war in the Near East. Her northern frontier marches with the southern frontier of Turkey in Europe, and it is the daydream of every pious son of Hellen that the Hellenic peninsula shall one day be welded into a new Empire of Byzantium. Before that dream can be realised

the Army of Greece will require reorganisation. The paper organisation is there it is [true, but for fighting purposes the Army of Greece is non-existent. Successive Ministries, owing to financial considerations, have been unable to deal with Army reform in a drastic manner, and it was only in the year 1904 that a law was passed which, when carried into effect, will produce some sort of a fighting machine. Four years have elapsed since that law was carried through the Chamber, and much yet remains to be accomplished. It is an ungracious task to criticise adversely the Army of a nation whose hospitality one has enjoyed, and for which one has a sincere regard, but Greek officers know as well as I do, that the present condition of the Army is deplorable, and further that it is not of their making. Officers alone cannot make an Army, and so long as two-thirds of them are retained with units which for ten months out of the twelve are mere *cadres*, without men or horses, it is impossible to keep zeal at boiling point.

The population of Greece in round numbers is 2,600,000 souls, and the revenue amounts to 5,200,000*l.*, of which just one-tenth, or 520,000*l.*, is set aside for the Military Budget. The peace establishment of the Army is laid down at 20,500 men, but for motives of economy only some 9000 are kept with the Colours. The war strength is officially given at 82,000, but during the war with Turkey Greece could only mobilise 57,000, and at the annual manoeuvres held during the month of September 1908 the total numbers called out were about 30,000.

Military service is obligatory, the many exemptions which used to exist having been swept away by the law of 1904. On completing their twenty-first year all men become liable for service, and this liability continues for thirty years, being thus distributed :

- 1 year and 2 months with the Colours of the Active Army,
- 10 years " 10 " " " Reserve " " "
- 8 " in the Territorial Army, and
- 10 " " Reserve of the Territorial Army.

These limits are not strictly adhered to, many men after six months' training are drafted into the gendarmery, police, or as orderlies at the several Ministries. The Colour service of fourteen months is manifestly inadequate for the proper training of either artillery or cavalry soldiers. Although about 24,000 men become annually liable for service, only some 7000 are called up for service, the remainder are at once drafted into the Reserve of the Active Army without having undergone any training whatever.

Officers

Officers are recruited from (a) the Military College at Athens, which supplies officers for all arms; and (b) from selected non-com-

commissioned officers who are admitted to the Military College after having served two years in the grade of sergeant and if under twenty-five years of age; at the end of a two years' course they are gazetted as officers.

Cadets who enter the Military College direct must have passed all the classes at the Gymnasium at Athens, when they are allowed to compete for admission provided they have reached their fourteenth year. They spend five years at the college, and on passing out have their choice of the branch of the Service according to their position at the final examination. Officers posted to the artillery or cavalry undergo a further period of training at the mounted school before joining their units.

Officers of the Territorial Army are drawn from recruits who have passed through the Gymnasium at Athens, and who wish to avoid the drudgery inseparable from service in the ranks. Having satisfied their commanding officer of their aptitude for the Service, they pass two months as privates, two as corporals, two more as sergeants, they are then drafted to the Military College at Corfou, where they remain three years and then are given commissions as lieutenants in the Reserve, and come out for training whenever the privates of their year are summoned.

The average age of officers in the Army is very high, few reach the rank of captain under twenty years' service, and grey-headed lieutenants are common enough in all branches. The age limit for retirement is rarely enforced, and the consequence is that commanding officers of units are, as a rule, long past their work.

Organisation

The kingdom is divided into three military districts, with headquarters at Larissa, Athens, and Missolonghi; each furnishes the recruits for one division, which is composed of :

- 2 brigades of infantry (12 battalions).
- 2 battalions of Evzones or riflemen.
- 1 regiment of cavalry (4 squadrons).
- 1 regiment of artillery (12 field and 2 mountain batteries).

At the present moment two out of the three regiments of cavalry are quartered at Athens, and practically the whole of the artillery, only one battery being at Larissa. This is of little consequence, the railway is now open between Athens and Larissa, so that troops can easily cover the 240 miles between the two places in twelve hours. A second means of communication exists, so long as Greece does not allow Turkey to retain command of the sea. Troops can be conveyed by sea to Volo and thence by the Thessalian railway to Larissa, a distance of but thirty-seven miles.

The cavalry consists of three regiments, each composed of four

squadrons, but at present only one squadron per regiment is permanently maintained on an effective footing with men and horse complete. Many of the officers have served with the armies of the Great Powers, and are only too anxious to see their arm maintained at its proper strength.

The artillery consists of three regiments, which, under the new organisation, will be composed of twelve field and two mountain batteries. Regiments have but one battery maintained in an effective condition, with officers, N.C.O.s, men and horses complete; the consequence is that when recruits come up, or when reservists assemble prior to manœuvres, everyone has to work at high pressure, and the rust of the preceding ten months of enforced leisure is barely rubbed off before the period of stagnation again sets in.

Infantry regiments consist of three battalions, but except during manœuvres and during the early training of recruits, only one battalion per regiment is maintained in an effective condition, the other two being mere *cadres*, without men. In addition to the twelve regiments of the infantry of the Line there are eight battalions of Evzones or riflemen. These battalions are always maintained in an effective condition, and are the *corps d'élite* of the Greek Army; during the war of 1897 they covered themselves with glory.

Since the Crown Prince assumed command of the Army, and more especially since he has been associated with Mr. Théotokys, the present Premier, who also is Minister of War, many reforms have been introduced, the infantry have been re-armed with the Mannlicher-Schönauer rifle, one of the best shooting weapons in Europe. The artillery is in course of being supplied with the Schneider-Canet gun, undoubtedly the best field-gun after our own. The whole frontier has been carefully surveyed, and excellent maps are now being printed in Vienna for the use of the Army. Men are now systematically instructed in field training and field firing, annual manœuvres are regularly held, and it is anticipated that next year a Bill will be brought in authorising all units to be maintained at their full peace strength. Another step in the right direction has been the passing of a law which compels an officer on entering Parliament to quit the Active Army. At the last election 320 officers posed as candidates; as each officer was entitled to four months' leave in order to push his candidature, it may readily be believed that discipline suffered. A scheme is also on foot for the organisation of a Territorial Army, but as yet nothing has been published on this subject. Until this has been carried out Greece could only mobilise in case of war the following troops :

3 regiments of cavalry,
36 batteries of field artillery,
6 batteries of mountain guns, and
44 battalions of infantry.

(4) ROUMANIA

The gallantry displayed by the Roumanians in the war of 1877, the heroic conduct of the King in all the affairs round Plevna, and the fact that for thirty years he has consecrated his life to the organisation of the Roumanian Army has drawn the attention of soldiers more to the Army of that kingdom than to those of the other States in the Near East. In its constitution it presents many differences from other armies, being composed of two distinct classes. The one illiterate, in which the men are compelled to undergo the usual two years' training; the other (styled *Schimbul*) consisting of men of good education, who are dismissed to their homes after a short period of instruction, but who come up for periodical trainings and weekly parades in order that they may keep abreast of their comrades; this latter class is being gradually eliminated or at any rate reduced to small proportions.

Roumania, with an area of 50,700 square miles and a population of close on six and a half millions, maintains on a peace footing an Army of but 65,000 men, but owing to her peculiar military organisation she has a Reserve of half a million trained soldiers on which to draw in the event of war. The Army may be thus divided :

(a) The Active Army, with its Reserve, numbering some 240,000 men, in which men serve for nine years—the Colour service being two years in the infantry, three in the cavalry and artillery.

(b) The Militia, in which the period of service is six years; this has a strength of about 130,000.

(c) The Landsturm, about 160,000 strong, in which men are liable to a further period of ten years' service.

The liability thus extends from the twenty-first to the forty-sixth year, and it is calculated that some 90,000 youths become liable annually, of these one-third from one cause or another are either exempt or found unfit. Of the remainder about 10,000 are passed into the *Schimbul* or second category, leaving 50,000 recruits available for the Active Army.

The Schimbul Troops

The manner of utilising the *Schimbul* recruits is peculiar. Each regiment of infantry consists of three continuous-service and one *Schimbul* battalion, whilst nine regiments of cavalry are entirely composed of *Schimbul* men. The recruits of this category are posted to their units in the spring, when they undergo ninety days' training and are then dismissed to their homes. In the autumn they are again called out for thirty days' training during the period of the annual manoeuvres, and then for the remaining eight years of their service in the Active Army they have to attend the annual manoeuvres for thirty days' training. In addition, they have to parade at their battalion

or squadron headquarters on twenty-eight Sundays in the year for drill and inspection. Cavalry recruits have to provide themselves with a suitable horse or to deposit 20*l.* for the purchase of one. As Schimbul corps are composed of men of superior education, it is considered that the training they undergo renders them the equals of their comrades who have to go through the full period with the Colours.

Distribution of the Army

Roumania has been divided into four Army corps districts, to each of which a large tract of Government land has been allotted for the field training of the troops. The headquarters are respectively at Craiova, Bukarest, Jassy, and Galatz. These districts are again subdivided, the second corps at Bukarest furnishing three, the other corps two divisions. The normal strength of an Army corps has been fixed at :

- 2 divisions of infantry composed of two brigades, with a rifle battalion, or thirty-four battalions in all.
- 1 Militia brigade of eight battalions.
- 1 cavalry brigade of two regiments.
- 1 regiment of artillery of twelve field batteries.

The infantry consists of thirty-four regiments of the Line, with nine battalions of rifles. On mobilisation the reservists of the Active Army, consisting of six annual contingents (continuous-service as well as Schimbul men) join their respective battalions, thus completing them to war strength. The first line of the Reserve or Militia is at once organised into battalions; these assume the numbers of the Line regiments of their *circonscription*, and are formed into brigades, two of which are attached to each corps for convoys, escorts, guarding lines of communication, &c., leaving the Active Army free for its legitimate work of fighting.

The cavalry consists of seventeen regiments; of these six are lancers, and owing to their red uniform are styled *Rosiori*. The remaining eleven are hussars and are called *Calarasi*. The whole of the *Rosiori* and two of the *Calarasi* regiments are composed of continuous-service men, and form two cavalry divisions which are not attached to any Army corps. The remaining nine *Calarasi* regiments are composed of Schimbul men, and are attached one to each of the nine divisions. Here again, as in the case of the infantry, the whole of the highly trained men in the cavalry are available for their legitimate duties, the task of furnishing escorts, guards, and convoys falling on the Schimbul regiments. The eight continuous-service regiments are mounted on Hungarian horses, the Schimbul troops on country breeds.

The artillery of the Roumanian Army is organised into thirteen regiments. Of these four are styled Corps Artillery, and are composed of six field and two howitzer batteries; they are

under the orders of the commanders of the four Army corps. The remaining nine regiments are attached to the nine infantry divisions, and consist of nine field batteries. The draught horses are purchased, as a rule, in Russia; riding horses in Hungary. Studs are now being established, and are doing good work.

Officers

Military education in Roumania is universal, and a course of military instruction forms a part of the curriculum in every school. This commences when boys have reached their tenth year. The kingdom has been divided into five military districts, under a captain, with a selected staff of subalterns and N.C.O.s, there being an inspector-general over the whole. Boys have four hours' drill a week, and as they grow older lectures are given on their own and foreign armies and on elementary military subjects; they then go through a course of ball practice with carbines, and finally indulge in simple tactical exercise; the result is that when they join their units they are already acquainted with the A B C of their profession, and soon shake down into their places as good soldiers. Lads take very kindly to their work, and officers find that the training of recruits is far more quickly and satisfactorily carried out than when yokels joined straight from the plough.

There are two cadet schools for the training of young officers—the one at Craiova, the other at Jassy. They are primarily intended for the sons of officers, but those of civilians are admitted on payment of 20*l.* a year. The age of entry is fourteen, and boys remain for three years, when, after passing an examination, they are transferred to either the artillery or the infantry cadet college at Bukarest. In these colleges the course of study lasts two years, and successful candidates are gazetted to their respective arms. Civilians are admitted to these colleges after undergoing a severe competitive examination, and a certain number of non-commissioned officers are also admitted on the recommendation of their commanding officers, provided they are under twenty-six years of age. After passing a prescribed course which lasts one year they are gazetted to the infantry.

(5) SERBIA

Servia has an area of 18,750 square miles, with a population of 2,500,000 souls, and is for military purposes divided into five districts, with headquarters at Nish, Valjevo, Belgrade, Kraguevatz, and Zaietchar. These are again subdivided into four regimental districts, each providing one infantry regiment, with the usual proportion of the other arms. Liability to service commences when a man has reached his twenty-first and continues until the forty-fifth year. The first ten years are spent in the Active Army, the Colour

service being two years in the infantry, three in the other arms. Men are then transferred to the Reserve, in which they remain five years, and they then pass into the Territorial Army for a further period of ten years. The annual recruit contingent averages 22,000 men, of whom about one-half are retained for service; those who are in possession of a diploma from the Gymnasium serve for six months only, when, if they pass a satisfactory examination, they are gazetted as lieutenants to the Reserve, and are called out for training with the men of their own contingent.

In war a Servian division, which is the highest form of organisation, comprises :

- 2 brigades of infantry (16 battalions).
- 1 division of artillery (12 batteries).
- 1 regiment of divisional cavalry.

The kingdom would be able to put into the field five of such divisions, with a cavalry division in addition comprising two brigades of two regiments each with a horse battery.

In time of peace regiments of infantry are composed of three battalions, a fourth being formed on mobilisation. The four companies of a battalion vary according to the season of the year; in the summer they are from eighty to one hundred strong, in winter they rarely muster more than forty privates. During the annual manœuvres they are brought to war strength.

The cavalry consists of four regiments, which in time of war would form the two cavalry divisions; the five regiments required for the five divisions would be improvised from reservists and mounted on country or stud-bred horses; the regular cavalry are mounted on Hungarian horses.

The artillery consists of five regiments, each of nine batteries; when the new gun arrives the batteries will be reduced to four instead of six guns and the number of batteries in a division increased to twelve. The artillery is certainly the best armed in Serbia; the officers are perfectly tireless in their devotion to their duty, and have raised their branch to a high state of efficiency.

It has been the custom to decry the Servian Army, but having seen it pretty often, both in quarters, in camp, and at manœuvres, and having visited every military station in the kingdom, I must confess that I have been struck by the marching powers of the men and the thoroughness with which the officers imparted instruction. During the summer the troops pass the greater part of the time in camp, when the horses are in the open, thus hardening both men and horses. The Servian is an excellent marcher, almost if not the equal of the Bulgarian, and that is saying a great deal. I have seen a brigade parade at 4 A.M., when a small cup of Turkish coffee was served out; the men would return to camp late in the afternoon, having been

marching or fighting for from eight to twelve hours, and they would find a good meal of meat and vegetables awaiting them. It was rare to see a man fall out.

Officers

There is a Military Academy at Belgrade which supplies the greater part of the officers of the Army. Those of the artillery and engineers being entirely recruited from this source. The age of entry is seventeen and the course lasts four years. The education is thoroughly practical, but owing to a variety of circumstances the cadets are too much given to politics, and, like their *confrères* at the college in Sofia, have played their part in more than one drama which has had for its object the upsetting of a dynasty. The stamp of officer turned out is undeniably good, and so far as quality is concerned the Servian officer is undoubtedly the equal of those in the other Balkan armies. There are, unfortunately, too few of them, and at present there is a wide cleavage between the two parties in the kingdom.

Servia claims to possess close on 300,000 trained soldiers available for war; whatever may be the actual numbers, and by some the figures are put as low as 220,000, there is no doubt that she has a sufficient number to bring the Army up to a war footing and to supply the wastage of a campaign. The supply of rifles is, however, dangerously short, and two years must elapse before the artillery has received its complete equipment of Schneider-Canet guns.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The following table gives the actual force that each nation can dispose of, as far as I have been able to ascertain :

	Turkey	Bulgaria	Greece	Roumania	Servia
CAVALRY :					
Regular Regiments . . .	41	10	8	17	4
Reserve	12	—	—	—	5
Irregular	66	—	—	—	—
ARTILLERY :					
Horse Batteries	28	2	1	4	2
Field "	188	84	18	66	45
Mountain "	60	9	6	6	6
Howitzer "	82	6	—	8	2
INFANTRY :					
Active Army Battalions .	875	72	44	186	60
First Reserve " . . .	884	216	(?)	68	20
Territorial "	688	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)

The present situation is one that gives rise to much food for thought. The political condition of affairs in the Near East changes from day to day. Friendly Powers of to-day will be bitter enemies to-morrow. A few short years ago war between Bulgaria and Roumania seemed

inevitable, now they are fast friends. Three years have scarcely elapsed since Kings Peter and Ferdinand embraced with effusion, whilst the press of Belgrade and Sofia were loud in favour of the union of the Slavs in the Balkans. About the same time Athens received a deputation of Roumanians with delirious enthusiasm. Now all diplomatic relations between the two countries have been suspended. In 1897 Greece was flying at the throat of Turk with frenzied cries as to his indefeasible claim to Byzantium, now it would seem that Greece is ready to fight by the side of the Turk against Slav aggression. Within the past few weeks we have seen Turkey converted into a Constitutional monarchy, Bosnia and Herzegovina annexed by Austria, Bulgaria declared a kingdom, and Crete throw off the last vestige of the Turkish yoke; so that it needs a brave man to prophesy as to what the morrow may bring forth.

Whether the future brings peace or war, I am convinced that Turkey is in a position to hold her own in the Balkans. Her Armies are ready to take the field. Her Fleet commands the sea. The Bulgarian Army is spoken of with respect, and I have the highest opinion of its officers and men, but to assert that Bulgaria can place 300,000 men in the field is to talk vainly. In these days of long extended lines a plentiful supply of highly trained officers is more than ever necessary. Bulgaria does not possess these. I doubt whether she has more than enough for 188 battalions of her Active Army, leaving the remaining 100 for Home Defence. The Greek Army must for the next few years be considered *une quantité négligeable*. The Roumanian Army is in all respects, except with regard to its artillery, ready to take the field, but Servia must like Greece be put out of court for a war against Turkey. She has yet to receive the greater part of her new quick-firing guns, and her supply of small arms is not sufficient for the equipment of the whole of her infantry.

In 1877 Turkey was able to hold Russia at bay for nine long months, then she possessed no railways in Asia, and but the one short line in Europe connecting Constantinople with Philipopolis. Now the Asiatic railways have brought the headquarters of the Redif divisions of the first three Army corps within four days reach of the Bulgarian frontier. The European railways run parallel to and behind that frontier. Military roads have been pushed up to the north, rivers have been bridged, field-works thrown up at all strategic points, depôts of arms and provisions constructed, and a plan of campaign drawn up in collaboration with Field-Marshal Von der Goltz which provides for every eventuality. The new mobilisation scheme provides for the massing of 350,000 men on the Bulgarian frontier within one week of the Declaration of War, and a study of the distribution of troops in the Near East clearly shows the immense superiority possessed by Turkey.

There are two factors that make for peace in addition to the laudable efforts of the British Cabinet. One is the determination of His Majesty the Sultan not to be drawn into hostilities, and the second the fact that the armies of the more bellicose of the States are not prepared for war.

C. B. NORMAN.

Volo.

P.S.—I venture to add a few words on the composition of the Austro-Hungarian armies. The active army of the Dual Monarchy is under a common Minister of War (Reichs Kriegministerium); the Landwehr of each nation are under separate Ministers of Defence in Vienna and Buda Pesth. Austria is divided into eight and Hungary into seven military districts, each providing an army corps to the active army, whilst in addition Austria furnishes 115 battalions of Landwehr infantry, and six of Landwehr cavalry; Hungary furnishing ninety-four battalions of infantry and ten regiments of Landwehr hussars. The active army consists of 110 regiments of infantry, of four battalions each, with twenty-seven rifle battalions; the cavalry of forty-two regiments of six field and one depot squadron each; the artillery of 240 horse and field batteries, sixteen mountain and forty-five Howitzer batteries. The infantry arm is the 315-inch Mannlicher, the field artillery being equipped with a 3-inch quick-firing gun and the Howitzer batteries with a 4·7 or 6-inch Howitzer. There are four regiments of infantry recruited in the recently annexed provinces, with headquarters at Vienna, Gratz and Buda Pesth; only one battalion of each regiment is permitted to serve in Bosnia-Herzegovina. So far as is known at present the garrison in those provinces consists of thirty-five battalions and eleven mountain batteries, but as the army corps at Hermanstadt, Temesvar, Gratz, and Agram have been warned for mobilisation, Austria is able to move immense forces to the southward without delay.

SWEATING AND WAGES BOARDS

A SERIES of dramatic exhibitions has revealed to an easy-going public the existence of a vast amount of labour carried on in over-crowded homes, by women and children working their very lives out for wages which do not suffice to replace the daily wear and tear of life, and under conditions of ceaseless and heartless struggle with starvation, with sickness, and with filth. These workers do not share in our social progress. Their wages do not increase; their hours of drudgery do not diminish; life comes to them with no fresh brightness. They live on the margin of industry, picking up a precarious living, and their children, under-fed, ill-cared for, uneducated, over-worked, are, in due time, launched out into Society, incapable as workers and dangerous as citizens, the recruits which perpetuate the ranks of casual labour and unemployable men. Factory inspectors never visit them because no Factory or Workshop Law has yet been devised to deal with the complicated and elusive conditions of their work. They are supposed to be entered upon lists in the possession of District Councils, but every return of the lists published by the Home Office shows that these are imperfect, and that often little trouble is taken to make them accurate. Sanitary law is applied most imperfectly to their home conditions. They baffle school attendance officers. They are on the outskirts of social organisation and are not subject to its conditions nor reached by its laws.

This is not by any means the first time that a consciousness of this class has troubled the public. Every now and again some scandal of clothing made in fever dens has agitated us, and in 1890 Lord Dunraven's House of Lords Committee presented a report valuable alike for its facts and suggestions, which was much discussed at the time, which was imperfectly used by Parliament and the Home Office, and which was speedily forgotten. Since then an important report on home work was published by the Women's Industrial Council (in 1897) based upon a careful inquiry into some hundreds of individual cases, and a similar investigation was conducted in Scotland by the Glasgow Council for Women's Trades. But the public remained indifferent, until in 1906 the exhibitions to which I have referred were begun, and certain Australasian experiments had added a new

practical interest to the problem. A Select Committee was appointed in 1907 by the House of Commons to inquire and report upon the subject, whilst Mr. Aves was sent by the Home Office to Australasia to study, amongst other things, the working of anti-sweating legislation there. The reports of Mr. Aves and the Select Committee have just been published, and Parliament may now be expected to do something on the matter. But what ought it to do?

I.

As a preliminary to any action, one would have expected a careful investigation, such as was conducted by the Dunraven Committee, into two fundamental matters. First, to what extent does the evil exist, and, more particularly, is it greater or less than it was when the last inquiry was made? And, second, why does it exist, and what industrial and economic causes contribute to it? The Select Committee, however, has given us no information on these points, and has made no attempt to put a value upon the conflicting statements of different witnesses. Sir Thomas Whittaker, in the article which appeared in the September issue of this Review, suggests that the woeful accounts are by discontented and dreamy Socialists or Tariff Reformers, whilst the optimistic statements are made by those who have 'rare faculties of accurate observation'!

The Committee specially has shirked the task of presenting to us some clear analysis of the causes of sweating. It is true, that it opens its report with a classification of sweated persons. Sir Thomas Whittaker quoted the passage in his article, so I need only summarise it. The sweated workers belong to one of three groups:

- (1) Single women, widows, deserted or separated wives, wives whose husbands are ill or unable to work.
- (2) Wives of men out of employment.
- (3) Wives and daughters of men in regular employment who usually select pleasant work, and as a rule work for short hours.

Now this classification omits the most typical class of all—the wives and daughters of men in regular or casual employment which never yields a sufficient family income, and who, therefore, cannot select pleasant work, but belong to the lowest grade of sweated workers. Commenting upon this classification, Miss Clementina Black, who has an unusually full knowledge of the facts of the problem, says that it is 'curious and rather sad to observe' that the Committee is 'not really familiar with the problem of home work. . . . As far as my experience goes, a larger group than any of these is that of wives who work because the wages of their husbands are too small to keep the family.'¹

¹ *Women's Industrial News*, September 1908, p. 62

These omissions from and mistakes in the Select Committee's report at once rouse the suspicions of those who see the gravest danger in treating this problem in a slipshod manner by a House of Commons willing to yield to the clamour of sentiment very properly raised against an appalling evil, but too impatient or unwilling to master the real nature of the problem.

As was expected, the Committee has reported in favour of Wages Boards. Most of its active members were committed to that proposal before any evidence was taken. The Boards, according to the report, are to be confined to certain sections of the clothing trades; their decisions are to apply to 'home-workers only'; the machinery is to be a Board composed of equal numbers of employers and employed with an impartial chairman; the wages to be fixed are to be time wages, with, in the case of standard work, piece wages settled by the Board, and, in the case of variable work, piece wages not fixed by the Board but sufficiently high to enable an average worker to earn a fixed time rate; a Court of Summary Jurisdiction is to enforce the Board's decisions.

This proposal is perhaps startling to many people, but, in view of the present trend of legislation and of the collectivist axioms upon which both Liberal and Unionist Governments have been proceeding, it is not revolutionary. It introduces no new principle into industrial law, and other general arguments upon which it is justified—for instance, that an industry which can exist only on sweated labour is not good for a State—will not be disputed by anybody. I, at any rate, belonging to a school of politics the fundamental tenet of which is that the State must now actively co-operate with the individual in order to secure liberty and well-being for the individual, raise no objection in principle to the project.

But there is a test of legislation which becomes more important as State activity increases. All State interference is not wise; some of it is objectionable; some of it is futile; unless discrimination is shown the wise will become involved in the foolish and nothing but harm can result. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the principles of legislation, the advocates of the actual proposals must show that they apply to the characteristics of the problems they propose to solve, and that they can be enforced. It is really to those questions that Sir Thomas Whittaker chiefly addressed himself in the article to which I am referring, and it is only in so far as the Parliamentary Report deals with them that it is of any value. In a happy-go-lucky way people may think we can cure poverty by increasing wages; or they may say 'The miners, the ironworkers, and other trades have Conciliation Boards which fix wages from time to time; let us, therefore, secure for the home-worker such boards by legislation, because she cannot get it through her own efforts; and the result will be the same.' Reflections like these, although they are the common

assumptions of the Wages Boards' advocates, only show the mental sluggishness of well-intentioned people.

If one has in mind the general efficiency of a trade, one need not hesitate about a wages policy. A liberal reward for labour means efficiency in production. That is the case for trade unions. Dealing as they do with industry organised at its best, being mainly confined to skilled artisans or to workers working costly machinery in expensively conducted factories, they have, by protecting the interests of labour, forced into a higher and higher efficiency the whole machinery of production. High wages benefit a trade as a whole. They are the impulse which makes it properly organise itself. We may say, for instance, that the clothing trade would be much more efficiently organised for productive purposes if there were no coats and trousers made by home-workers. That I firmly believe.

But what does this mean for those sections of trades on the margin of organisation—the low forms of production—the home work which exists because it is sweated? The economies which make them possible are derived largely from the low pay of workers. Suppose, however, the same pressure were brought to bear upon these marginal sections which Trade Unionism brings to bear upon the well equipped and organised sections of the same trade. What would happen? We would not see the operation of that benignant philanthropy which animates Sir Thomas Whittaker and his friends, and which they express when they say 'Let us improve these poor people by increasing their wages'; we would see the operation of a totally different law. The disorganised sections would tend to disappear as the increased wages put an end to the industrial conditions under which sweating is possible. The trade and the community would be enormously benefited, but 'these poor people' would not be benefited. They would be eliminated. To abolish home work directly and honestly may be cruel; to go to the home-worker and, under guise of helping her, to deprive her of her work altogether, is cruelty of a superfine character. Commenting on what actually took place when Wages Boards were begun in Victoria, Mr. Aves says: 'The reports bear witness that an improvement in one direction was only secured by increased suffering in another.'

That something like this would happen was present to the minds of the Parliamentary Committee in a vague and confused way. For, when the Committee came to consider how widely the net of the Wages Boards should be thrown, it found itself in a dilemma. After all the fuss that has been made about the beneficence of this proposal, obviously an anti-climax is reached if the Boards are only to apply to home work. Not only are there wages at sweating levels in factories, but the very work which is sweated in homes is the same as is sweated in workshops. It was therefore proposed to extend the operations of the Boards to whole trades so as to include factories and workshops,

but that was defeated. The Chairman, in his article published in this Review, explained that he is in favour of the restriction because home work conditions are different, because a worker in a factory using a sewing-machine driven by power can do four to six times as much work as a worker at home using a treadle machine. 'Consequently,' he concludes, 'the earning power of the two classes of workers, if the rate of payment per article or process be the same, is enormously different.'

The dilemma here involved has never been faced by the advocates of Wages Boards. Are there to be two rates of wages, one for factory and one for home work, or is there to be one rate for both? If the minimum weekly pay is to be the same for those working treadle machines as for those working power-driven ones, work done at home will have to carry with it a three or four times higher scale of piece pay than similar work done in a factory. For a third or a fourth of the production the home-worker is to receive the same wages as the factory worker. This would at once wipe out of existence a large part of home work. Hence, a common minimum wage is impossible. Any attempt to impose it would immediately throw great numbers of home-workers upon the Poor Law.

If, then, a common scale is to be surrendered, one of two things can be done. There can either be two scales, one for home and one for factory work, or the home-worker alone may be dealt with. The section of the Committee which proposed to apply Board decisions to factories had, judging by the report, not considered the effect of its amendment, which, under the circumstances, was very properly defeated, and a two-scale proposal was not discussed. In actual results its effect would probably be little different from that of the recommendations of the Committee to confine the Board's decisions to work done at home. I believe that everyone who thinks out the problem in detail will agree that the proposal of the Committee is the better of the alternatives, however futile it may otherwise be, if the intention really is to help the home-worker without abolishing her altogether. We must, therefore, consider, in relation to actual facts, the recommendation as it stands.

Sir Thomas Whittaker says quite truly that if the scope of the authority of the Board is to be limited to home work, the constituency from which its representatives are to be drawn must also be limited. Clearly it would not be reasonable and satisfactory for a Board, the representatives of the employees on which were entirely or chiefly factory workers, to fix the rates of payment for home-workers or *vice versa*. The same consideration applies to the representatives of the employers. Now, how is such a Board to work? In the first place, it will, obviously, try to retain the economies of home work so that it may exist in spite of factory competition. Moreover, our knowledge of the home-worker shows that she is not only easily frightened by

threats of loss of work, but has no very high demands at best, so that the minimum which such Boards will fix will not be above the economic margin of home work, nor allow a satisfactorily high standard of life. An attempt was made to embody in the report of the Committee the following: 'Your Committee have received evidence showing the fear of some home-workers that if the conditions of their employment are made more stringent they may be prevented from obtaining any home work at all.' The Committee refused to insert this, but the evidence is on their minutes. Only those who have come into personal contact with home-workers in the mass know how truly that rejected paragraph expresses home-workers' feelings.

How far the minimum reward of labour can be raised and yet retain the economy of home work depends largely upon what profit is made from home work.

At an early stage of the inquiry the usual evidence was given of instances of clothing made at home for next to nothing and sold in the West End at high prices.² But assuming the figures to be perfectly accurate, they do not help us in the least to a solution of the problem. As this is really the economic crux of its case, the Committee should have taken careful pains to analyse the final price into its various costs, commissions and profits, so that we could see what margin there is for increased cost of labour. From other more careful sources we have evidence on this point. The selling prices given in Appendix VII. to the first volume of evidence offered to the Committee have been submitted to a very competent investigator of much experience, and she states "the price at which sweated goods are sold is put higher than it really is," and in her report she enters into details in proof of her statement. The fact is that only a small proportion of sweated goods are sold at high rates. Match-boxes, tooth-brushes, babies' clothes, corsets, wearing apparel, artificial flowers, gloves, beading work, slippers, shirts made under sweated conditions are, as a rule, sold cheap, and the consumer as such shares in the advantages of sweating. There are exceptions, but they are only exceptions, even if they are glaring.

The cases of articles made at home for next to nothing and sold for high prices are drawn from a very small class which represents hardly an appreciable percentage of the total volume of work done. As those who have been studying this problem in minute detail for some years have insisted, the home-worker is competing not with other home-workers, but with factory production and its great economies. For a long time the cheap home hand-worker delayed the introduction of a buttonholing machine; hook and eye carding by hand is now being pushed back by the menace of a machine; the home-worker in the hosiery trade has lost process after process after a struggle, as machine after machine has been introduced. This can be

² See Appendix VII. to Report of Committee for 1907.

said of nearly every home-work process, from making match-boxes to tooth-brushes. A good deal of home work is given out more because of use and wont than because it really pays, and even in the fancy departments of ladies' tailoring and dressmaking, where individual attention is required, and where the work is not usually repetition, an intelligent employer finds that it pays him to have it done in his own workrooms. He saves middlemen's profits and commissions; the supervision is better; there is less risk of spoiling material, and, taken all round, the work is much more satisfactorily produced. A well equipped and managed factory or workroom paying fair wages can run home work with its sweating very hard. The home-worker sitting on a board with her employer will fix wages at a point which will allow competition between the home and the workshop or the factory to continue, and the result will be something exceedingly insignificant. The Wages Boards recommended by the Committee will not abolish sweating. There is, indeed, a grave danger that they will intensify it, for the women crushed out of the Wages Boards' trades will only turn to the unregulated ones, to make their condition harder and their sweating blacker.

If we examine the proposals of the Parliamentary Committee, to ascertain how far they meet the practical difficulties of administration, we are again left in a state of mind little short of amazement.

How is the minimum wage to be fixed? Quite properly, the Committee says that it must be on a time basis—so much per week—but that in actual working the rate will have to be enforced by piece-work prices fixed by estimating that an *average* worker would, upon such prices, be paid the weekly minimum. It is admitted that the actual piece rates will vary greatly, and that the employer who is struggling to retain sweating advantages could render the administration of a rigid price list, like those fixed by voluntary Conciliation Boards of Trade Unions and Employers' Federations, quite impossible, because he could modify his work so that it would not be exactly what was specified in the piece schedules as fixed by the Boards. The advocates of Wages Boards, therefore, propose a vague, fluctuating, and uncertain administration, depending upon the discovery of an *average* worker, and the opinion of a magistrate as to what this hypothetical *average* worker should be paid for, say, an extra button or a row of stitching on a coat, or an insertion of lace in a lady's blouse. Now, how can any judge ever estimate the very fine margins which separate legal from illegal payments for small piece operations in relation to a minimum weekly wage? What evidence about an average worker can possibly make it clear to the judicial mind whether a special piece of work should be paid for at 6d., 6½d., or 6¼d? Besides, an average worker is only part of the data required. There must also be average machines which the average worker uses; and, in addition, an order of average amount in some trades.

A witness told the Committee that in making Gibson costumes, the first one could not be done at a satisfactory price because time was taken in learning how to fit the pieces, trimmings, etc. together, but that when she had two or three of the same design to do, the prices which were sweating prices for the first were fairly good when averaged over the whole order.¹ A court of summary jurisdiction, adjudicating upon all the considerations which determine what is an average worker and average conditions, would be an impossible authority for enforcing the law, and, indeed, no inspector could ever be so sure of his facts as to risk prosecuting. The trade union agreements have none of this complexity and elusiveness about them. They are for standard work, and specify precisely what they mean.

The use of this expression 'average worker' really indicates the impracticability of the whole proposal. Sir Thomas Whittaker admits at last that an elaborate schedule of piece rates cannot be enforced by an inspector, but falls back upon the even more impracticable proposal to make a magistrate assess the capacity of an average worker. Even if such an assessment were possible, it must be remembered that much sweating arises from prices which to an average worker, working under the best conditions—for instance, the owner of a sewing-machine with all the latest appliances—are quite satisfactory. Indeed, it is generally forgotten that a part of home work is very well paid and is in no sense sweated, and that a still larger part of it is sweated only in the sense that it is done by unskilled fingers, or under conditions which make average work impossible, and that, in such cases, a Wages Board could not fix a higher minimum than now exists, but which, nevertheless, with bad machines and feeble workers is in reality a sweating rate.

The Parliamentary Committee recorded its objection to a proposal for licensing all home-workers, on the ground that a large staff of inspectors would be required. The Committee seemed to assume that it is easier to inspect for wages payments than for sanitation. The fact is, that nothing is more difficult than to enforce the observance of wages standards in unorganised trades. Where agreements have been come to between masters and men's unions, experience has shown that breaches are common in proportion to the weakness of the unions, and a Wages Board determination, if it is to be worth the paper on which it is written, must be enforced by frequent visitation, conducted by an exceedingly large staff of inspectors. One has only to spend a few days in the home-work districts of London, Manchester, or Leeds, to appreciate what impossibilities the task of

¹ Miss Holden's statement was: 'Q. 8614. How long does it take you to make that garment?—A. If you get thoroughly into it, it will take about 3 or 3½ hours, but over the first one I will sometimes take nearly all day.

' 8615. Does that mean you could make two or three a day?—If you get thoroughly into them; not any more, if that.'

conditions—conditions very old with us. New Zealand was therefore introducing revolutionary amendments to its arbitration law which were bringing its Government into conflict with organised labour—the hitherto determined supporter of arbitration. The workers of Victoria were full of complaints about the existing Wages Boards' mechanism, and I was assured, both publicly and privately, that unless it were amended drastically it might as well be abolished altogether. Mr. Clark, in his book (*The Labour Movement in Australasia*, p. 244), says 'The essential fact is that the present condition is unstable.'

A habit has arisen of assigning to the Victorian Wages Boards (the best representatives of this experiment which can be quoted) all the increases in wages and improvements in industrial conditions of those affected by them that have blessed Victoria in recent years; and this mistake has been encouraged by the form which the reports of the factory inspector take. In these reports, under each trade affected by Boards, there is a statement regarding wages like this: 'In [date], before the Determination came into force, the average wage in this trade was —; last year it was —. These figures indicate a general average increase of — for each employee in the trade.'

The implication of this form of statement is that the improvement in wages is an effect solely of the Wages Board.

Both Mr. Clark and Mr. Aves warn us against these superficial assumptions. The year 1896, when Wages Boards were first formed, was one of the darkest in Victoria's industrial history. Unemployment was general, respectable families were in great straits, and an abnormal amount of home work was being done temporarily until the upward movement took place. The recovery since then has been on ordinary and normal lines upon which the influence of Wages Boards has been difficult rather than easy to trace. The really effective antidote to sweating in Victoria, according to the information I was able to gather on the spot, was the Factory Law of 1896, which provided, amongst other things, that places where home work was done should be registered and watched by the factory inspector. There is some difference of opinion as to how to distribute the credit for the reduction of sweating in Victoria, but the more closely one investigates the course of its decline, the less one sees the effect of Wages Boards.

It is of particular interest, moreover, to discover how Wages Boards have acted under conditions similar to ours. For instance, where there is a population akin to our foreign-born people sweated in London, Leeds, Manchester and elsewhere, or where there is an economic class of sweated people whose very existence is threatened by a forced increase in wages, what has happened? We have such a situation illustrated in the Chinese furniture works of Melbourne. Cheapness of production, secured by the sweating of employees,

keeps the Chinese furniture trade going. Every conceivable attempt has been made to make this trade conform to the decisions of the Furniture Wages Board. But, naturally, both employers and employees have combined to prevent the payment of the increased wages which would ruin their trade, with the result admitted by the Chief Factory Inspector in several Annual Reports :

From the Chinese point of view it means either giving up the manufacture of furniture or evading the minimum wage. Under these circumstances I am unable to get any reliable information from the Chinese workmen as to what wages they receive, and I have once more to admit I know of no way of compelling the employers to pay the legal rates.

Upon this point, Mr. Aves says that evasions are discovered owing to the smallness of the community 'unless there be active collusion. In that case, there is an admitted helplessness.' The employee threatened with the loss of his work by the apparent blessing of high wages declines the high wages and conspires with his employer to defeat the intention of the law.

But, outside this particular case of the Chinese, there is no uniformity of opinion regarding the enforcement of decisions. I was told by church workers and other people interested in social questions that work was being done in Melbourne at prices which, when reduced to English exchange values, would be very bad ; and if these cases are few, it must be remembered that Melbourne is not such a very large town. Mr. Aves reports that :

In reply to a question as to how often the home-workers among the white workers, for instance, were visited, I was informed that they were not visited once a year, although some during that period might be seen six times. Neither could it be asserted that they were visited once in two years.

He thinks, in spite of this, that 'the general position with regard to outworkers is known.' I was assured by persons whom I consider to be reliable that that is not the case ; and Mr. Clark states (p. 147) 'I have seen large bundles of clothing going out of factories [in Melbourne] to be made up by contractors who were evading Board Determinations.'

But the most important matter of all is the discovery of how far the disorganised women workers have had their wages raised—even if only apparently—by Wages Boards. The conclusions appear to be as follows :

(1) After the first Determination practically no change has taken place. 'Males have been almost the sole gainers from revisions,' says Mr. Aves. A new classification has been made in the confectionery and jam trades which partly improves and partly worsens conditions ; and increases of 2s. per week have been secured by women making wire mattresses and leather goods. No other changes in wages have been made.

(2) Taking the trades where any appreciable percentage of women are employed, those not subject to Wages Boards show an increase of wages on the average of 12s. 5½d. per week, whilst the Wages Boards' trades show an increase of 8s. 10½d. From these figures no conclusion except a negative one as regards Wages Boards can be drawn.

(3) If we take the recorded wages, we have to accept the same conclusions. On the average, wages have increased in the clothing trade by 8d. per week since 1896, in dressmaking by 9d. since 1903, by 10d. in jam-making since 1900, by 11d. in shirt-making since 1896, by 1s. 8d. in underclothing since 1898; and these are the chief women's trades regulated by Boards. When the average for adults alone is slightly better than these figures it is always dragged down by an increase in juvenile labour. The minimum for adults fixed by Boards in these trades respectively is 20s., 16s., 14s., 16s., 16s. per week. Here, again, there can be no doubt as to the failure of Wages Boards more particularly when it is remembered that the purchasing power of money is appreciably less in Victoria than in this country. In this connection it is also to be noted that rarely in the case of unorganised women are wages paid over the fixed minimum.

(4) How far Wages Boards have steadied wages and kept them up to the minimum, mean though it may be, is another question of some importance. The average wages paid through a series of years in regulated and unregulated trades help us to a conclusion on this matter. We can, for instance, compare clothing and boots, which are regulated, with hosiery and tobacco, which are unregulated.

—	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Clothing .	15 5	15 8	18 8	18 6	18 1	18 8	18 8	18 0	17 1	16 9	16 9
Boots .	18 4	19 7	14 7	14 11	14 7	15 8	14 8	14 0	18 10	18 9	14 2
Hosiery .	12 2	11 7	10 10	11 8	11 4	12 5	12 8	11 8	13 4	13 8	14 2
Tobacco .	15 5	14 11	15 8	18 0	16 7	17 8	18 10	17 5	17 2	18 5	18 10

For these figures Mr. Aves is responsible. Once more it is the negative result of Wages Boards which is most striking. 'The effect upon wages appears to be inconsiderable,' are Mr. Aves' words.

(5) Owing to the Factory Acts and the power of the Labour Party in industry, home work occupies a 'place of very secondary importance,' although it is now growing, and the inspectors admit that a good deal of it is unlicensed. The statistics of wages given are those of factories alone. 'No wages returns of home work are published.' The effect of Wages Boards upon the home-worker's income is therefore not known, although I was informed by those who had done some investigation into the subject that the statutory minimum of 4d. per hour is not exceeded, and is not always reached.

(6) This experience has been acquired at a time when every economic tendency for an increase in wages has been in operation, more particularly a great shortage of women's labour. Mr. Aves says 'It is "the same everywhere," I was told by a group of women whose experience gave them abundant opportunities of knowing: employers "cannot get experienced workers." A dressmaker could expand her business "at once" if she could only obtain experienced workers.' Factory development has swallowed up all available labour, and no opportunities have been given for the perpetuation of sweating conditions.

(7) Finally, a general conclusion must be expressed. The operations of these Boards (but far more in the organised men's than in the unorganised women's trades) have an influence in concentrating attention upon wages. They have in some measure taught by compulsion the economy of high wages, which has been a gain; but they have also misled the workpeople into forgetting that wages are but relations—are but measures of exchange. I have not known labour leaders to be less aware of the difference between nominal and real wages than those of Australasia.

Such are the meagre results of Wages Boards where they have been tried under conditions of extraordinary advantage.

III.

The misfortunes of the sweated worker appeal with irresistible force to people's hearts. Some consequently seek peace of mind by doing something—anything. They speak of sweating as though it were some simple phenomenon which is capable of a simple remedy. They decline to consider details; they trust to Providence, luck, and their own good intentions. Their arguments are pious opinions. They are what Sir Thomas Whittaker describes as 'pills-for-earthquakes reformers.' They have proposed Wages Boards and produced the most imperfectly considered Report which this Parliament has published.

The problem of sweating requires a different treatment. It must be analysed into its causes. How are the wages of the bread-winner to be raised? How is casual labour to be decasualised? How is unemployment to be prevented, or treated when it occurs? What can be done for the widow with little children and no other possessions? What succour can we give to the industrial sick? For it is these difficulties that together form the problem of sweating. Obviously, increasing the wages of women workers at home barely touches any of these questions. An increase in the value of the wife as a bread-winner is one of the most pernicious things that could happen in view of the present disintegration of family life caused by the inability of large classes of men to secure sufficient wages to be a family income.

The widow having to take care of young children cannot properly take part in the exacting labours of home work, driven hard by factory competition. She has to be helped through her children. Let them be boarded out with her, and let it be seen that she takes proper care of them. Next year, the Government has promised to deal with the problems of unemployment and of casual labour; and whether it redeems its promise or not, if the moral aversion to sweating were used as a political leverage to compel the Local Government Board to take some positive and constructive action on this subject, permanent good would be done. The influence of Old Age Pensions is apparent, and if these can be supplemented by a system of sickness and other accident insurance, further poisoned sources of sweating will be dried up. Above all, we must diminish the causes which tend to casualise home work. This can be done only by making the home-worker feel that she is part of the ordinary and regular army of workers, and not a kind of industrial creature of the gutter, snatching a crust here and a scrap there. This can best be secured by a system of Licensing—not the meaningless proposal of the Parliamentary Committee to register, but the giving of a licence to a person enabling her to work on certain premises which, in the opinion of the inspector, are fit for being used for the purpose. This would at once discourage every home-worker who is only a casual, working one week and not another, and would tend to do for the whole class which remains the same thing which the proposed Labour Registries are going to do for the casual male workers. Test the need of the home-worker by putting her to a little trouble to obtain a licence, and the apparent inconvenience in reality places her in a much better position by ridding her of that casual fringe from which springs so much of her distress. The sweated home-worker must go, but the humane and true way to abolish her is to put an end to the conditions which create her. Her misfortunes are independent of her being sweated. Sweating is an effect, not a cause. The impatient pessimist who must do something hastily and dramatically to try and persuade himself that he is an optimist with a conscience, is not satisfied with this attack on the causes of sweating, but the fact remains that sweating can be cured not by a concentrated pill, but by a general policy expressing itself in many directions. Wages Boards misdirect our energies and create a cumbersome industrial machinery, which may look well, but which will not work; only an attack in detail upon the several causes of sweating can have a permanent and beneficial effect upon our industrial condition and upon the victims of its shortcomings.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

HOW SWITZERLAND DEALS WITH HER UNEMPLOYED

THE Swiss are an eminently frugal people : everything that smacks of waste is in their eyes the veriest anathema ; and it is to them a source of real satisfaction that no other people on the face of the earth can make a penny go quite so far as they can. And they are as practical as they are frugal : when they have a difficult problem to solve, instead of wasting time lamenting that it should be there to be solved, they straightway set to work, in a common-sense fashion, to consider how the solving can best be done. They have other good qualities, too, of course ; still, it was because they are frugal and practical, rather than because they are humane or anything else, that they first began grappling with unemployment as a subject of vital importance, not only to the unemployed themselves, but to the whole community.

It was realised clearly in Switzerland, already many long years ago, that a working man who is unemployed is, if left to himself, prone to become unemployable. He takes to the road in search of work, and on the road drink is cheaper than food, besides being more easily procured. A glass of schnapps is more comforting, too, than a hunch of bread, when one is down on one's luck and may have to sleep in a ditch. Nor is drink the only danger. It is the easiest thing in life to drift into loafing ways : they are few and far between, indeed, who can, for very long at a time, tramp up and down, day in, day out, looking vainly for work, without losing the desire to find it.

It was realised also and equally clearly, many long years ago, that for the community to allow any one of its members, who could be kept employable, to become unemployable, is sheer wasteful folly, if for no other reason than because, when once he is unemployable, the community must support him—must support his children, too, if he has any. Although Switzerland differs from England in that no one there may claim relief as a right, a self-respecting community cannot anywhere, in this our day, leave even the most worthless of its members to die of starvation. Besides, even if it could, such a proceeding would be fraught with difficulties, especially

in a country where, as in Switzerland, the government is democratic. For although there are undoubtedly both men and women capable of starving—some of them actually do starve—without disturbing their neighbours by unseemly wails, they form but a small minority of any population ; and with the vast majority it is quite otherwise. The vast majority it is practically impossible to leave to starve, because of the uproar they would make while starving. For them the community must provide board together with lodging, if they cannot provide it for themselves ; and they cannot, if they are unemployable. It behoves the community, therefore, as a mere matter of self-interest—so, at least, it is argued in Switzerland—to do everything that can be done to prevent their being unemployed, lest they become unemployable.

This is a point on which all cantons alike hold decided views. Throughout the country, indeed, there is a strong feeling that any man who is out of work must be helped to find work ; and this not so much for his own sake, as for the sake of the whole community—to guard against his being a cause of expense to it, instead of being, as he ought to be, a source of income. There is, however, an equally strong feeling that, when the work is found, the man must, if necessary, for his own sake as well as the sake of the community, be made to do it ; to do it well, too. Practically everywhere in Switzerland, while it is held to be the duty of the authorities to stand by the genuine work-seeker and help him, it is held to be their duty also to mete out punishment to the work-shirker, and force him to earn his daily bread before he eats it. No toleration is shown to the loafer, for he is regarded as one who wishes to prey on his fellows, and take money out of the common purse while putting none into it. On the other hand, what can be done is done, and gladly, to guard decent men from all danger of becoming loafers through mischance, or misfortune.

In England a man may deliberately throw up one job, and, without ever making an effort to find another, remain for months in the ranks of the unemployed, steadily deteriorating all the time into an unemployable. Meanwhile, no one has the right to say him yea, or nay, unless he applies for poor relief. In Switzerland, however, it is otherwise. There is no resorting to workhouses as to hotels there ; no wandering round the countryside extorting alms while pretending to look for work. For begging is a crime and so is vagrancy ; and in some cantons the police receive a special fee for every beggar or vagrant they arrest. If a man is out of work there, he must try to find work ; for if he does not, the authorities of the district where he has a settlement will find it for him, and of a kind, perhaps, not at all to his taste—tiring and badly paid. And he cannot refuse to do it, for if he does he may be packed off straight to a penal work-house, an institution where military discipline prevails, and where every inmate is made to work to the full extent of his strength,

receiving in return board and lodging with wages of from a penny to threepence a day. And when once he is there, there he must stay, until the authorities decree that he shall depart; for as a penal workhouse is practically a prison, he cannot take his own discharge, and the police are always on the alert to prevent his running away. No matter how long his sojourn lasts, however, it does not cost the community a single penny; for in Switzerland these penal institutions are self-supporting. Some of them, indeed, are said to be a regular source of income to the cantons to which they belong.

Then in England a man may lose his work through no fault of his own, simply because times are bad; and although he may strive with all his might and main to find something or other to do, he may fail. He may be driven by the sheer force of circumstances over which he has no control whatever into joining the ranks of the unemployed; nay, let him struggle as he will, he may even, if his strength or his heart fail him, be driven into becoming an unemployable. Meanwhile it is no one's real business to give him a helping hand, and try to keep him from drifting downwards. No matter how deserving he may be, how sober, industrious, and thrifty, the community in most districts takes no more thought for him than for the veriest drunken, lazy wastrel. It looks on the two with an equal eye, and is just as willing to give aid to the one as to the other. The casual ward and the workhouse stand open to all the unemployed alike; and all the unemployed alike, no matter how worthy or how worthless, have an equal chance, so far as the community is concerned, of becoming unemployable.

In this case also in Switzerland it is otherwise: there is no classing of the unemployed by casualty or misfortune with the unemployed by laziness or misconduct there; no meting out to them of the same measure. On the contrary, as a matter both of justice and good policy, considerable trouble is taken to distinguish between the two classes, so that each may be dealt with according to its merits. The man who is out of work through his own fault, and because he does not wish to be in work, is treated as a criminal, and sent as a prisoner to a penal institution; while the man who is out of work in spite of his earnest endeavour to be in work, is helped without being subjected to any humiliation whatever. It is much more easy there, however, than it is here, it must be admitted, to distinguish between unemployed and unemployed; as there every working-man has his 'papers,' i.e. documents which are given to him by the authorities of the district where he has his settlement, and which contain full information as to where and by whom he has been employed in the course of his life. Still there is no reason why we too should not have 'papers,' as their cost would practically be nil; and it could be no disgrace to any man, and might sometimes be a great convenience to a respectable man, to have always at hand proof that he is not a wastrel.

In most districts in Switzerland there is a special fund, out of which grants are made to respectable persons who are temporarily in distress, owing to lack of employment; and these grants entail neither the disgrace, nor yet the disabilities, entailed by poor relief. In most districts, too, the authorities make it part of their business to try to provide lucrative work for persons who cannot provide it for themselves. They pay them regular wages, but lower wages than a private employer would pay them for similar work; and sometimes, instead of paying them in money, they pay them in kind. Then relief-in-kind stations, i.e. casual wards organised on philanthropic lines, are now maintained in every part of industrial Switzerland for the exclusive use of the respectable unemployed; and drunkards, criminals and loafers are never allowed to cross the threshold of these places.

No one is admitted to a Swiss relief-in-kind station unless his papers show that he has been in regular work within the previous three months, and out of work for at least five days; unless they show also that neither the police nor his own district authorities have any reason for looking on him askance. He who is admitted, however, is made welcome, and is treated with consideration as a respectable man whom misfortune has befallen. If he arrives at midday, he is given a dinner, and is told exactly where his best chance lies of finding work in the whole district. For attached, as a rule, to a station is a labour bureau, which is in close touch with all the employers for miles around, and in communication with all the other labour bureaux in the canton, as well as with the central bureau for the whole country at Zürich. If he arrives in the evening, he is provided with supper and a comfortable bed; and on the following morning with breakfast. All this gratis, and without his ever being asked to do a single stroke of work. When once he has been to a station, however, he may not return there until at least six months have passed; and he may not, as a rule, stay more than one night at the same station. Still, if he is foot-sore and weary, and manifestly in need of a rest, he is allowed to remain longer, and is given the chance of washing his clothes and putting them in order. For the very *raison d'être* of these places, it must be noted, is to help the respectable unemployed to find employment, not only by telling them where it is to be found, but by keeping them fit, physically as in all other ways, while they are finding it. For they who manage them are alive to the fact that employers give the preference to the fittest when engaging hands.

These stations are a semi-private institution: they were organised and are managed by local non-official committees, which have formed themselves into an intercantonal union, and all work together. They are supported partly by voluntary contributions, and partly by state, municipal, and communal grants. The Poor Law authorities have nothing whatever to do with them; great care, indeed, is taken

to keep them free from everything connected with poor relief, and to emphasise the fact that they are there for the benefit not of paupers, but of men who, although temporarily in distress owing to lack of employment, are striving to escape becoming paupers.

For respectable work-seekers a relief-in-kind station is a real boon, for they can go there not only without losing their self-respect, but without running any risk of being pauperised. For, although at a station, they are helped in all possible ways to find work, if they are doing their best to find it for themselves; let them but relax their efforts, and show signs of a willingness to remain without it, and they are at once thrown on their own resources. The police, who are in close co-operation with the station officials, always keep a sharp watch on the unemployed, especially on such as are sojourning in these refuges; and if they find them refusing work when it is offered under reasonable conditions, or accepting it and losing it through carelessness, laziness, or any other fault of their own; or lounging by the wayside, or in public-houses, instead of betaking themselves where they have been told there is the chance of a job, the fact is reported, with the result that there is made on their papers a note which prevents their ever again crossing the threshold of any station. At the end of three months from the day they leave work, they forfeit, in any case, their right to go to any station, as by the law that prevails in these institutions it is only men who have been in regular employment during the previous three months who are eligible for admission.

Besides these stations, there are in Zürich, Berne, Bâle, Geneva, Neuchâtel, and St. Gall *Herberge zur Heimat*, i.e. home-inns, where working-men, if without lodgings, may stay with their wives and children for a time at very small expense, or even in some cases gratis. There are also, in the chief industrial centres, *Wärmestuben* (warm rooms), provided either by the authorities, or by some private society, where the unemployed may pass their days while waiting for work.

Already hundreds of years ago the Swiss were dealing with their unemployed on common-sense lines, and for the express purpose of preventing their becoming a charge on the community. And, curiously enough, they were guided by precisely the same principles then as they are guided now. They were every whit as sure, when Zwinglius was their social law-giver, as they are to-day, that to help the work-seeker, while harrying the work-shirker, is an act of good policy as well as of righteousness. They had much the same methods, too, of helping and of harrying then as they have now: hundreds of years ago it was their custom to provide work for persons who professed to be unable to provide it for themselves; their custom, too, to see that the work provided was done. Already in 1637 Zürich was maintaining a penal workhouse to which it sent its wastrel population; and in 1657 Berne

built for itself a similar institution. From that time until some twenty years ago, the state of things in Switzerland remained practically the same, so far as the unemployed were concerned. And even then, although a notable change was made, it was a change that consisted not in replacing old methods by new ones, but in supplementing the old by new. In the more important cantons the community, instead of contenting itself with taking thought for the unemployed, as it had theretofore, began to take thought also for the employed, began to try to help them—or rather to show them how to help themselves—not to be unemployed, and how to be independent even if unemployed. Up to 1890 social reformers in Switzerland busied themselves chiefly with schemes for providing the unemployed with employment; since then the schemes they have had most at heart have been schemes for enabling the employed to insure against unemployment, and to remain employable even if unemployed. For now that Switzerland is to a certain extent an industrial state, a new order of things has arisen, one under which it is practically impossible sometimes to provide employment for all who need it, owing to the large number who require it all at the same time.

In the winter of 1890 there was great distress in Switzerland: trade was so bad that half the factories in the country had closed their doors, and every town was thronged with men and women seeking vainly for work. District authorities were at their wits' end; for, let them strive as they would, they could not find work for all who clamoured for it; and when they took to dispensing charity their Poor Funds were soon empty. A very bitter feeling arose, therefore, among the working classes, one to which they gave voice freely at the Labour Congress that was held in the spring of 1891. At this congress the *Recht auf Arbeit* was the burden of many speeches; and for the first time the cry was raised for insurance against unemployment. A petition was drawn up, calling upon the Bundesrath to insert in the Federal Constitution an article recognising the right of every Swiss subject to have work to do, and to receive adequate wages for doing it; calling upon it also to devise some method of insuring against unemployment. The Bundesrath, of course, refused the petition. Still the public conscience was troubled; for it seemed an intolerable thing that men who were able to work, and eager to work, should be driven into accepting poor relief or charity because they could find no work to do, even though they sought it diligently.

The trade depression continued, and in the winter of 1891 Dr. Wassilieff, a well-known Labour leader, held an inquiry in Berne for the purpose of finding out to what extent unemployment really prevailed there. His report caused much heart-searching, as it proved incontestably that a large section of the working classes were without employment, and were therefore living just from hand to mouth, within hailing distance of starvation. It proved also incidentally

that they who were unemployed then would, the chances were, be unemployed again and again, as their unemployment was the inevitable outcome of the new state of things that had arisen, owing to the industrial development of the country.

No sooner were the results of Dr. Wassilieff's inquiry known than the fact was recognised, in Berne at any rate, that the country was face to face with a terribly difficult problem; and there and then it was decided, in a characteristically practical fashion, that an attempt must be made to solve it. Men of all classes and callings met together; and, having formed themselves into a committee, set to work to study the whole unemployed question, with a view to finding a remedy for the evils entailed by unemployment. While this committee was still sitting, Dr. Wassilieff organised a Berne Labourers' Union, and drew up for the benefit of its members a scheme for insuring against unemployment. He proposed that the Union should maintain an Unemployed Fund, to which all the members should contribute; and that the Municipality should pay into it out of the rates at least 3000 francs a year. Out of this Fund regular allowances were to be paid to such of the labourers as were out of work, in winter, through no fault of their own.

Dr. Wassilieff having laid his scheme before the committee, the members modelled on it a scheme of their own, under which it was proposed that any Labour Union that would organise an Unemployed Fund, and pay allowances to those belonging to it when out of work, should receive from the Municipality an annual grant equal in amount to half the sum of the allowances paid. When this project was brought before the Municipal Council, several of the Councillors opposed it strongly, holding that to give public money to funds belonging to Unions was practically to offer a bribe to men to become Unionists. A Commission was appointed, therefore, to consider not only the merits and demerits of the scheme in question, but the whole subject of insurance against unemployment. Within two months the Commissioners pronounced emphatically in favour of this form of insurance, arguing that, for the well-being of the State, it was almost as necessary as insurance against sickness or accident. And they recommended that an Insurance Bureau should be organised immediately, not for any one class of workers, however, but for all classes; and not by Trades Unions, or any other section of the community, but by the Municipality representing the whole community. This was a point on which they laid great stress, arguing that, as unemployment affects the whole community, the whole community must join in battling against it. Unfortunately, they gave no statistics to prove what the cost of the battling would actually be, although they proposed that the expense it would entail on the community should be limited to 5000 francs a year.

The Municipality decided at once to act on the recommendation

of its Commissioners; and, as an experiment, to give a trial for two years to the scheme they had drawn up. In April 1891 there was opened in Berne the first Municipal Bureau for Insurance against Unemployment the world had ever seen.

The Bureau was organised on voluntary lines; any Swiss subject might insure in it, but no one need insure unless he chose. Those who did insure were required to pay 40 centimes—a fraction less than 4*d.*—a month each into the Bureau fund; and in return they secured the right to an allowance of a franc if alone-standing, or a franc and a half if with others dependent on them, for every day, up to sixty days, they were out of work in winter through no fault of their own. Employers were not required to contribute to the fund, but it was hoped that they would do so voluntarily.

During the first year 404 men insured in it; but 50 of them were struck off the list because they did not pay their fees regularly. Of the remaining 354, 216 were out of work in the winter, and applied for help. Work was found for 50 of them, and the other 166 received allowances. These allowances amounted to 6835 francs, while the fees the men paid amounted to only 1124 francs. The following year things were a little better, but only a little; for, although 126 new members joined the Bureau, 67 names were removed from the list. In the course of the winter 226 of the insured were out of work, and 219 of them received allowances amounting to 9684 francs; while the fees of all the insured together amounted only to 1366 francs. Thus, when in 1895 the time came for weighing the experiment in the balance, no one could claim that it had proved a success. Still, there was a strong feeling that it must not be abandoned, as it might, if worked differently, prove a success in the future. It was bound to prove a success, indeed, its managers maintained, if only working-men of all classes could be induced to throw in their lot together and insure against unemployment. As it was, it was only the unskilled who insured; and even among the unskilled, only those who were likely to be unemployed. This was proved by the fact that, in the first year the Bureau existed, 61 per cent. of the men belonging to it were out of work. It was proposed, therefore, that insurance against unemployment should be made compulsory; and as this was beyond the power of the Municipality, Dr. Wassilieff appealed to the Cantonal Government to frame a measure on the same lines as that on which the Courts of Trade are founded, conferring on district authorities the right to organise, in co-operation with the State, insurance against unemployment on compulsory lines. He even showed them how it could be done, as he drew up for them a Compulsory Insurance Bill.

The Bill was received with enthusiasm, and the Minister of the Interior announced his intention of adopting it as a Government measure. He changed his tone, however, when he found that, although

the mass of the workers were in favour of it, the better paid among them were bitterly opposed to it, regarding it as an attempt to levy a tax on them for the benefit of their less well-to-do comrades. Besides, if it were passed, the whole canton would be flooded with underpaid labour from other cantons, they said. The end of it was, the Cantonal Parliament, while expressing warm sympathy with the aim of the Bill, decided that the subject with which it dealt was not ripe for legislation.

Meanwhile the Berne Voluntary Insurance Bureau was pursuing the even tenor of its way. It was reorganised in 1893 and again in 1900. Since then it has developed into an extremely interesting and useful institution. It is now joined to another and still more useful institution, the Berne Municipal Labour Bureau, the two being housed in the same building and worked together. They are under the direction and control of a managing board, consisting of nine members, three of whom are elected by the men who insure and three by their employers, while three are appointed by the Municipal Council. These directors hold office for four years; and at the end of every year they render an account of their stewardship to the Municipal Council. Three of the directors watch over the working of the insurance bureau; three over that of the labour bureau; while one acts as president, another as vice-president, and another, again, as treasurer. The actual work of the bureaux is done by three paid officials, the manager, the manageress, and a clerk. The manager is directly responsible to the directors both for what he does himself and what is done by the other officials. All the bureaux officials, whether honorary or paid, carry on a regular propaganda to induce men in good times to insure against unemployment in bad times. The insurance bureau is open only to men; but the labour bureau is open both to men and women.

Any man who lives in Berne, whether a Swiss subject or not, may now insure against unemployment in the municipal bureau, providing he is able to work and not above sixty years of age. All that he has to do is to apply to the bureau, either directly, or through his employer or his Union, for an insurance book, and fasten into it every month an insurance stamp of the value of 70 centimes. In return for these 70 centimes a month he secures the right to a money allowance for every day, up to sixty days, that he is out of work during the months of December, January, and February, provided that he has been in work for at least six months in the course of the year, provided also that he has not lost his work through lameness, disorderly conduct, or any other fault of his own, and that he has not refused work offered to him on reasonable conditions. A man who is unemployed because he is unemployable, whether from illness or any other cause, cannot claim an allowance; nor can one who is out on strike, or who has belonged to the bureau for less than eight months, or who is in arrears with his fees. For the first thirty days the unemployed allowance is

a franc and a half a day each for men who are alone-standing, and two francs for those who have others dependent on them; and for the remaining thirty days it is as much as the directors can afford to make it—anything from 80 centimes to a franc and a half. If the directors refuse to grant a man an allowance, or if they reduce his allowance at the end of thirty days below what he thinks it ought to be, he may appeal against them to the Court of Trade. The unemployed elect two of themselves to watch over their interests and see that each of them receives his due.

The directors are bound to grant an allowance to every member of the bureau who fulfils the conditions under which allowances may be claimed. As one of these conditions is, however, that the claimant must be out of work through no fault of his own, they take it for granted that every claimant is anxious to be in work; and, therefore, before giving him one penny, they try to find work for him. The manager of the insurance bureau, it must be remembered, is also the manager of the labour bureau, and as such is in constant communication with all the employers of labour in the canton, as well as with all the labour bureaux in the country. He, therefore, knows to a nicety the state of the labour market, and can say at once where, if anywhere, work is to be had. And members of the insurance bureau are allowed to travel on all the State railways at half the usual fares, when in search of employment. If he reports to the directors that there is no work anywhere, they apply to the Municipal Board of Works to start at once some undertaking that would, perhaps, otherwise not be started until later. For they have an agreement with this Board that all municipal work shall, so far as possible, be done in December, January, and February, and by members of the insurance bureau. Thus they have, as a rule, a fair amount of work to offer during these months; and anyone who refuses it when offered forfeits, of course, his claim to an allowance. Allowances are granted, in fact, only in cases in which work cannot be provided and only until it can. The men who receive them are required to present themselves, twice every day, in the bureau waiting-room to see if the manager has a job for them.

On the 1st of April 1905 the insurance bureau had 593 members, and 196 more joined it in the course of the year; while 175 were struck off its list, either because they had died, or because they had failed to pay their fees. On the 1st of April 1906 it had 614 members; and it gained 126 more during the year, while it lost 169. In the winter of 1905-6, 234 of the insured, i.e. 38 per cent., were out of work and received either work or allowances. Of these 68 per cent. were under fifty years of age, and only 9 per cent. were above sixty. In the winter of 1906-7, out of 571 members, 239, i.e. 42 per cent., announced themselves as being out of work. Fifty-five per cent. of the 239 were under fifty years of age, and fifteen were above sixty. The bureau

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succeeded in providing 114 of them with work, and granted allowances to the rest.

In 1905-6 the full expenditure of the insurance bureau, exclusive of rent and salaries—the Municipality provides the building for both the bureaux and pays their three officials—was 6480 francs; and in 1906-7 it was 10,438 francs. In 1905-6, 6228 francs out of the 6480 went directly to the insured in allowances; and in 1906-7, 9804 francs out of 10,438. In the former year office expenses amounted only to 123 francs, and in the latter, to 375.

In 1905-6 the income of the bureau was 19,022 francs, viz.—

	France
Members' fees	4,702
Employers' voluntary contributions	1,856
Other presents	239
Municipal grant (fixed in amount)	12,000
Interest on capital	785
Total	19,022

In 1906-7 its income was 17,948 francs, viz.—

	France
Members' fees	8,822
Employers' voluntary contributions	1,048
Other presents	76
Municipal grant	12,000
Interest on capital	1,007
Total	17,948

Thus, even without any municipal grant at all, the insurance bureau in 1905-6 would have paid its way and have had a balance to the good of 542 francs; while in 1906-7 its deficit would have been only 4490 francs.

The labour bureau works on a much larger scale. In 1905-6, 13,361 men and women applied to it for work, and it found work for 5582 of them. The next year, 15,509 persons applied for work, and 3365 of them received it. Beyond its share of the salaries of the three officials and of the rent of the building where it is housed, the labour bureau receives nothing from the Municipality. Nor does it need anything; for, although when acting for employers or employees belonging to Berne it does its work gratis, it charges a small fee when acting for aliens; and these fees cover its expenses.

Neither of these bureaux entails any great expense on the community, it must be noted, and they both render it good service. And they will assuredly render it much better service in days to come than they render it now. For that in labour bureaux and insurance against unemployment lies the true solution of the unemployed problem there seems little doubt. Only, for it to be the true solution, the insurance must be compulsory; as otherwise, they who insure against unemployment will always for the most part be they.

who are going to be unemployed. And unfortunately therein is a great difficulty; for no really satisfactory scheme, on compulsory lines, for this form of insurance has yet been devised in Switzerland, in spite of all the attempts that have been made, not only in Berne, but in St. Gall, Bâle, Zürich, and Lausanne. Still, many heads are now at work trying hard to devise one, and the firm belief prevails that one will be devised before long.

Meanwhile there is no just standing aside with folded hands waiting. On the contrary, while financial experts are grappling with one unemployed problem—insurance—the very man in the street is grappling with another; and his problem is even more important, perhaps, than the experts'. Within the last few years there has arisen in Switzerland a great popular movement, the end and aim of which is to secure, so far as possible, the working classes against unemployment, by securing them, *volentes volentes*, against unemployableness. There is something very like a crusade, indeed, being carried on there against everything that tends to make men unemployable.

In Switzerland, as elsewhere, labour bureaux statistics prove clearly that, excepting during industrial crises, the overwhelming majority of the unemployed always belong to the unskilled class; while the personal experiences of bureaux officials go far towards proving that the majority of them are more or less unemployable, because either drunken, lazy, or unfit. In the chief cantons, therefore, men and women of all degrees have formed themselves into societies; and have set to work, in co-operation as a rule with the local authorities, to try to bring about the virtual extinction of the unemployed class by preventing new recruits from joining it. With them it is a regular business to watch over the young, and see that their fingers and their eyes are trained as well as their brains; and that each one of them is fitted, so far as in him—or her—lies, to become a skilled worker.

In almost every national school there are now technical classes, and a boy must, whether his parents wish it or not, learn some handicraft before he leaves; while a girl must learn sewing and laundry work as well as cooking and housewifery. There are technical continuation schools, too, both for boys and for girls, where they may learn gratis anything from millinery to higher mathematics. In several cantons Poor Law authorities are expressly forbidden to allow the children under their care to become unskilled labourers; and these authorities cannot free themselves from their responsibility for the maintenance of a State child until it has learnt a lucrative calling. Parents who neglect their children, who allow them to absent themselves from school, or who do not do their best to put them in the way of becoming useful self-supporting citizens, are regarded and treated as criminals. One of the functions of labour bureaux is now to arrange for the apprenticeship of boys whose parents cannot be

trusted to arrange for it wisely. Masters are directly responsible to the local authorities for the technical training of their apprentices; and if they fail in their duty to them, they may be punished. In some places they are required to see that their young employees go to a night school. Thus for the future no boy, unless he be mentally defective, will be forced to join the unskilled class, no matter how poor or neglectful his parents may be. And if he is not thrifty and sober, as well as skilled, the blame will assuredly be his own. For in every school thrift is now taught as carefully as arithmetic; and teachers are required to use their personal influence over their pupils to induce them to put into a savings bank any few pence they may have. They are required, too—this by decree of the Bundesrath—to make them understand that alcohol is something which it behoves them neither to touch nor yet to handle.

Nor do either local authorities or private societies content themselves, in Switzerland, with battling against unemployableness in the workers of to-morrow; they battle against it also, and almost as eagerly, although much less hopefully, in the workers of to-day. There are cantons where the life of any man who even tries to loaf is made a burden to him, and where at the first sign of alcoholism the patient is packed off to a home for inebriates. For the Swiss, being a robust race, have no scruples whatever about setting at naught individual rights, when these rights either clash with the interests of the community, or threaten to entail on it expense. Switzerland claims to be the freest of lands; but no man is free there to be idle, unless he can prove, to the satisfaction of his district authorities, that he has the means wherewith to provide for himself and those dependent on him without working. Nor, even if he has the necessary means, is he always free to drink at his own discretion. Whether he is, or is not, depends on the temper of his local authorities, who may, if they choose, imprison in homes for inebriates habitual drunkards, so as to prevent their setting their fellows a bad example; just as they may imprison in penal workhouses loafers, even before they become a burden on the community, so as to prevent their ever becoming a burden.

Both homes for inebriates and penal workhouses are regarded in Switzerland as 'bettering' institutions; and they who are sent there are sent to be bettered—cured of their moral infirmities.

While local authorities deal with drunkards, private societies—the Blue Cross, the Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft, and many others—make it their business to try to prevent drinking; and in this they have the hearty support of all the authorities alike, from the Bundesrath downwards. When the Bundesrath handed over to the Cantonal Governments the yield of the spirit monopoly, it stipulated that one-tenth of it should be devoted to promoting temperance and combating alcoholism. And only a few months ago it went a step further,

as it prohibited the manufacturing of absinthe ; and it is now taking measures to guard against its being imported. Any society for the promotion of temperance receives a grant from the spirit monopoly fund, if it can prove that it is doing its work well. It is not necessary to preach temperance to obtain one ; for they who deal out the grants recognise the fact that it is not always by preaching that temperance is best promoted. Half the men who resort to public-houses do so because they have no decent fireside of their own by which to sit ; and more than half of those who drink, drink because wholesome, well-cooked food is not within their reach. The Swiss, therefore, very wisely class societies for housing the working classes, or for providing cheap, wholesome food, as temperance societies, and grant them subsidies. Year by year, indeed, a larger and larger section of those among them who fight against alcoholism, and through alcoholism against unemployableness, are coming to look on decent housing and good food as their surest weapons ; and on good food as a surer weapon, even, than decent housing. That is why there are now springing up on all sides people's kitchens, where a hungry man is provided for 4d. with as much as he can eat—a three-course dinner. That, too, is why social reformers are now going forth into the highways and byways, and are literally forcing girls and women to come and be taught how to cook. They try to teach them also how to take care of their babies, and how to make their homes comfortable ; still, the first lesson of all that they teach them is how to cook a good, cheap dinner. For all Switzerland is now alive to the fact that if men, whether unemployed or employed, are not to become unemployable, they must be kept from drink ; all Switzerland is alive to the fact, too, that it is hopeless work trying to keep them from drink, unless they are properly fed.

EDITH SELLERS.

THE PROBLEM OF AERIAL NAVIGATION

IN the September number of this Review Professor Simon Newcomb has written a most interesting article under the above heading. Interesting it is as embodying the ideas of a profound thinker, and also as presenting a view of the subject such as is opposed to that more generally held. He concludes by asking that if his conclusions are ill-founded their fallacy will be shown. The gist of his article, I take it, may be summarised as that, in his opinion, (1) aerial navigation is not likely in the near future to become of such importance as seems generally supposed, and (2) that whatever utility may be accomplished in this line will be due to the propelled balloon rather than to the dynamic flying machine. I venture to take a diametrically opposite view, and shall attempt to show that it is likely to form a problem of the very highest moment to Englishmen, and that this will result more particularly from the introduction of the 'flyer.' I have reason to hold more decided views on the matter now, for since reading the article I have had an opportunity of travelling some miles through the air in the marvellous machine of Mr. Wilbur Wright. Such an experience is calculated to prejudice one strongly in favour of this means of transport, and to make one realise what a vast future there is before us in the realms of the air. To sit in a comfortable seat, and, without effort, free from any jolting or unpleasant motion, to be wafted through the air, at forty miles an hour, with a regularity and certainty which is surprising, gives one food for reflection indeed. The feeling of safety which this clever and experienced aeronaut inspires in one displaces all fear of danger.

In order to discuss the first of the conclusions it will be necessary to have in mind some idea of the means by which the air is to be navigated, and this makes it necessary to begin by considering the latter of the two statements, that is the asserted superiority of the propelled balloon over the 'flyer.'

THE INEFFICACY OF THE PROPELLED BALLOON.

First let me explain that in disparaging the poor old airship, which in the past I have so often extolled, it is only to show that the flying machine is preferable; the gas-bag is useful enough if we have nothing else with which to navigate the air.

A balloon must be very large. It is sometimes forgotten by inventors and others that the whole principle of the ascent depends on the *displacement* of the air. A balloon must be of such a volume as to displace a mass of air more or less equal to its entire weight. Air weighs about 76 lbs. per thousand cubic feet. So, no matter how light the materials used or how ethereal the gas, the apparatus must have a bulk of over a thousand cubic feet for every 76 lbs. that is required to be lifted. But great bulk implies two drawbacks. It must offer great resistance to propulsion, which necessitates powerful engines to drive it at any speed through the air, and speed is all-important in aerial navigation.

The second drawback to great bulk is the difficulty in housing the apparatus when on the ground and protecting it from strong winds and weather.

Then the material of which a balloon is made must be costly. It must be very light, and is therefore liable to be easily damaged. It must be absolutely gas-tight, for if it be leaky its buoyancy soon decreases. A mere pinhole involves a steady loss of gas; so that it has to be constructed of a very special material and with infinite care, which implies great expense. The actual cost of the gas, too, to fill the immense balloon is no mean item of expense, and it is bound to require frequent replenishing. Owing to the varying volume of the gas with changes of temperature, it is necessary to carry ballast or complicated means of regulating the altitude. This again involves increasing the capacity of the balloon. The housing and the handling of the machine when on the ground all add to the expense.

The inflammability of the gas is a constant source of danger, and, for war purposes, where it may be desirable to use firearms, it seems very unsuitable. And, 'her vulnerability is obvious,' as the author owns.

There is a vague possibility of improvement in these respects. The gas might, conceivably, be made unflammable, and a multitude of cellular compartments might render it less liable to leakage, and so on, but this is going into the uncertainties of the future which we need not discuss.

To recapitulate, any gas-borne airship *must* be :

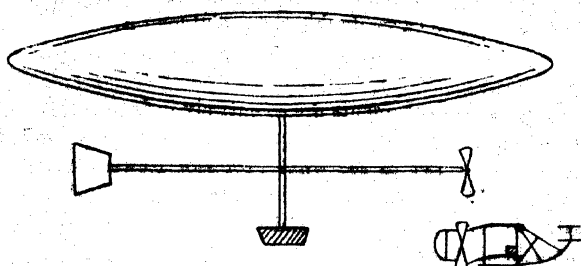
- (1) Bulky. Therefore comparatively slow for given engine-power, and difficult to handle when on the ground.
- (2) Costly, both to build and to maintain.
- (3) Fragile and liable to damage.

ADVANTAGES OF THE AEROPLANE.

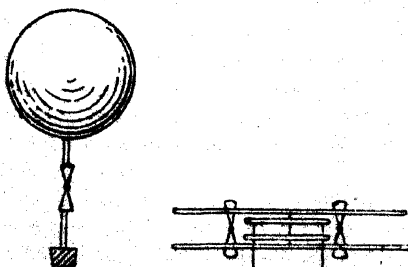
To compare a flyer on the aeroplane principle with a dirigible balloon, let us suppose a machine very similar to that now used by the Wrights. The illustration shows at a glance the comparative

sizes of the two, both being small machines capable of carrying two people.

The advantages of the aeroplane are that two or three men could hold it on the ground even in a gale, and it could easily be housed under the lee of a house or wood. A shed to keep it in is comparatively easy and cheap to construct. The resistance of the air to the propulsion of such a machine is very small, so that it should be capable of travelling infinitely faster for the same propulsive power. Since the covering need not be gas-tight, it can be made of cheaper material, and where the balloon costs thousands of pounds, the flyer need not cost as many hundreds. The cost of the gas is done away with, and, requiring but little assistance, the working costs would be much



SIDE VIEW.



END VIEW.

smaller. Finally, from the military point of view, it is practically invulnerable to bullets, nor is it liable to catch fire.

We now come to another point, the most important of all. I have already said that in aerial navigation speed is everything. To successfully navigate the air it is essential to be able to go at a rate faster than that of any ordinary wind that may be encountered. As this often attains to twenty or thirty miles an hour, a machine incapable of overcoming such can never hope to be a practical success. Now airships have been made to achieve this, but, though they may still be improved upon to some extent, there does not seem to be much hope that they can ever greatly exceed such a speed. They might

perhaps succeed in travelling forty miles an hour, but even then they would only be able to do their ten miles against a strong wind, which is not a very practicable rate. With the air-car it is different. It has been proved theoretically that the faster an aeroplane is driven the more economical it is. The pressure of the air evidently increases about in proportion to the square of the speed; that is to say, if an apparatus of given area, travelling at twenty miles an hour, develops a pressure under it of 500 lbs., then, if propelled at forty miles it should lift not only double the weight, but four times as much, or 2000 lbs. In order to get the machine to travel double the speed it may perhaps be necessary to increase the engine power fourfold, but let the original engine weigh 250 lbs. and we could still easily afford, if required, to put in an engine of four times the weight, and we should then be able to carry double the useful load as well.

ASSERTED DISADVANTAGES.

I think the above arguments are so entirely in favour of the gasless machine as to put the balloon entirely out of the question. But is this a one-sided view? Let us see what Professor Newcomb has to say: 'There are several drawbacks to every form of flyer, either of which seems fatal to its extensive use, and which, taken together, throw it out of the field of competition.'

His first objection to a machine on the aeroplane principle is that, depending on its area for support, the larger the weight to be carried the larger must the horizontal surface be. Hence to make a machine to carry double the weight involves enlarging the surface in proportion. But as the surface is spread horizontally it requires greatly additional weight of framework to bear the strain. Yes; but in the first place we do not here propose discussing the use of any machine very much bigger than those now in use, and, secondly, the surfaces need not necessarily be spread out in one plane; by arranging them one above another, a very large area of support can be got without adding much to the weight of construction. Then, again, I have just pointed out that by increasing the speed we can increase the lift without adding to the area, and as speed is, for other reasons, so desirable, it is highly probable that efforts will be made to augment the speed and so carry greater loads for the same sized machine.

In nature we find that the area of the wings of insects and birds does not increase in at all the same ratio as their weight. Thus a gnat's wings have a surface corresponding to 49 square feet for 1 lb. of weight, a bee presents some 5 square feet, while a sparrow has under three, a pigeon $1\frac{1}{2}$, and a vulture only $\frac{1}{2}$ of a square foot per pound. If this sort of proportion were carried on we should find that our large machines do not call for nearly the same relative area as the smaller ones.

The next asserted objection to the flyer whose support is due to

its progress through the air is that it cannot stop to have its machinery repaired or adjusted. This is partially true, but it is a matter of degree. The engines could be stopped for a few seconds while the machine soars downwards. Then, when we get experienced in practical flight, it seems quite probable that we shall be able to take advantage of the wind currents and soar like the great birds. It might then be possible to remain for long periods on end sailing around without the assistance of any motor. But, besides all this, the stoppage of the engine is hardly likely to be of frequent occurrence in the future, when better forms of motor are obtainable. How often does a steamer or a locomotive have to stop to adjust the engine?

We now get to another drawback which is very real; but it applies equally to the propelled balloon. This is, that an aerial machine cannot be navigated for long out of sight of the ground. Once it rises into a cloud or becomes enveloped in fog, it is impossible to tell which way one is going. The aeronaut is then in the same position as the mariner at sea, but, exposed to rapid and varying currents of wind, he cannot rely on 'dead reckoning.' Fog must always be a hindrance to aerial navigation. Yet so it is, to a large extent, to marine navigation.

When Professor Newcomb comes to speak of the larger the ship the greater the power and speed, this can only apply to two airships on the same model; the remark cannot refer to the comparison between a bulky airship and a compact aeroplane. But even this statement is not quite a happy one. He says that 'at the present moment the two largest ships afloat are also those of highest speed.' He apparently forgets the dashing destroyers racing at thirty-five knots an hour, or the still smaller motor-boats and hydroplanes.

So much, then, for the arguments in favour of the airship as opposed to the gasless flyer.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AERIAL NAVIGATION.

We now come to the second and chief problem of the discussion, that is as to whether aerial navigation is likely in the near future to become of real importance; that is to say, whether an aerial machine is likely to be able to compete with the steamship, the railway, or the mail-coach in the carriage of passengers or mails.

Having decided that a machine of the aeroplane type is preferable to a dirigible balloon, let us adopt, for the sake of argument, the notion of an apparatus very similar to that now used by the Wrights, but perhaps slightly larger, so as to carry three or four, and able to attain a greater speed, say fifty miles an hour. Let this be capable of travelling for several hours on end, of going up to say 1000 feet, and to negotiate all ordinary winds. Considering the enormous strides made within the last year or two, it seems not at all unreasonable to hope that we may have such a vessel within the next year or two.

The carriage of passengers and mails is one thing, but it is quite another matter to compare the airship to an express train, as Professor Newcomb does later on, and discuss the relative coal consumption, presuming it to carry the same burden. He shows that the main resistance which a train travelling at high speed has to encounter is that of the air, but he omits to point out that while the air resistance to a train is wholly one of retardation, in a well-designed flying-machine almost the whole effort is utilised in lift.

But it seems hardly necessary to discuss the question of utilising an airship for the transport of heavy goods; no one, I think, looks upon that as a likely accomplishment for a long time to come.

The chief sentence of the whole of Professor Newcomb's article that I take exception to is this: 'Any use that we can make of the air for the purpose of transportation, even when our machinery attains ideal perfection, will be uncertain, dangerous, expensive, and inefficient, as compared with transportation on the earth and ocean.'

We will consider each of these points in turn.

Uncertain.—Fogs may delay traffic, so may gales of wind. But both of these affect shipping to a very large extent, if not trains, and as a rule would only occur during a few hours in a month. Though adverse winds may reduce the speed of travel, this is purely a question of the speed with which the machine can travel. If motor cars can now exceed 100 miles an hour along a road there seems every likelihood of air-cars being able in future to greatly exceed this. If capable of going 150 miles an hour, a gale blowing forty miles per hour would make no serious difficulty.

Dangerous.—It is very generally supposed that it is dangerous to travel through the air, this assumption probably being due to a large extent to the fact that several inventors in their crude appliances, and without experience, have come to grief. But with a perfected machine one can hardly imagine what can happen to upset it in mid-air. Barring collisions, which, on account of the greater space, should be much rarer than collisions at sea, and such accidents as the breaking of a shaft or catching fire, it is difficult to see what could happen.¹ Then people often imagine the horror of falling, after a mishap, through thousands of feet to the ground, forgetting that in all probability nine-tenths of the traffic will be conducted within twenty or thirty feet of the ground. So that the effects of an accident would not be much more serious than in other modes of travel.

Expensive.—Why? An air-car to carry two or three will certainly not cost as much as a motor car. Its upkeep will probably prove far less since there are no expensive tyres to wear out, nor is there the same continual shaking and vibration. The speed and directness

¹ The breaking of a propeller blade, such as occurred so unfortunately in Mr. Orville Wright's machine, is hardly likely to happen again.

of the route from door to door will certainly render flying an economical mode of transport.

Inefficient.—As a means of travel, the air-car promises to be the most delightful possible. Probably much faster than any other means of getting from place to place, and, as I have just said, very likely one of the cheapest. For the transport of mails and light goods the same arguments apply. If Mr. Wright has already carried an extra weight of 240 lbs., there can be no question as to the possibility of carrying light loads. There appears to be no difficulty whatever in steering or in landing on any desired spot. Why, then, should it be deemed inefficient?

Considering all these facts, and that improvements are bound to follow, there seems to be every likelihood that, in future, travelling through the air will offer so many advantages that it will become a common means of getting from place to place. Then, by superseding other methods of transport, it will grow into a subject of great importance and create new and wide-spreading industries.

AERIAL WARFARE.

The employment of the aerial vessel as an instrument of war is probably the most important question at the present moment for our naval and military authorities to consider.

Professor Newcomb, in referring to this subject, begins by dismissing the flyer as 'out of the question,' and adds 'the airship proper or enlarged balloon is the only agency to be feared.' Yet he then points out how vulnerable such a vessel is, and how 'a single yeoman could with his rifle disable a whole fleet of airships approaching within range of his station.' It seems to me that this fact alone puts the *airship* out of the question, that is as a really practical, dependable, and important instrument of war. The flyer, on the other hand, presents a much more difficult target, and is comparatively invulnerable, since one or two bullets are not likely to affect it in the least, and even shells may pass right through an aeroplane without bringing it down.

It is pointed out that a conflict between rival airships is likely to be short; both would probably soon be riddled by bullets and brought to earth. But this is not the case with gasless machines. They would hold a balloon at their mercy. The duel between such I will leave to the imagination.

There are two distinct methods of utilising air-craft for war. First, that most usually discussed, is as a means of rising high into the air to obtain a wide view of the country round, to soar at an altitude above the range of projectiles, to float over towns and fortresses and drop bombs upon them. The extent to which damage can be done by dropping explosives from a height can at present be but a matter of speculation. It may prove to be serious, but it may be found, as Professor Newcomb points out, that the difficulties are so

great that not very much is possible of accomplishment in this line. For such purposes the balloon may perhaps be considered almost the more suitable.

There is, however, the other method which seems to me that most likely to be of real use, at all events in the early days of aerial navigation, yet it is one that has seldom been referred to in writings or discussions on the subject. This is the use of a swiftly moving small machine skimming over the ground and seldom rising to any height except to clear such obstacles as trees and houses. Such a machine should prove invaluable in war. For reconnoitring it may be compared to the cavalry horse, but with the following advantages: it would be far speedier, could go across any country whatever, taking walls, rivers, and other obstacles 'in its stride,' it could probably carry two or three men, so that one could devote his whole attention to observation, and it could *when necessary* rise to obtain a distant view.

As for vulnerability, the air-car would be no worse than the horse, and if the seats and engines were rendered *bullet-proof*, it could hardly be brought down by rifle fire. For reconnoitring, for despatch delivery, for raids into the enemy's territory, such a means of transport would be unsurpassed.

The question of invasion is one in which the British public takes a more general interest. Professor Newcomb concludes that 'England has little to fear from the use of *aeroplanes* by an enemy seeking to invade her territory. . . . The key to her defence is the necessary vulnerability of a balloon.' But, again, what about the flyer? If such machines can be proved to be practicable, and not too expensive, they will soon be adopted by the military Powers, not by ones and twos as with the costly airships, but by the hundred. We *know* that these machines can be made. There can be no reasonable doubt but that they will be immensely improved during the next year or two.

Now I would seriously ask, What valid reason is there why, within a few years' time, a foreign nation should not be able to despatch a fleet of a thousand aerial machines, each carrying two or three armed men and able to come across to our shores and land, not necessarily on the coast, but at any desired inland place? The majority of the men could be landed while the flyers could be sent back for further supplies. No defence seems possible against invasion by such a fleet, since, like a swarm of locusts, its destination cannot be guessed, and, after settling, it may rise again and swoop down on some fresh place, while an hour later it may have returned to its base, having wrought havoc in the district of its descent.

All this may sound like a flight of fancy, but let us remember that Wright has already accomplished flights with a passenger of double the distance across the Channel. Let us bear in mind, too, that 10,000 such machines would probably not cost much more than one modern battleship. The only system of defence that I can see is (Irish though

it may sound) to form a similar fleet to attack the homes of those that dare to visit our shores unasked.

Then let us be prepared. It is not enough for our naval and military authorities to shirk the matter by saying that they do not consider it likely to be serious. The question is whether there is any sort of *possibility* of this mode of warfare developing into one of importance. If there is, it demands our most serious consideration, and the British taxpayer must put his hand in his pocket and provide the wherewithal to place us at least on a par with any foreign nation which attempts to form a large aerial fleet.

B. BADEN-POWELL.



*INDIA UNDER CROWN GOVERNMENT,**1858-1908*

It is now just fifty years since Lord Canning, on the 1st of November, 1858, in a grand durbar held at Allahabad, published the Royal Proclamation concerning the 'Act for the Better Government of India.' By this Act, only passed after ~~animous~~ ^{animous} party discussion in Parliament, the Crown assumed the direct control of the vast empire gradually built up during two hundred and fifty years by the East India Company, which originally began its operations, in 1600, as a small body of mercantile adventurers.

During Lord Dalhousie's governor-generalship, from 1848 to 1856, the territorial responsibilities connected with the already large British dominions in India were increased by the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, and of the central portion of Lower Burma in 1852, while Satara in 1849 and Jhansi and Nagpur in 1853 were escheated through lapse of natural heirs. Oudh, too, after many solemn warnings throughout long years of misrule, was annexed without a blow in February 1856, just before Lord Dalhousie left India.

Although peace seemed assured, Lord Canning, his successor, was somewhat apprehensive concerning trouble, for there was much latent discontent. Lord Dalhousie's policy of escheat on lapse of heirs and his annexation of Oudh had raised bitter animosity among the ruling classes; while the commencement of trunk railways and telegraph lines in 1853 had an unsettling effect upon the population generally, and upon the Bengal Army especially.

These feelings were wrought upon by the dethroned princes and those disappointed through escheat; and soon the cloud about which Lord Canning was apprehensive arose, and burst prematurely in the shape of a revolt of the native troops at Meerut on the 10th of May, 1857, whence it rapidly extended to the whole of the Bengal army. The high-caste Hindus forming the bulk of the Bengal army had always been troublesome, and had thrice before mutinied—at Patna in 1764, for increased pay and allowances; throughout Bengal in 1780, to avoid the sea voyage to Madras; and at Barrackpore in 1824, when they refused to go to Burma by sea. But the immediate

cause of this mutiny in 1857 was the issue of the then newly invented cartridges, which were greased with the fat of animals abhorrent to both Hindus and Mahomedans. It was purely a military uprising; but its suppression necessitated two and a half years of strenuous warfare; and in place of overwhelming us with ruin, it resulted in the abolition of the East India Company and the assumption of direct government by the Crown, whereby the British position was greatly strengthened.

The Mutiny furnished strong proof of the need for improving communications, and after the proclamation of peace throughout India on the 8th of July, 1859, railway construction was pushed on rapidly, while assurances were given to the loyal princes and rajahs that henceforth adopted heirs would be recognised and there should be no further escheat through lapse of natural heirs.

During the remainder of Lord Canning's viceroyalty, till March 1862, attention was given to improving the finances, which had been greatly damaged through the enormously heavy charges incurred during the mutiny; while judicial matters were improved by the introduction of the Civil Procedure Code in 1859, the Penal Code in 1860 (originally drafted by Macaulay in 1837), and the Criminal Procedure Code in 1861. And a step of the first importance was taken, when the Indian army was re-organised on the recommendations of a Commission in 1859 (see page 796).

Lord Elgin, Canning's successor, who died in November 1863, worked hard during his short tenure of office, and with patient self-denial adhered to his resolve that 'we must, for a time at least, walk in paths traced out for us by others.'

Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, who then went out as Viceroy, was a man cast in a different mould; and he had already the largest possible experience of Indian affairs. His chief aims were internal administrative improvements and the development of the natural resources of the country by railway extension and irrigation. He settled the long-pending disputes between the landowners and the peasantry in Oudh; he re-organised the Native Judicial Service; he created the Indian Forest Department; and he did much for sanitation and education. But, despite a rigid economy, which made him unpopular, he found himself hampered by financial difficulties through the revenue remaining stationary, while expenditure was constantly and inevitably increasing. These difficulties were aggravated by the Bhutan War in 1864, resulting in annexation, and by the great famine in Orissa and a serious commercial crisis in 1866, followed by further scarcity in Upper India in 1868. His foreign policy of 'masterly inactivity' in seeking to maintain the *status quo* by non-intervention in transfrontier affairs produced stormy criticism.

To Lord Mayo, who became Viceroy in January 1869, the dis-

advantages and limitations of the 'friendly neighbourly' policy were fully apparent. While he knew that the situation was dangerous, he saw the need of securing 'that moral influence which is inseparable from the strongest power in Asia.' Thus, when the Amir of Afghanistan came to a *darbar* at Ambala in March 1869, the Viceroy was unable to promise the subsidy and the support in every emergency which were asked for, though otherwise the meeting was satisfactory. And although he found himself forced into a Lushai expedition, to check tribal raids into Cachar, the wise frontier policy he adopted was thus summed up early in 1872 :

I have frequently laid down what I believe to be the cardinal points of Anglo-Indian policy. They may be summed up in a few words. We should establish with our frontier States . . . intimate relations of friendship; we should make them feel that, though we are all-powerful, we desire to support their nationality; that when necessity arises we might assist them with money, arms, and even perhaps, in certain eventualities, with men. We could thus create in them outworks of our Empire. . . . Further, we should strenuously oppose any attempt to neutralise those territories in the European sense, or to sanction or invite the interference of any European power in their affairs.

With the feudatory princes in India he established cordial relations, and one of the fruits of this was the foundation of colleges at Ajmir and Kathiawar for the education of the sons of rajahs and nobles. These satisfactory signs of loyalty and friendship were strengthened by the visit of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, in 1869, when the native rulers and princes of India were first brought into direct personal touch with our royal family.

During Lord Mayo's viceroyalty, cut short by his assassination in February 1872, further advances were made in administrative reform and in developing the resources of India, while great financial improvements were also effected. He did much for agriculture, and his interest in railway extension and other public works led to his taking charge of the Public Works Department in addition to Foreign Affairs, always the special department of the Viceroy. To him was due the more rapid extension of railways through the adoption of the metre-gauge on all but the great trunk lines. But the chief event of his administration was the inception of a policy of local self-government to relieve over-centralisation, already troublesome, by introducing a system of financial contracts establishing more definite relations between the Imperial and the Provincial Governments, which has been of great benefit to local administrations.

Lord Northbrook, who next held office from May 1872 to March 1876, endeavoured to effect further financial improvements; but his efforts were impeded by the deficiency caused through depreciation in the value of the rupee, owing to the demonetisation of silver in Europe after the Franco-German War, and through large outlay being incurred in relief works during the Lower Bengal famine of 1874.

Two very important political events happened, however, in 1875. The first of these was the deposition of the Gaekwar of Baroda for misrule, disloyalty, and attempts to poison the British Resident; and practical proof was then given of the sincerity of the declaration made in 1859 as to the abolition of escheat on lapse of direct heirs; for a young child, a distant relative of the deposed Gaekwar, was raised to the throne. And the other great event was the visit of the Prince of Wales, now his Majesty King Edward the Seventh, Emperor of India, during the cold season 1875-6, when the personal relations thus established greatly strengthened the loyalty of the native princes.

During Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, from April 1876 to April 1880, still more was done to strengthen by outward signs the ties uniting Britain and India. On the 1st of May 1876 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India; and on the 1st of January 1877 this assumption of title was proclaimed in a great durbar held at Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mogul emperors. And that the Indian army was a factor to be reckoned with in other parts of the British Empire was demonstrated by native troops being despatched to Malta and Cyprus in 1878, when war with Russia seemed imminent—an example that was followed during the Egyptian War of 1882, the Boer War in 1899, and the expeditions to China in 1900 and Somaliland in 1903.

Misfortunes, however, soon came. In 1876 the rains failed in southern India, and a great famine ensued, which extended in 1877-78 right across India into the Punjab, and necessitated relief measures costing eight million pounds. This financial strain was increased by the continual shrinkage in the value of the rupee, so that loans of 5,000,000*l.* had to be raised in 1877 and 1879, followed by much larger loans later on. And just when this serious famine ended, India became embroiled in an Afghan war in 1878, through Shere Ali's intriguing with Russia, and refusing to receive a British envoy while cordially welcoming a Russian mission. Shere Ali fled before the invading force, and his son Yakub Khan was recognised as Amir under the treaty of Gandamak in May 1879. Possession was obtained of the three north-western mountain passes through which the invasion of India is possible, and thus a 'scientific frontier' was acquired. But a weak point in the treaty was the stipulation that a British Resident should be received at Kabul; for in August 1879 the Resident and all his staff were massacred, and another war ensued. This resulted in Yakub Khan's deposition and the raising of Abdur Rahman, a descendant of Dost Mahomed, to the Amirship in March 1880—just when a general election in Britain drove the Conservative Cabinet from office and necessitated Lord Lytton's resignation. So far as internal administration was concerned, Lord Lytton extended Lord Mayo's decentralisation system, especially as regards financial matters concerning local Governments; and he abolished the inland customs

which impeded the movement of trade across India. But in the partial repeal of the cotton duties he trucked to the exigencies of party politics at home, instead of defending the special interests of India committed to his charge (see page 799).

It was about this time that the vernacular newspapers began to become scurrilous, and to abuse the entire liberty granted to the Press during Sir Charles Metcalfe's temporary governor-generalship in 1835. So virulent were the attacks made by native newspapers upon officials, and so inflammatory was their growing influence, that a Press Censorship had to be established in March 1878.

Lord Ripon's administration, extending from April 1880 to November 1884, began before the Afghan War was ended; but after its conclusion, in the autumn of 1880, no other military operations were necessary than the suppression of frontier raids by the Waziris in 1882, and the Akhas in Assam in 1883. Thus he was left free to deal with internal reforms. He improved the agricultural department on lines suggested by the Famine Commission in 1880, and published the Provisional Famine Code in 1883, which has since been of untold benefit. He also did much to promote vernacular education, and to enable the Mahomedan population to profit more than hitherto from State-aided instruction. But the most important and far-reaching of his measures were the impetus given from 1882 onwards to the extension of local self-government, both by municipalities and by rural boards, and of the elective principle in connexion therewith; the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 in 1883, thus paving the way for many of the troubles of recent years; and the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill of 1882-84, introduced by the legal member, Mr. Ilbert.

This 'Ilbert Bill' was an attempt to extend over all European British subjects the jurisdiction of the district criminal courts, irrespective of the race or nationality of the presiding judges. It was an ill-timed and unnecessary measure; and it raised a storm of indignation among the Europeans. Slumbering racial prejudices and innate antagonism were at once quickened into open animosity, which has never since then been laid at rest or even closely veiled. Calcutta was wild with excitement. While this excitement was at its height the editor of the *Bengali* newspaper was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for libelling Mr. Justice Norris, and a monster meeting of Hindus was held to protest. After an immense amount of friction, an amended Act was finally passed in January 1884, by means of a compromise which provided that all European British subjects could claim a jury, and that the only natives empowered to try Europeans should be members of the Civil Service holding the rank of district magistrate and sessions judge.

To these three great measures for which Lord Ripon is responsible—the extension of a representative principle unsuited to the country,

the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, and the racial antagonism awakened by the Ilbert Bill—are due in no small degree the fact that local conditions are now so very different from what they were when Lord Randolph Churchill could assert in his Budget speech, on the 6th of August 1885, that *'In India there is no public opinion to speak of, no powerful Press, and hardly any trammels upon the Government of any sort or kind.'* In that speech Lord Ripon's frontier policy and military unpreparedness were also bitterly criticised, and called 'not only a blunder but a crime,' because proper precautions had not been taken to protect India from the dangers threatening through Russia's advance southwards in Asia. Britain was startled when Russia swooped down upon Merv and threatened to approach closer to the Indian frontier; and 'then followed the fruitless frontier negotiations, and Lord Ripon came home and Lord Dufferin went out, not one hour too soon for the safety of India and the tranquillity of the East.'

Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty, from December 1884 to December 1888, was happily a period free from famine, and was on the whole the most prosperous time during these last fifty years under Crown Government. But the favourable opportunity thus presented for improving internal conditions was interfered with by the growing financial pressure caused by a continuous decline in the rupee. So he re-imposed the income-tax, which, first levied after the mutiny, had been increased and then abolished as a bad form of taxation by Lord Mayo. The state of political affairs was also serious on both the north-western and the south-eastern frontiers of India. In April 1885 the Amir came to a durbar at Rawalpindi, where the relations of India and Afghanistan were strengthened in view of the danger arising from the Russian advance; and a loan of 10,000,000*l.* had to be adopted in order to put the north-western frontier in a thorough state of defence. A Boundary Commission was appointed in concert with Russia to delimit the Afghan northern and western frontiers, and while it was at work the Russian troops fell upon the Afghans at Penjdeh. This 'Penjdeh incident' nearly resulted in war being declared against Russia, and occasioned a great spontaneous outburst of loyalty from the Indian princes. In November 1885 the long course of unfriendly action on the part of the Court of Ava culminated in such contemptuous disregard of treaty rights and rejection of diplomatic overtures as to necessitate a third Burmese War. Mandalay was occupied without resistance; King Thibaw was deported to India; and in default of any Burmese prince who could be relied on to behave properly and maintain friendly relations, the whole of Upper Burma and the tributary Shan States were annexed on the 1st of January 1886—for nearly all the royal princes had been massacred shortly after Thibaw's accession to the throne in 1878. This large annexation caused no surprise in India, and created no

alarm among the feudatory princes, to one of the chief among whom, the Maharaja Sindhia, the hereditary rock-fortress of Gwalior was restored in exchange for Jhansi town as a token of friendship. The outburst of loyalty on the part of the native princes in offering support in troops and money for fighting Russia in 1885 was strengthened and intensified at the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress in 1887, when most of the great Indian princes took part in the ceremonial procession in London. And in India itself this great occasion was chiefly commemorated by the Lady Dufferin Jubilee Fund for establishing maternity hospitals and providing female medical aid to the women of India, a work that has been of immense benefit.

Under Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty, from December 1888 to January 1894, the north-western frontier defences were strengthened and the mountain passes secured against invasion, as Russian aggression on the Pamirs again threatened serious danger. Friendly relations with Afghanistan were also improved by delimiting the boundaries and increasing the annual subsidy paid to the Amir. And the bonds between the feudatory princes and the British Government were made closer by accepting their offers to contribute men, arms, and money to the defence of India. This resulted in the organisation of an Imperial Service Corps in addition to the regular British Army—a magnificent spontaneous gift, which speaks volumes for the loyalty of these native princes to a strong and efficient British administration, though under a weak Government this well-equipped subsidiary army might possibly become a dangerous support to rely upon.

Minor frontier troubles of course sprang up from time to time, the most serious of which was a revolution in Manipur, when the assassination of the Chief Commissioner of Assam necessitated a military occupation and a reconstitution of the native Government in 1891 (which has been handed over to the new Raja on his attaining his majority in 1907).

Except in part of Madras, in 1888, India was not during Lord Lansdowne's time cursed with famine; but the financial position grew worse from the further depreciation of the rupee, which had now sunk to fourteen pence. So serious was the loss thus occasioned, that in 1893 the first step towards currency reform was taken in closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver—a temporary palliative that failed to effect any permanent improvement, for another loan of £10,000,000 was necessary to meet the ordinary requirements. Local self-government was also slightly extended by the nomination of a larger non-official element in the Provincial Legislative Councils under an Act passed by the British Parliament in 1892.

Lord Elgin's administration, from January 1894 to January 1899, was greatly hampered by the low value of the rupee, which

sank to thirteen pence in 1885. Import duties abolished in 1882 had to be reimposed, yet the finances drifted from bad to worse, for a serious famine occurred in 1896-7, which extended over nearly one-third of India, affecting nearly one-fourth of the total population, and necessitating an outlay of £6,000,000 on relief works. And concurrently with this, bubonic plague broke out in 1896, which committed fearful ravages and has never yet been got rid of. The measures taken to restrict and eradicate this pestilence awakened the easily aroused suspicions of the population, and caused panic and rioting. The vernacular press teemed with such inflammatory articles that it was found necessary to make more stringent the law against seditious writing, and to accommodate plague-measures as nearly as possible to native ideas.

Despite these internal troubles much solid work was effected in frontier delimitation with Russia on the Pamirs, and with France and Siam in Further India, and in the reorganisation of the Indian Army under proposals submitted by Lord Lansdowne. In place of the old Presidency system of three separate armies for Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the Indian Army was now placed under one Commander-in-Chief, and divided into four lieutenant-generalships. A proof of the efficiency thus attained was soon given in 1897, when all the border tribes from Chitral to Baluchistan rose against the British garrisons, and had to be suppressed by military expeditions. But though Indian affairs looked very gloomy in 1897, yet a cheerful gleam was thrown by the enthusiasm evoked among the native princes at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

The historical events of the last ten years, including the brilliant viceroyalty of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, from January 1899 to April 1904, the temporary governor-generalship of Lord Amphill, governor of Madras, Lord Curzon's second term from December 1904 (following upon re-appointment in August) till his resignation in November 1905, and Lord Minto's administration from November 1905 onwards, are too recent to need more than the briefest recapitulation.

Lord Curzon's first great measure was the fixation of the rupee at one shilling and fourpence in 1899. This gave financial stability by steadying exchange, and helped greatly to develop trade and commerce. But no sooner had the financial horizon thus been made clearer, than it again became clouded by the most terrible famine ever known. Over seven million pounds were spent in relief measures, and the total loss to Government was estimated at fifty millions sterling. And since then hardly a year has passed without some part of India suffering from serious scarcity or famine. Nevertheless, important improvements were made in railway extension, irrigation, agriculture, education, and other departments of the Government.

As regards Imperial ideas, Lord Curzon far outshone any of his predecessors. The formation of the Imperial Cadet Corps for young native princes and nobles was only one among many evidences of this fact. He knew the value of a strong appeal to the Imperial spirit of India, and the best way of making it. The great durbar held at Delhi on the 1st of January 1903, to celebrate the coronation of the first British Emperor of India, in which His Majesty's only surviving brother took part, was probably the most gorgeous spectacle the world has ever seen. It appealed to the native princes and the Indian people in a way that nothing else has ever done throughout the history of British rule, while Lord Curzon's arrangement of the subsequent Indian tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1905-6 also tended greatly to stimulate Imperial ideas.

When Lord Curzon returned to England in April 1904, on his full term of office expiring without any successor having been appointed, he was considered the greatest governor-general since Lord Dalhousie's time. But, important as were the internal reforms he had introduced in developing trade and commerce, improving administration, effecting useful measures of decentralisation, and strengthening local self-government, it was a mistake to reappoint him for another term. No man should twice hold this viceroyalty, the most magnificent office under the Crown. Lord Curzon's insistence on necessary university reforms had raised intense excitement and made him very unpopular among the Hindus of Bengal, and had led to much abusive and seditious writing. Hence one of his last acts, in relieving the overworked Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and improving the administration of Eastern Bengal and Assam by forming a new province, met with such a storm of Hindu opposition as would probably never have been raised had this wise, common-sense redistribution of work been left to a new Viceroy, against whom the Hindus had as yet no open animosity. And thus, too, would have been avoided the strong difference in opinion which arose in 1905 between him and Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief since 1902, who had already, with the Viceroy's full consent, effected important reforms in army organisation. Other Commanders-in-Chief had previously objected to unrestrained criticism of their proposals by a junior officer, the Military Member of the Viceroyal Council; but now flint and steel met, and Lord Curzon's resignation was generally looked upon as being not merely an extreme form of protest, but also a virtual acknowledgment of defeat. This was a very serious misfortune, for anything that tends to weaken the supremacy of the Viceroy, the Emperor's personal representative, must necessarily depreciate his influence in the eyes of the feudatory princes and of the whole of India.

On his arrival in November 1905, Lord Minto found many parts

of India seething with sedition; and as things gradually went from bad to worse, prominent agitators were first deported, then Acts were passed for proclaiming disturbed districts and preventing seditious meetings, for penalising any improper use of explosives, and for restraining seditious articles in newspapers.

It is a very serious state of affairs which now marks the Jubilee of Crown Government in India, despite all the administrative, commercial, and other improvements that have taken place since the 'Act for the better Government of India' came into force on the 1st of November 1858. Our frontiers are strong and well protected; nearly 30,000 miles of railway have been built since the Mutiny, and communications of every sort have been improved to an extent that could hardly have been dreamed of then; old irrigation works have been improved, and new ones laid out; famines have been fought against, and as much has been done as caste and other prejudices will permit in the way of preventing epidemic diseases and improving sanitation generally; educational establishments have been multiplied; every administrative department has been largely extended and greatly improved; every branch of home and foreign trade and commerce has been encouraged and greatly expanded; and many other evidences might be enumerated of so-called 'material and moral progress,' effected only too often at the cost of the petty village handicraftsmen and of rural industries. As regards the people themselves, however, much of this progress and improvement, demonstrated on thousands of pages of official statistics, has perhaps been of somewhat doubtful advantage.

These changes, due to Western civilisation and energy, all tend, especially near the main lines of communication, to disturb the admirable equanimity characteristic of the Indian peasant, and to weaken and gradually undermine the ancient social systems that have endured throughout previous governmental changes of a purely Eastern type. Fresh wants, formerly unknown and unfelt, have been created. And in satisfying these the peasantry is now often worse off than formerly; for under our local government policy the authority of the larger landowners is being undermined, and under our agrarian laws rapacious money-lenders can obtain a hold upon the cultivated lands that they would once have been unable and unwilling to make good. As regards British rule itself, too, the last few years have furnished abundant evidence that our Government is hated by some of the educated classes, and especially among the Hindus, for as yet the Mahomedans and Sikhs are still but little discontented with our dominion. This discontent is not due to any defect in the British administration, whose even-handed justice is almost universally admitted. Nor is it due to bureaucratic oppression, for in this respect the Indian Services may well challenge comparison with those of any other country. But conspiracy is rife among the Hindus.

These widespread seditious conspiracies, with dangerous euphemism merely called 'unrest,' are due to four causes: (1) that we are an alien race, because it would be contrary to human nature to expect any nation, or any congeries of nations such as India is, to feel anything but discontented under foreign dominion; (2) that the system of education on purely Western lines adopted from 1835 onwards has borne very different fruit from what was then expected; (3) that our difficulties in South Africa in 1899-1901, and the victories of Japan over Russia in 1904-5, have inspired many malcontents with a desire to try and overthrow British rule in India, regardless of what the consequences would be if such schemes were successful; and (4) that the aspirations raised through the Royal Proclamation of the 1st of November 1858 have only partially been fulfilled in so far as regards the portion which said: 'And it is Our further Will, that, so far as may be, Our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.'

With regard to our alien dominion over a population vastly outnumbering our own, it should never be forgotten that we won India by the sword, and that we hold it by force of arms only. Our empire in India rests entirely on military efficiency and preparedness for every emergency. The moment our strength becomes too feeble to wield properly the keen two-edged weapon of our British and native armies, our Indian empire must collapse and pass to those strong enough to grasp the golden opportunity of conquest. No prize in the world is so tempting and so rich, both actually and potentially, as India, with its population of three hundred millions, its great cities and seaports, its broad fertile valleys, its vast and valuable forests, its huge railway and irrigation systems, its gold, coal, oil, and other sources of untold wealth.

In 1856 the Indian army consisted of 45,104 European and 235,221 native troops; and now, in 1908, it consists of 75,702 Europeans and 148,996 natives. There are thus about 30,000 more European soldiers than before the Mutiny, and 86,000 fewer natives. Despite the very large increase of territory caused by the Burma annexation in 1886, this is actually somewhat less than the standard fixed by the Peel Commission in 1859:—

There can be no doubt that it will be necessary to maintain for the future defence of India a European force of much greater strength than that which existed previous to the outbreak of 1857. The amount of such force should . . . be about 80,000. . . . The amount of native force should not, under present circumstances, bear a greater proportion to the European, in cavalry and infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively.

And twenty years later, in 1879, the Eden Commission also said:

'We believe that a reduction of the British infantry in India would be the worst form of economy which could be adopted.' Yet in 1882-3 Lord Ripon allowed the British Army to fall to 10,000 men below its proper strength, a false economy which might have had disastrous results.

It is now generally admitted that a mistake was made when Macaulay's recommendations were embodied in Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of March 1835, *'that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed on English education alone.'* The Hindus, and especially the quick-witted Bengalis, have chiefly profited by this system; and as suitable employment could not be provided for all those thus educated on Western lines, a class of clever and discontented men has gradually sprung up which is doing all it can to misrepresent and thwart British aims, to hinder the regular course of administration and undermine its stability, and to transform slumbering racial prejudices into active antagonism and violent hatred. These revolutionaries know how powerful an instrument the Press can become in clever hands. Checked temporarily by the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, they grew bolder after its repeal in 1883; and for the last twenty-five years the evil has been growing.

These Hindu patriots trying to undermine all India with secret societies do not scruple to use as tools men fanatic enough to become bomb-throwers and assassins, who attain the glory of martyrdom on expiating crimes instigated by leaders careful not to come within reach of the penal law. Where this seditious movement is going to end, no one can yet say. No reasonable political concessions will dispel the hatred that is being stirred up to the utmost degree against British rule. No one can wish to revive the dreadful memories of the Mutiny massacres; but unless much sterner action than hitherto be now taken to suppress sedition and to punish severely every form of instigation to crimes arising from seditious teaching, the horrors of 1857 are likely to be repeated.

Only those who have lived long there can understand India and can realise the grave dangers now threatening the lives of our fellow-countrymen in many ungarrisoned up-country stations—and, worse still, the lives and the honour and chastity of our fellow-countrywomen. Prompt and stern action now may prevent the shedding of an ocean of blood in the near future.

Besides these revolutionary conspirators, however, there are also large bodies, mainly composed of much more respectable men, who, in the 'National Congress' and other associations, and in their Press organs, are doing all they can to obtain a far larger share in influencing the administration than is possible at present under the most liberal schemes of decentralisation and local self-government. They know that for political purposes organisation and continual appeals to public attention are the way to attain success, and they act energetically.

cally upon this knowledge. Naturally, the editors of vernacular newspapers are leading members in all such movements; and the power of the Press was enormously magnified in their eyes when, in 1905, they saw Mr. Morley, a former editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, become the mighty though invisible overlord issuing orders to the Viceroy, vetoing or approving proposals, controlling and directing Government policy, and enforcing his higher authority upon one whom they once regarded as subordinate only to the Crown. But now they have long known that this magnificent Governor-General can be compelled to become almost a mere puppet in the hands of a party politician, the Secretary of State for India.

The agitation which these congresses and associations have organised is both political and economic. Its political side is *Swaraj*, or 'own government,' a purely home-rule movement; while its economic side is *Swadeshi*, or 'own country,' a movement for the protection and encouragement of Indian industries against both British and foreign manufactures.

As regards *Swaraj*, serious discontent is found chiefly among the Hindus, and not as yet among the Mahomedans. In his recent address to the Deccan branch of the All-India Moslem League, the Aga Khan, and of the Khojah Moslems, urged that

British rule . . . is an absolute necessity. Therefore I put it to you that it is the duty of all true Indian patriots to make that rule strong. . . . This is a duty which lies not only upon Mahomedans, but equally upon Hindus, Parsis, and Sikhs—upon all who are convinced of the benevolence of British rule. If there are any among the less thoughtful members of the Hindu community who think they can snatch temporary advantage by racial supremacy, let them pause and think upon all they would lose by the withdrawal of that British control under which has been effected the amazing progress of the past century.

As regards *Swadeshi*, certainly, so far as fiscal matters are concerned, the history of the Indian tariff under Crown Government has been one long and almost continuous betrayal of Indian interests in order to woo the Lancashire vote for party purposes.

During the last days of the East India Company as a trading corporation the Indian tariff was on lines similar to those now desired by fiscal reformers for Britain. In 1852 the import duties levied on many important articles were differentiated for British and foreign manufactures. On British cotton and silk piece goods, woollen goods, marine stores, and metals there was a 5 per cent. duty, and on cotton thread, twist, and yarn 3½ per cent.; while twice those amounts were levied on foreign goods. Lord Canning first attacked this differentiation in 1857, and proposed to equalise the duties on British and foreign merchandise, and to abolish export duties and increase import duties. Owing to the Mutiny, the consideration of his proposals was deferred till 1859, when the import duties on British goods were

doubled. Intense dissatisfaction was aroused among British merchants in India, and in 1860 the import duties were reduced and the export duties abolished—a sacrifice of revenue being made at the instigation of the British Cabinet. This change seriously affected local industries, often petty but important to the people, and caused much hardship to the poorer peasantry. In 1870 and 1871 Lord Mayo amended the import and export duties, but no differentiation was made between Britain and foreign countries.

In those days, before the commercial development of America and Germany, the Indian tariff was fixed with a view to secure British interests, for Britain was then still the great producer and distributor of manufactured goods. But Lancashire was jealous of the cotton-spinning mills erected at Bombay, and applied political pressure during the parliamentary election of 1874. This resulted in a new Tariff Act in 1875, when a 5 per cent. import duty was retained for revenue purposes, while all export duties were abolished except those on rice, indigo, and lac. But, to conciliate the Lancashire interests, the Conservative Cabinet in November 1875 urged that the import duty on cotton goods should be gradually abolished. Though a strong free-trader, Lord Northbrook declined to sacrifice this necessary revenue, saying: 'It is our duty to consider the subject with regard to the interests of India, and we do not consider that the removal of the import duties upon cotton manufactures is consistent with these interests.'

In 1877 the Lancashire interest got Parliament to pass a resolution that the Indian import duties on cotton goods were 'protective in their nature' and should 'be repealed without delay.' Lord Lytton yielded to this pressure and exempted from duty some cotton imports with which the Bombay mills were supposed to compete. This concession failed to satisfy Lancashire, and further pressure was put upon the Indian Government. Though a large majority of his Council considered that 'the measure has all the appearance of the subordination of the reasonable claims of the Indian administration to the necessities of English politics,' as famine and currency depreciation were now severely straining the Indian finances, yet Lord Lytton overruled his Council, and in 1879 exempted from import duty all coarse cotton goods 'containing no finer yarn than 30s' (i.e. 30 hanks, each 840 yards = 1 lb.); and in sanctioning this desired betrayal of Indian interests the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, had also to overrule the majority of the members of his own Council. But this political trick did not save the Conservatives from defeat at the polls in 1880.

Finances improving, Lord Ripon in 1882 abolished all the remaining import duties except those on salt and liquors; and, save for a small duty on petroleum in 1888, no fresh import duties were re-imposed

till 1894, after a deficit of two millions in 1893. In 1894 the Herschell Commission reported that 'the re-imposition of import duties . . . would excite the least opposition,' and might even be popular; but to avoid irritating Lancashire they added that any re-imposition of cotton duties would be strongly opposed. So the new Tariff Act of March 1894 re-imposed a special import duty on most articles, but exempted cotton, machinery, coal, raw and railway materials, grain, and some miscellaneous articles. This cotton exemption was strongly opposed in the Viceregal Legislative Council; and in December 1894 a new Act was passed applying the 5 per cent. duty to cotton yarns and goods, though Lancashire was favoured by a countervailing excise duty of 5 per cent. being put on the finer classes of yarns 'above 20s' spun in India and likely to compete with British yarns. But Lancashire agitated in Parliament, and in January 1895 the Secretary of State, Sir Henry Fowler, agreed to reconsider the matter 'with a view to carry out loyally the declared intention to avoid protective injustice.'

Before action could be taken, the Conservatives returned to power in June 1895, pledge-bound and anxious to conciliate the British cotton vote. So the new Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, adopted the Lancashire view that there should not be 'an artificial dividing line at 20s, or any other count,' unless import duties were abolished as from 1882 to 1894. Despite strong protests from influential members of the Legislative Council, Lord Elgin yielded to this pressure, sacrificed Indian interests, and passed the Cotton Duties Act of 1896, levying a 3½ per cent. excise duty on all cotton goods spun at any Indian mill. Coarse Indian fabrics, hardly, if at all, competing with fine-spun British goods, were thus for the first time taxed, thereby raising the price of the scanty clothing of the poorer classes throughout India without benefiting British cotton-spinners, and interfering greatly with the manufacture of yarns and piece-goods in India.

Almost the only spontaneous fiscal action permitted to India has been the imposition in 1899 of a countervailing duty on bounty-fed sugar from Germany and Austria, which was in 1902 extended to imports from other countries. But, as Lord Curzon's Government pointed out in 1904, with regard to the entrance of India into an inter-Imperial preferential scheme for placing protective duties on British manufactures and higher duties on foreign manufactures, this reform would be impracticable owing to past experience having too clearly shown that British manufacturing interests always prevent India from obtaining full fiscal freedom.

When the Indian budget annually comes before Parliament an appeal is usually made to raise Indian affairs above party strife, although it is ridiculous to pretend that under Crown Government

the administration of India does not always strongly reflect the political colour of the party in power. If the present British Cabinet have any real desire to set a good example in this respect, and at the same time to effect a great improvement in the Government of India, let them carry out proper measures of decentralisation by abolishing the Governorships of Bombay and Madras, which are useless anachronisms in these days of improved communications, and are only maintained for purposes of political patronage (at India's expense) as part of the spoils in party warfare ; and let them transform all the existing local governments and administrations into Provincial Lieutenant-Governorships, each with its own Legislative Council. This would strengthen and simplify the Government of India, because it would permit of decentralisation on a far larger and more economical and efficient scale than the Hobhouse Commission is being allowed to deal with. Neither as regards territorial area, population, revenue, nor amount and importance of work is there now any justification for the Governor of Bombay or of Madras being still partially exempt from the supreme authority of the Governor-General, or being still permitted to have his own Council and to correspond directly with the Secretary of State, and to have far higher pay and privileges than are accorded to the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, and Eastern Bengal. This desirable reform would only be a logical sequence to the reorganisation of the Indian army under one Commander-in-Chief in 1894 ; and the consolidation of authority which has been of such conspicuous benefit in military matters is equally necessary, and will be equally beneficial, in the administration of the various civil departments.

The Government needs all the strengthening that can be given by rational reform of this sort, for it would be useless to deny that the greater part of India is seething with sedition. Yet we are only reaping a harvest of our own sowing. Twenty-five years ago the Viceroy sent out by a Liberal Cabinet strewed broadcast the seeds from which have sprung many of the thorns now thickly besetting the path of the present Liberal Secretary of State. And it cannot have been altogether by chance that the worst outbreak of popular sedition ever experienced in India synchronised almost exactly with the return of the Liberals to power in 1906.

Fifty years ago we were still in the throes of the Mutiny. What now threatens India is not another revolt of the native troops, but a general rising of the population, urged on by demagogues. This dangerous agitation can still easily be restrained, just as hill torrents can be controlled near their source ; but if it be allowed to gather strength, it will some time or other flood the country and do untold damage. As was truly said in the *Quarterly Review* of last July, the time when this strong current of sedition must prove most dangerous

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Almost the only spontaneous fiscal action permitted to India has been the imposition in 1899 of a countervailing duty on bounty-fed sugar from Germany and Austria, which was in 1902 extended to imports from other countries. But, as Lord Curzon's Government pointed out in 1904, with regard to the entrance of India into an inter-Imperial preferential scheme for placing protective duties on British manufactures and higher duties on foreign manufactures, this reform would be impracticable owing to past experience having too clearly shown that British manufacturing interests always prevent India from obtaining full fiscal freedom.

When the Indian budget annually comes before Parliament an appeal is usually made to raise Indian affairs above party strife, although it is ridiculous to pretend that under Crown Government

the administration of India does not always strongly reflect the political colour of the party in power. If the present British Cabinet have any real desire to set a good example in this respect, and at the same time to effect a great improvement in the Government of India, let them carry out proper measures of decentralisation by abolishing the Governorships of Bombay and Madras, which are useless anachronisms in these days of improved communications, and are only maintained for purposes of political patronage (at India's expense) as part of the spoils in party warfare; and let them transform all the existing local governments and administrations into Provincial Lieutenant-Governorships, each with its own Legislative Council. This would strengthen and simplify the Government of India, because it would permit of decentralisation on a far larger and more economical and efficient scale than the Hobhouse Commission is being allowed to deal with. Neither as regards territorial area, population, revenue, nor amount and importance of work is there now any justification for the Governor of Bombay or of Madras being still partially exempt from the supreme authority of the Governor-General, or being still permitted to have his own Council and to correspond directly with the Secretary of State, and to have far higher pay and privileges than are accorded to the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, and Eastern Bengal. This desirable reform would only be a logical sequence to the reorganisation of the Indian army under one Commander-in-Chief in 1894; and the consolidation of authority which has been of such conspicuous benefit in military matters is equally necessary, and will be equally beneficial, in the administration of the various civil departments.

The Government needs all the strengthening that can be given by rational reform of this sort, for it would be useless to deny that the greater part of India is seething with sedition. Yet we are only reaping a harvest of our own sowing. Twenty-five years ago the Viceroy sent out by a Liberal Cabinet strewed broadcast the seeds from which have sprung many of the thorns now thickly besetting the path of the present Liberal Secretary of State. And it cannot have been altogether by chance that the worst outbreak of popular sedition ever experienced in India synchronised almost exactly with the return of the Liberals to power in 1906.

Fifty years ago we were still in the throes of the Mutiny. What now threatens India is not another revolt of the native troops, but a general rising of the population, urged on by demagogues. This dangerous agitation can still easily be restrained, just as hill torrents can be controlled near their source; but if it be allowed to gather strength, it will some time or other flood the country and do untold damage. As was truly said in the *Quarterly Review* of last July, the time when this strong current of sedition must prove most dangerous

will be when we become embroiled in a life-and-death struggle with any other Great Power. In such case we shall have to face a far worse revolt than that of fifty years ago ; and if we are not then still in full command of the ocean highways between Britain and India, our great Indian Empire may become shattered and be wrested from us. To adopt necessary measures of proper protection is a matter that should certainly be raised altogether above the sphere of party politics, and above the wrangle of political opportunists.

J. NISBET.

AN UNKNOWN POET

THERE lately came to my hands, from one wholly unknown to me even by name, a tiny volume of thirty-five sonnets, which I hold to be of exquisite quality and of origin quite unique. They are the groans of a bereaved husband for the loss of a beloved wife—written day by day in presence of her last illness, of her dead body, of her burial, and the first desolation of his old home. There is in these daily devotions a poignant ring, a vivid reality, an intense realism, which mark them off from all literary elegies of any kind. And as being the consecration of married love in rare form, I judge them to have a truly unique origin. To my ear their language has a melody and a purity such as no living poet can surpass.

The intensity of passion felt on such a bereavement by a sensitive nature is unhappily far from rare. And perhaps many a cultivated spirit has sought to express such grief in words. But the world has not seen these outpourings of soul; or they have been composed when years have passed to veil the keenness of sorrow. The elegies which live in immortal poetry record a friend, a lover, a genius, or a hero, as do the undying lines of Dante or of Petrarch, of Shelley or of Tennyson. When Milton in his dream saw his 'late espoused Saint brought to him like Alcestis from the grave,' he unluckily reminded us of Admetus, who was not an heroic husband. Indeed, since the lovely sonnets of Rossetti, I cannot recall any poem written by a bereaved husband in the very presence of the coffin and the grave of an adored wife, in which he has so laid bare the extremity of his despair.

Now, the quality of these sonnets which stirred me before I had read three of them was their directness of stroke, the simplicity of speech, scorning the least concession to literary colour. Without ornament, trope, image, or any artificial grace, they have that pathos inscribed on marble in the best Greek epitaphs. They remind me of that wailing elegy on Atthis of Cnidus—also by an unknown author—could the author be any but her husband?—

Ἀγνή, πούληγόντε, τί πένθιμον ὕπνον λαύεις
 ἀνδρὸς ἀπὸ στέρνων οὐποτέ θείσας κάρα
 θεῖον ἐρημάσασα τὸν οὐκέτι · σοὶ γὰρ ἐς ἄϊδαν
 ἦλθον δμοῦ ζωῆς ἐλπίδες ἀμετέρας.¹

¹ It is Epitaph II. in Mr. Macchall's beautiful collection. 'Atthis, holy one, much bewept, how is it that thou art sleeping the sad sleep, thou who never yet pillowed thy head away from the bosom of thy husband, thou who hast left desolate thy

Had these reiterating dirges of a present sorrow—ringing slowly with the monotone of a funeral bell—had they been less simple, direct, and chiselled in form, they would have been painful. We should shrink from being in the presence of such agony, in touch with a living soul so broken, so hopeless, face to face with all the realities of such a fate. But the words in their stern self-restraint, their dignified self-abandonment, in their quiet disdain of art, seem to me to have a true art of their own.

Nor could we endure to have these elegies prolonged; for the very note of them is to avoid all thoughts extraneous to the ever-present sense of bereavement and loneliness. But in a very short collection of sonnets the sense of continuous and abiding grief is deeply impressive. When I received a copy of these poems—I know not from whom—I wrote through the publisher to the author to express my interest, and to urge him to complete and revise the series. This he has now done and has issued them in an enlarged edition. They now form forty-five sonnets, each of fourteen lines. Nearly all belong to the few months past since the grave was closed.² The author insists on keeping his personality strictly undisclosed.

The close of the first sonnet sounds the theme of the requiem music which is extended in the order of an elaborate *fugue*:

O love, my love long since, my love to be,
 O living love, for evermore my own,
 Mine in the spaces of eternity,
 Mine in the worlds that circle round God's throne,
 Mine by dear human love's sealed benison,
 And mine by His vast love in whom all love is one.

In the *Prelude* (Sonnet ii.) the poet replies to one who doubted if so sombre a monotone were not to place bonds on art. His heart is with the nightingale—not with the lark. He feels the glory of the morning bird on high—but his own song is attuned to the songster of the night:

Twin songs there are, of joyance, or of pain;
 One of the morning lark in midmost sky,
 When falls to earth a mist, a silver rain,
 A glittering cascade of melody;
 And mead and wold and the wide heaven rejoice,
 And praise the Maker; but alone I kneel
 In sorrowing prayer. Then wanes the day; a voice
 Trembles along the dusk, till peal on peal
 It pierces every living heart that hears,
 Pierces and burns and purifies like fire;
 Again I kneel under the starry spheres,
 And all my soul seems healed, and lifted higher,
 Nor could that jubilant song of day prevail
 Like thine of tender grief, O Nightingale.

Theins to a living death? For with thee all hope of our living has passed into outer darkness.'

² *Thyia: An Elegy*. New edition. Enlarged. (George Bell & Sons. 1906. 12mo.)

The whole series of poems belongs to the solitary voice that 'trembles along the dusk.'

To the world which is so prone to look for enjoyment he says :

Even as a bird when he has lost his mate
Fills all the grove with his melodious wrong,
So I, who mourn a grief more passionate,
To you, O world, address my harsher song ;
Yet scorn it not ; sing with me, if ye will ;
My sorrow is your sorrow—yours my hope.

It was in the spring of last year that the signs of mortal illness were too plain to be denied. She still lived (Sonnet v.) :

Her one poor hand holds a resplendent prize,
The one white violet I digged at morn.

As the year grew, the summer brought back the rose to her cheek, and to the husband's heart the hope that the bitterness of death was past :

Near where the violets grew, as days went by,
I found a budding hope, and bore it home.

The end came on the 27th of November (Sonnet vii.) :

I watch beside you in your silent room ;
Without, the chill rain falls, life dies away,
The dead leaves drip, and the fast gathering gloom
Closes around this brief November day,
First day of holy death, of sacred rest—

Dear heart, I linger but a little space,
Sweet wife, I come to your new world ere long.

Between death and funeral the stricken man cries out :

Relentless Death, could you not spare me this ?
Could you not strike at me—your happiest stroke ?

I only live, where all is yours, O Death.

On the last day of November comes the funeral (Sonnet ix.) :

The sun sinks with a visage of despair,
And freezing vapours like a nightmare fall ;
Death on the earth beneath, Death in the air,
Where the bell tolls, and heaven is one vast pall.

He returns home to his 'barren house left desolate' to see himself now indeed *Alone* (Sonnet x.) :

The bier, the bell, the grave, silence, and night
And you are laid in that cold ground, and gone ?

But over it the affrighted stars will shiver,
And the world weep, and the wind moan for ever.

Weeks pass, and Christmas Day arrives, but it brings no joy nor rest:

No Christmas bells I hear; one slow bell rings
Its monotone of death within my breast.

He seeks change of scene by the seashore;

Ἡ δ' ἀκίαν παρὰ δὴν πολυφλοίσβου θαλάσσης,

but he wanders 'back to the little home he left forlorn,' his 'weary feet turn from the sullen sea.'

There is a cruel picture of *The Deserted House* (Sonnet xii.):

I watch within your silent room once more;
Without, the dead leaf shivers in the blast;
Your broken comb, your glove are on the floor,
The cold clouds see them, and they shudder past,
Startled they look upon the empty bed,
The vacant chair, the couch left desolate,
The dying flowers that saw you lying dead,
And me, who bow beneath my sorrow's weight,
Who only hear that bell's sad monotone—
'Alone, alone, for evermore alone.'

The wedding day comes round, but only adds a new pang (Sonnet xiii.):

My voice but tears, my music but a moan,
And my last wish in your lone grave to sleep.

He unexpectedly discovers her portrait:

I kiss your silent lips, sad, sad relief,—
Ah! God, for those sweet words they used to say.

The New Year has no message of relief (Sonnet xvi.):

Comes the New Year; wailing the north winds blow;
In her cold, lonely grave my dead love lies;
Dead lies the stiffened earth beneath the snow,
And blinding sleet blots out the desolate skies.
I stand between the living and the dead;
Hateful to me is life, hateful is death.

Sorrow grows only more real by time (Sonnet xviii.):

Weeks pass; I stand beside your grave again;
Yet is my agony not less, but more,
And like a river widening to the main,
Deeper it flows, if calmer than before.

Two snowdrops lift their white heads from the clay;
They come like ghosts of buried memories.

It is again *Early Spring* (Sonnet xxi.):

Alone I wander forth in early spring,
And tell my sorrow to each tender flower;

By that dear bank where the white violets grew,
The violets slept beneath, as she sleeps now.

The first part of the collection, entitled *Death and Love*—the strictly funeral part—closes with Sonnet xxv., inscribed *Our Grave*. I must cite it entire from its simple purity of thought, and to my ear an exquisite melody in the minor key :

Where the bird warbles earliest, and new light
 Wakes the first buds of spring ; where breezes sleep
 Or sigh with pity half the summer night,
 While the pale loving stars look down to weep,
 There lies our grave ; a slender plot of ground
 'Tis all of earth we own ; no cross ; no tree,
 Nothing to mark it, but a little mound ;
 But there my darling stays ; she waits for me,
 The lily in her hand ; and when I come
 She will be glad to greet me, and will say,
 ' Your lily, dearest, gives you welcome home.'
 But oh ! dear Lord, I hunger with delay ;
 Tell me, blest Lord, shall I have long to wait ?
 For I must haste, or she will think me late.

To the first part of the poem there is now added a second part—the utterance of a grief more chastened and at last lighted up with sure hope of blissful reunion in the world to come. For this writer is profoundly saturated with religious faith in a future life. He is now sure that the parting will not be for long :

So listen, love, to this sad threnody,
 This song of death by one who soon must die.

He continues to dwell in memory on the loving nature of her whom he has lost—' thy way was sweet self-sacrifice '—he revisits the grave and ' marvels at the summer flowers ' which surround it. He recalls their wedding and the first rapture of their married life, the incidents of their existence in one soul, and the anniversaries of each birthday, wedding day, and journeys together. In early summer her birthday is come ; he will rise and gather once again

The summer posy that she knew so well.

He calls aloud to her favourite flowers :

So, orchis, come, and woodbine, as of old ;
 Come to my darling, each fair flower that blows ;
 Cowslip and meadow-cress, and marigold,
 The last sweet bluebell and the first sweet rose.

Then the flowers listen and answer joyfully :

We come, we come : O lead us to our Queen,

But the sad poet replies :

Nay, gentle flowers, my weary steps must rove,
 And lay you on the grave of her you love.

He meditates on the full meaning of the maxim to which the lives of both were devoted :

There's nothing we can call our own but Love.

He realises more fully than ever that in mutual love alone can the true path of life be found, as also the essential power of true religion :

Love is self-giving ; therefore love is God.

This meditation leads the poet on to a fine sonnet on immortality, beginning :

Hear, O Self-giver, infinite as good,

The series of sonnets then passes into a strictly devotional tone—on the spiritual meaning of a sacred sorrow, on the regenerating power of such trials of the heart :

Hope humbly, then, sad heart, through all thy pain ;
Yea, choose thy sorrow as thy chiefest gain.

He acknowledges at last

By pain alone is wisdom perfected.

He now dedicates his verses to *Truth, Sorrow, Faith, Hope*. Even a sleepless night has its message to the soul as he gazes on the spangled sky and notes

The tranquil march of heaven's majesty.

and so the constellations above suggest an unlimited and unending aspiration of good to be :

Yea, like the night, my dream of infinite good
Is beautiful with stars in multitude.

But, at last, as the poem closes, hope, and the just resolution to work out the appointed time of life, take the place of despair and the hunger for death. And in the final sonnet—addressed *To the Lord God*—the poet manfully declares that he 'will not rest before the grave' :

Let me fight on ; teach me to choose Thy way.

And find eternal peace in her dear love and Thine.

As will have been observed, the forty-five sonnets are all cast in the familiar English form—not in the lovely, but for us impossible, Italian type. It is the scheme of Shakespeare's sonnets ; and clearly that is the rhythm which the poet has kept before him as his ideal. One who has read the brief extracts in this paper will have seen the rare gift of melody which they show. It was his fine sense of music which arrested my own attention when the humble volume first came into my hands. But I will cite one or two detached lines which to my ear ring with a truly poignant thrill.

Take these lines of autumn season :

Hark ! how it mourns around the empty folds,
Or sighs amid the ruined marigolds.

To my mind the sonnet entitled *Vespers* (xxvi.) opens with a quatrain of exquisite modulation :

I love to watch the sunset gold grow dim
On the lone peak of some enchanted fell,
To catch the murmur of a vesper hymn,
Or far-off lullaby of vesper bell.

What time the bird of woe through deepening shade,
Flutes his wild requiem o'er the buried sun.

And a stronger clarion is heard in the sonnet entitled *Woman* (xxvii.), which opens thus :

Why do the ages celebrate in song,
Man, or the deeds of man, crowning with bays
The warrior, the oppressor, and the wrong,
And leave unsung woman's diviner praise ?

Of his own verses the poet speaks :

Like soft, recurrent moanings of the dove.

Or, again, his wreath of song is

The first to wither on the grave of Love.

It is too much the fashion of our day to require in poetry a subtle involution of thought, cryptic parables, the 'curious felicity'—or rather the laborious 'curiosity'—of precious phrase, such as may rival the ambiguity of a double acrostic in a lady's journal. There are some who will hardly count anything poetry unless it need many a re-reading to unravel its inner connotations. And for the sake of this subtlety, or rather as a hall-mark of this superfine 'mentality,' as they call it in their jargon, they desiderate an uncouthness of diction, or at least a sputtering cacophony of strident discords, that would

have made Quintilian stare and gasp.

For my part, I have no taste for conundrums rhymed or unrhymed. I will read no poetry that does not tell me a plain tale in honest words, with easy rhythm and pure music. The true pathos ever speaks to us in simple utterance, not in tortured tropes and mystical allusions, as Dante's

that day we read no more,

or Wordsworth's

and never lifted up a single stone.

I find this simple directness of speech in this unknown poet. Every line has a meaning entirely obvious and definite. It needs no commentary, no second reading to unriddle it, no special society to discover and to unfold its beauties. And its music is that of Beethoven's *Adelaide*, or of Gluck's *Orfeo*—*Che farò senza Euridice?*

It is sad—yes, it is bitterly sad—cruel in its fate; and yet how common, almost universal, in its bereavement! The world, I know, shrinks to-day from anything that is sad. With ostrich-like folly it turns its eyes away from what is painful. I know no worse sign of moral weakness and childish frivolity than its artificial shudder at all that is sad and tragic.

By pain alone is wisdom perfected.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

BERLIN REVISITED BY A BRITISH TOURIST

TWENTY-EIGHT years are apt to bring changes enough in the lives of individuals, but in few human beings can the flight of time have wrought a more complete transformation, both to the outward and to the inward eye, than in the Emperor William's capital since the early 'eighties.

There are not a great many places indeed where the traveller, who returns after so long an interval, can take up his station and look round with any complete sense of recognition. The chief of these is, of course, the approach from the Thiergarten by the Brandenburg Gate, whence the long and stately lines of Unter den Linden in spite of many new constructions present their well-remembered aspect. And here close at hand, if you are in luck's way, the soldiers in their historic uniforms still come rushing out of the little guard-house to salute the passing of some eminent personage with all the complicated ceremonial used by their forefathers in the days of the great Frederick. On the left the French Embassy, as of old, arrests the eye by a peculiar grace of proportion and outline which distinguishes it amongst more imposing neighbours. Lower down loom the buildings of the Wilhelm Strasse, still eloquently reminiscent of the overshadowing presence which brooded over them then, forging thunderbolts for the world outside the Fatherland. A few minutes' farther stroll brings us to the plain stone mansion with its long array of unveiled windows on the first floor, blank now, but how full of memories! That one next the corner framed a sight not easily to be forgotten when the traveller, then a schoolgirl, passed this way last time and was suddenly bidden to look up. Two figures were plainly visible through the clear glass, in no way screened from public observation. One seated at a table, white-haired, white-whiskered, was obviously talking eagerly as he looked up at the other with the massive head standing beside him, the deep-set eyes gazing out across the wide public place and the busy traffic of the city's life, seeing not that evidently, but what other visions past or future, near or far away, in which his master's subjects no doubt played their

unconscious part? Who could say? It was a sight which made the stranger stand still involuntarily and draw in his breath; but the good Berliners were evidently too familiar with it to pay much heed as they hurried by, intent on their own concerns. No doubt, though, the passing glances occasionally cast up at those two stark watchdogs of the Fatherland keeping their vigilant guard, must have given an added sense of security to the citizen intent on his more trivial round, and perhaps also to the humbler workers, without whom Prince Bismarck himself could have fashioned no edifice of Empire.

That window now is bare and empty. One of the figures sits in effigy, it is true, mounted on a charger close by upon a pile of cumbrous masonry which blocks the river façade so fine in its simplicity of the old Schloss, which has been the scene of so many Hohenzollern pomps and festivals. Certain feminine figures of portentous size are grouped about the horse and his rider. These sylphs at first appeared, it is declared, in native beauty unadorned by all the massive draperies which clothe them now in deference to public opinion; the good citizens of Berlin having stoutly objected to classic traditions in attire for the emblematic females who form the bodyguard of their first Emperor.

His successor, beloved of so many hearts, has found commemoration most appropriate in the fine museum called by his name in which the magnificent art collections, lavishly acquired for the city of Berlin, have been lately so beautifully arranged. Here there is neither space nor capacity to speak of the wealth of treasures which dazzle you on every wall in the larger rooms; but perhaps a word may be allowed upon the rare pleasures provided by the presiding genius of the galleries in those little cabinets, leading out of one another, into which the visitor may pass and find such fresh delight and repose. For it is here that certain pictures have found not only space but an actual home. These rooms, their walls covered with dim harmonious brocades, hold just a few treasures in each, arranged with such consummate art that all sense of gallery and museum is forgotten. You find yourself in a moment transported to quite another atmosphere, to the smaller palace chambers of some princely collector of another age, for whom the painters painted and the craftsmen wrought the things you see before you, destined to occupy the places where they are. The Ryks Museum at Amsterdam, the Musée Plantin at Antwerp, or the best of the Italian palace collections hardly convey a more complete sense of absolute harmony and fitness. Each perfect thing is shown not only to its own best advantage, but all are combined so as to form parts of a scheme. A Tuscan painting, delicate and glowing, is companioned on each side, say, by sconces of the same period and worthy of their place; they would light also some little masterpieces in bronze of the same period, while below is a chest of

wonderful Florentine workmanship, and opposite the best examples of Della Robbia ware and a tazza of Benvenuto Cellini fill the space where you would expect to see them in just such a Florentine chamber. The same plan holds good as you pass from one room to another. What a delight, too, awaits the traveller when he meets the masters of the old German school in another chamber, a revelation of splendid colour and design to those of us—and that is necessarily the great majority—who have scant acquaintance with their unsuspected magnificence. All find themselves in company with other works of artist-craftsmen who in those days had recognised no divorce or incompatibility between different forms of beauty in the making.

The particulars must be left to Baedeker and to higher powers with authority to speak in these matters. Yet it is hard to forbear all mention of the delight with which these rooms impress themselves on the memory of a British tourist, of the way in which Rembrandt's warrior with the brass helmet, for instance—that vision of the seared and dented, unconquerable fighter, battered with a hundred fights—haunts one as on a crowded wall he might not have power to do to the full; or of the unforgettable radiance of Holbein's *Merchant of Basle*, whose extraordinary grace of design and beauty of colour required all that amount of clear wall-space which it has now been given. How one goes back to the deep rose-coloured carnation in the tall vase, recalling the colour of the velvet sleeves and leading up, slim and graceful, to the delicate, dreamy face above it, and the suggestions of a business life in a background more beautiful to the eye than any merchant's office, whether in Basle or in London or Berlin, could offer to-day! Well, one loves without knowledge, and the professional critic, no doubt, is the only person who has a right to express himself in these matters; so to him be left the manner of it, but to all is given the sheer delight even without his guiding hand.

It is impossible to think without many a sigh of treasures equally beautiful and rare, scattered in different obscure corners of various London museums, bronzes, jewellery, furniture, and so on. Why should they not be brought together again into the company of the painters of their own age? Even in Berlin this conception has not been carried nearly far enough; in London, only the Wallace Collection here and there hints at it. The material obstacles are, no doubt, so great as to be almost insurmountable, but all difficulties declared to be insurmountable are likely to remain so until a generation arises which loses all consciousness of them in view of a desired end. Thus the uninitiated, the British tourist, arranges for a future in which there will be no more great bare galleries whose walls are plastered thick with paintings, jostling each other, encroaching on one another, dazzling, dazing, bewildering, exhausting with a perfect chaos of beauty.

In another place, the Pergamon Museum, the way in which the fragments of the great altar to Poseidon have been carefully pieced together and a reconstruction practically effected is only another example of that laborious working with a view to the whole rather than to kaleidoscopic chaos of details which is so characteristic of every branch of modern German activity.

Indeed, when the traveller turns reluctantly from the splendours within doors and passes to the glaring white streets rising line upon line, one after the other, all exactly alike round and about Berlin, he could wish for a less magnificently ordered uniformity, for some sign of individuality, for some tokens from the past, if only a remnant of the charming irregular roofs and towers now only to be seen in old prints and pictures of the former city on the Spree. How they oppress one those miles of symmetrical streets and boulevards of pompous design, all as much alike and mathematically symmetrical as the rows of Imperial troops on the Tempel Hof ground on a review day! The concessions made to poor humanity in the way of sculptural or other adornment follow the same law of reiteration, fixed and made immutable, it is said, in obedience to an omniscient ruler and compass. In 'la vieille Allemagne' originality and individuality found a genial soil, it is otherwise under the rule of modern Prussia.

A search for old landmarks and historic links (apart from the Schloss itself) is most easily rewarded by a visit to the Hohenzollern Museum, a moderate-sized and somewhat secluded palace, occupied by the great Frederick during his precarious existence as Crown Prince, in the lifetime of that appalling old turk, Frederick William the First. Here again the sacred right of guidance must be left to Baedeker, or let us rather say to individual vagary, that most irresistible and delightful of all guides. Here it is the lover of history, and above all of historical personalities, rather than the artist, who finds his reward. Only a few of the paintings have much artistic value, though many have immense interest of another kind. One passes quickly by the somewhat desolating procession of the families of successive Electors who filled the space between him of Brandenburg the founder of Prussian supremacy (a real mailed fist that!) and the furious old tyrant who was with such difficulty restrained from taking the life of his firstborn; but Frederick was destined, as we know, to play out his part. Of greater interest than these wooden faces on the wall are the objects below, which speak more eloquently of personalities. The array of old Frederick William's pipes recalls the vivid descriptions in the Margravine of Bayreuth's *Memoirs*, of those terrible smoking parties at which the compulsory guests gathered, trembling with the same misgivings that haunted Alice's friends at the Duchess's garden-party, and with at least as much foundation. To how many rages and storms did that array of flageolets and flutes belonging to her great brother give rise on the part of their appalling parent! The

beautifully printed volumes of Frederick the Great's poems, all scored and corrected by the author's own hand, possess an interest not intrinsically belonging to those elaborate effusions as they were given to the world. Many letters exchanged between him and Voltaire can be read; there is certainly more vitality here than in the stilted pastorals of the royal author.

There is another room close by from which it is hard indeed to tear oneself away, for here it is impossible not to realise with special vividness something of the lovely and radiant presence which has left its traces on this motley and pathetic collection. There are the *escritoire* and the very pen that she used for some of those enchanting letters which have fortunately been preserved. That travelling writing-case was doubtless used during the long flights from the French conqueror northwards to ice-bound Memel through the bitter winter weather after the disasters of Jena. Here is a piece of half-finished embroidery, those are her little satin slippers all creased and worn, and her very dresses with the short waists and sleeves, all dim and faded now. A hundred things that were hers and speak of her intimate daily life give one a feeling of having intruded into her privacy. What right have we amongst the personal possessions of this most feminine dead woman, at once so delicate and so strong, of so stout a heart and so gracious a charm? Louise at all stages of her short life smiles down upon us from her pictures on the walls, most often as the beautiful Crown Princess, radiant with happiness, that happiness which she had the secret of creating from the least promising materials and preserving through all vicissitudes; lovely and beloved of her subjects, long before the evil days came to prove how well she deserved the title of 'mother of her people' which they bestowed upon her before she was twenty-one! She died at thirty-four, worn out in their service, having striven as hard to save her country from the overwhelming tide of Napoleonic victory as any of her generals, and certainly more dreaded than they by the conqueror himself, who stooped to the basest weapons of coarse libel and calumny to undermine that popular devotion of which he realised the strength and the danger. He himself has told how near he came to yielding up something of his spoils at her exquisite intercession during that momentous interview at Tilsit, which was so fatefully interrupted by the always inopportune Frederick William the Third. It is no wonder that Queen Louise is an adored memory in her own country; in others also she holds her place as not least amongst the company of heroic figures in her day. Here, amongst these feminine possessions of hers, lingers more than a touch of her personality; in the tokens of a delicate taste, in all these pretty faded things that she wore and handled, chose and used. Here we come much more closely in touch with the personal dignity and refinement of the woman and the Queen than in that much-vaunted theatrical monument by Rauch at Charlottenburg, where the effigy

suggests nothing so much as a restless sleeper, covered with much-creased folds of draperies, fretted by uneasy tossings; neither the repose and dignity of death nor the joyous vitality of the woman are to be found there.

Passing out of the house of memories, it was interesting to stroll homewards again by way of Unter den Linden in the company of an elderly companion, of that fine blond type to which the Emperor Frederick belonged, at any rate physically, doubtless quite as much in other ways as well. It is happily still to be met with fairly often in North Germany, though by no means characteristic of the present generation in Prussia, descended rather from that 'vieille Allemagne' which has already passed away, to the infinite loss and lamentation of sister countries. It was easy to laugh at Pumpernickel, but it was, when all is said, a cheap laughter. What does the world not owe to some of those little courts, which were so often the centre of a splendid intellectual life, the safe harbour of refuge of the great spirits who would otherwise have had to grind their hearts out in unrecognised squalor to earn a scanty subsistence?

The company of this gentle giant, so sage and so simple, the man of learning with the child's heart, not only undazzled but absolutely disturbed and distressed by all material pomp and circumstance in daily life, was an encouraging reminder that the spirit of that 'vieille Allemagne' is after all not crushed out either by Prussian militarism or by the rapid growth of wealthy materialism in North Germany as in other countries. Rather it is the vital, unquenchable spirit which still gives its own special greatness to the German race. The dust of the show, the braying of trumpets, all the clamour of the circus folk may fill the foreground, but behind all one may still perceive the everlasting service of the altar, that great-hearted selfless devotion to the things of the mind, that carelessness of the things of the world, which strike one as the real inspiration of Germany from generation to generation.

Pursuing our leisurely way on the less crowded side of the great avenue, there flashed towards us, with a sudden clash and clatter of accoutrements and a vision of gorgeous uniforms, a group of splendid riders on horses befitting them, a gorgeous note of colour and self-assertion against the grey sky of the dull autumn day. How could the Anglo-Saxon stranger, unused to such spectacles, fail to be impressed and to say so?

'A fine sight?' repeated the giant in a genial, reflective growl. 'Well, well, it may be so perhaps. But I tell you what I call one fine sight, one real fine sight. It was a King who did come to visit us in Germany, in a tweed travelling suit and a felt hat; no guards, no arms, no uniforms for him, no parade at all; just a simple traveller from England, he came to us in a plain suit like any other man. "There," we said, "is one who knows his people well, and they know him.'

He understands what they want, their needs, their troubles, so he can help them." That, I tell you, was a fine sight for us, and it is one we shall not forget.' He swept off his hat as he spoke to salute the remembrance of that plain suit which stood for so fair a symbol in his mind. It was a tribute almost childish in its outspoken simplicity, but none the less worthy of a Caesar in its profound sincerity.

That night the English travellers were entertained again by hospitable German friends and met with still further surprises. For how many years have we not meekly bowed our heads at home while the wholesale superiority of all Teutonic educational systems has been dinned into our ears in stormy chorus by many leaders, or shall we say followers, of modern pedagogy? What awe-inspiring names from German shrines have been thundered at us when we have ventured to suggest a haunting doubt as to the results of a system with compartments of machine-made exactness, into which the innocents are to be fitted almost as soon as they draw breath in a troublesome world, in order that they may all be drilled after one model, in a round of appallingly well-organised pursuits, too often miscalled by the hallowed name of play! It was left, however, to our German friends to give utterance in good set terms to revolutionary sentiments on the subject such as we had barely ventured to harbour in our own hearts, and indeed they carried them a great deal further along the line of later development and secondary education. The party, though small, was quite a representative one of the upper professional class. All were men of the world in the best and widest sense; all themselves highly educated, one or two of exceptional experience in commercial or other large affairs of national importance, men marked out for honour in their own country, and acquainted with ours. One indeed had travelled widely in our Empire also, and had been a welcome guest at many Indian regimental messes as well as at official and private houses, both there and in South Africa and other colonies. He sighed as he spoke of changes in his career which must now put an end to these excursions and replace them with a laborious sedentary life in Berlin.

Of course the question of education in the two countries soon arose, not solely on account of the presence of English guests perhaps; one quickly becomes aware that the number of political or social subjects which can be comfortably discussed in general society in the Emperor William's capital is limited by considerations it is difficult for us to realise at home in the present century. Our travelled friend listened in grave silence for a time to sincere English tributes to various features of German secondary education, then, to the petrified astonishment of the foreign visitors he remarked quietly:

'When my sons are old enough I shall send them to an English public school.'

'And I too,' echoed after a moment's pause, as if gathering up his courage, one of his friends who is an authority on many public questions in Germany.

'I also,' said a third, while their wives smiled their acquiescence from opposite sides of the table.

This was indeed astonishing; we had to take breath before our curiosity found voice.

'Tell us first,' said one of the speakers, 'why you are so surprised.'

'What will our boys learn at Eton or Harrow or another of your great schools?' demanded somebody else.

To answer these conundrums on the spur of the moment to an eager and highly critical German audience with the proper combination of truth and patriotism was no slight undertaking, but it had to be attempted, however haltingly.

'Out of books little, as compared with the boys in our gymnasia; yes, that we understand, but there are other things. What about those other things? Please to con-tin-ue.'

So it was necessary simply to take the plunge boldly, even if with some misgivings as to possible consequences; yet there was obviously no real danger of giving offence to people so open-minded, so genial, so much in earnest. A chorus of acclamations in fact greeted a co-operative effort to sum up the principal characteristics of that public school life of ours which has been so scathingly denounced of late years by many educational enthusiasts at home.

'Ach, yes! But that is just what we want, what we cannot get for our sons here. That they shall learn to be men, to rely on themselves, to keep order for themselves, to govern for themselves, to speak the truth always and take the consequences, to, how you call it, 'play the game'; all that is so good, so admirable, and that is what we look for in vain here. It is character-building—and the greatest of all things is character-building!'

Oh! shades of the prophets; oh! sacred shrine at Gotha; oh! vision of long lines of German learned sages, what rank heresy has broken out amongst you now! The amazement of the foreign visitors broke forth again.

'No, no!' said our hosts, 'that is not what our boys are taught. They come home to us from school stuffed with learning if you like, but so stuffed, so overworked, that they forget it quickly, while they are over-disciplined, over-trained, watched over and arranged for until they cannot stand alone or take responsibility for themselves. There is the military service as you say, to follow, yes certainly, but that means more discipline, more obedience, no greater expansion for personality. We want personalities; we want a governing class with public school traditions for our colonies, if our colonies are to be any use to us at all.'

'Yes, it is all true,' chimed in the other father of boys. 'What

Germany needs and must have if she is to have a real colonial empire, is the class of administrators trained in the playing fields such as are turned out in numbers year by year from your public schools. Such young fellows as I have met everywhere carrying on the work of your colonies, sturdy and self-reliant without arrogance, for their school-fellows have seen to that; ruling well almost by instinct; apparently unconscious of their crushing responsibilities in solitary, uncivilised countries, for they are able to govern coloured races, even when mere savages, and to win their confidence and even affection at the same time. Never doubting themselves of the possibility of such achievement, not even thinking about it, not thinking much at all, perhaps, but quite often succeeding, seldom not succeeding, in fact. Such a ruling class we must have, if we are to keep over-seas colonies, and we think that only by the same sort of character-building can we raise one like yours—for, again, the greatest of all things is character-building.'

Another day, however, showed a different aspect of German life, with little enough here, alas! to flatter our national complacency. This visit to Berlin formed part of a tour of inspection by the official members of the party of certain great industrial workshops, owned and directed by English enterprise in various North German and other continental towns. In the neighbourhood of Berlin these works are of immense extent, and many thousands of artisans, both skilled and unskilled, are employed on them. A visit there soon aroused comparisons melancholy indeed to those who may chance to have some acquaintance with the life of the English industrial worker. It was impossible to walk about the great 'shops' (I use the word, of course, in its technical sense) filled with the busy throngs of men intent on their daily toil, and not to be struck first of all with their great superiority in physique and bearing to any similar collection of indoor workers at home. It did not lie only in the straight, up-standing figures, the finely developed chests and the well-carried heads which bore their obvious testimony to the results of military training. There was something more than this, a difference difficult to define exactly, but one which gradually impressed itself forcibly upon the observer standing apart and watching closely for a time. It lay perhaps in the impression of definite purpose conveyed by all their movements, in the well-directed, intelligent energy which went to all their actions, in the absence of slouching and of all that unnecessary and aimless casting about of uncertain limbs and persons which is so commonly to be seen in the shiftless, undrilled majority of youths belonging to the same class at home. The difference between movements habitually trained to carry out definite purposes and those untrained is greater than one can realise without the opportunity of watching results in workers of both systems, or rather in those of system and of absence of

It was impossible not to think with a pang of those groups of weakly, narrow-chested youths at home who hang about the streets after working hours are over and move with slouching gait, ungainly and aimless in their movements, whether at work or at ease, and of their round-shouldered, stooping elders who form so sadly large a proportion of any industrial crowd in our country. Even their clothes showed a far higher standard of neatness and that attention to the person in small things which means so much, a truism too often ostentatiously neglected by others as well as by working men in England. In German workshops, as indeed in most continental countries, the men wear long washing blouses or overalls to cover their neat garments during working hours; they are removed at closing time, and the wearers are thus able to walk away from the works with their clothes free from all signs of soil or dust, while each man, be it noted, wore a white collar and looked as neat and trim as his English comrades appear on Sundays and holidays. Moreover, every workman on the place is compelled to take a daily bath before he leaves in the admirable bathrooms lavishly provided; imagine such an institution as a compulsory bath anywhere but in the workhouses of our own free and enlightened country!

The burning question of universal military training for our own people does not lie within the scope of such stray and amateur observations as these, but it was impossible to pass from one of these German workshops to another and not to feel many a sad qualm instead of any sense of pride in the comparison perpetually forced upon one between the physique and bearing of the products of two systems. The thought of those whom one cannot help coming to look upon as the victims of immunity in our own country was melancholy and even humiliating here. No abstract views on the sin of militarism or the desirability of disarmament can alter the tangible results in development so plainly to be seen. The best friends and well-wishers of our own working youths must desire for them that healthy muscular expansion together with the bracing of the moral fibre obtained by the discipline of control which alone can set them free to fulfil any useful purpose in life.

It may be of interest to mention here the conclusion arrived at by the authorities of the immense industrial enterprise to which I refer in this article. It has been in existence for over eighty years, and the number of hands employed in different continental countries is continually increasing as its boundaries are ever enlarging. Over and over again their reports show that the amount of work performed and the individual efficiency of the workman vary in each State exactly in proportion to the stringency of its laws for the enforcement of military service. Thus the German is more competent and does a better day's work than the Belgian worker, whose service is more often evaded, and is in any case less thorough, and so the scale varies in the

different countries of Western Europe. Such is the tale told by the labour managers' report sheets.

To return, however, to our own glimpses of work-a-day life in North Germany—a country of our kinsmen after all—the last impression was by no means the least pleasant of our stay. In nothing perhaps, does the standard of civilisation show itself more plainly than in the commissariat of the working classes. In the works we were visiting, a co-operative kitchen had been arranged which provided dinner daily for the hands at the cost of sixpence a head. We gladly accepted an invitation to visit the scene of operations as the hour drew near. In the large, bare dining-hall long tables were neatly laid out with all the necessary array of bright cutlery and glass. There were 10 tablecloths, but dainty cleanliness and order prevailed everywhere, while the most appetising odours from the adjoining kitchen penetrated through the open doors. We found it small, but as spotlessly clean and neat as though the campaign of its daily labours were not even then at its full height. A thick soup was giving out a most savoury invitation from large cauldrons on one side, while some species of solid-looking ragout was competing with it in its own stewing-pans on the other. It was presently transferred to the great white dishes, and most attractively served up with a generous garnish of neatly arranged vegetables and a separate salad. The coffee which was to follow bubbled pleasantly in the great cans. How many of our workers sit down daily to a meal so abundant, well cooked and well served as this sixpenny dinner? For this visit fell upon an ordinary day of the common round, in no way distinguished from any other, the dinner absolutely *à la fortune du pot*. Remembering the prices quoted in Berlin for all articles of food, and more especially the enormous cost of butcher's meat, the results achieved before our eyes seemed to be nothing less than a miracle, even for the powers of the gifted German *Hausfrau*. Suddenly recollections of certain constituents which we have all heard of as figuring not seldom in the fleshy part of a German workman's *menu* rose, not without unpleasing sensations, to a prejudiced insular mind. On closer inspection it was seen that what looked like solid joints were really formed of finely minced meat. Now, of what might this sausage-like substance really be composed? Artful questions addressed to the two smiling and competent women presiding over the kitchen and its cauldrons produced cheery answers, still more artful in their evasiveness. Curiosity outran discretion in conversation with our guide, but he, whether from subtlety or ignorance, left it unsated and only shook his head, with:

'Ah! the cooks have their secrets. We must not inquire into them,' but there was a twinkle in his eye which was by no means satisfying.

Well, whatever its component parts, that stew, judging by its

small and appearance, was above criticism, and when a stampede across the yard announced the host of diners, it became evident that their appreciation was tempered by no mingivings, while their looks carried conviction that good digestion, which alas ! does not always wait on appetite, was the common lot of the clients for whom those excellent women catered with mysterious but successful art.

With wages at about the same rate as our own, with rents as high as in any of our large cities, with provisions considerably dearer, how is it that the average German workman can lead a life so much higher in the scale of comfort and civilisation than is found in the corresponding English home ? Of course I do not refer to the fortunately large number of exceptions amongst our own ranks, to those admirable wives who have attained to the secret of making much out of little, who are imbued with that respect for small details the lack of which wrecks so many English enterprises, large and small, and none more than the great industry of home-making. But who is not aware of the hugger-mugger discomfort which too often prevails amongst our English industrial workers, of that carelessness about small, insidious matters which may appear unimportant and are certainly troublesome, but which count for so terribly much in maintaining the standard of self-respect and of respect for others in the home they share ? Those who could speak with the authority of knowledge assured us that only in exceptional cases in Germany do the working men's wives at home show less capacity and skill in all domestic arts than our friends the cooks who provided such admirable, cheap dinners for an army of hungry toilers every day from that small clean kitchen in the M—— works near Berlin.

Why should so different a state of things prevail with us ? The dreary question is always being asked : let us hope the conundrum will some day be happily answered. To muddle along and to muddle through is the tradition sanctified by use so far in our country, and will doubtless continue to be so until the day when the trumpet awakens the sleepers who lie about the heart of our Empire and lay their heavy weight on its circulation. But it was certainly cheering to be told that in most of the great works belonging to the Association I refer to, the managers and engineers appointed are often English, as it is found that they can generally manage the workmen with considerably less friction than is the case with their own fellow-countrymen. For Germany, like other continental countries, has troubles enough of her own, dark and menacing too. What do we know here of those bitter and deadly class hatreds with their violences of assertion met with violences of repression, to speak of which is far beyond the scope of the amateur observer ? Thoughtful men, as has been seen, are searching eagerly, almost desperately, for the right means of raising the administrative class they lack, men trained to rule, endowed with that talent for authority which it seems is a special

heritage of the English race. The recent visit of Herr Dernberg to inquire into our colonial methods shows that the need is felt in high quarters to be a pressing one. Let us, whatever our national deficiencies, continue to be thankful that year by year numbers, often little more than boys, can still step out of the ranks to seize the torch as it is handed on at the outposts of civilisation and maintain the tradition of white justice and mercy and good rule. Their very names are often unknown beyond the immediate sphere of their activities and their official superiors. Yet it is they who are quietly carrying the burden of Empire, whether in the heart of India or in remote African swamps, the friends as well as the rulers of the coloured races, the wonder-workers who bring prosperity to crops, and save lives without number from destruction, even if their strange decrees against the time-honoured vengeance of the chiefs and the tribes are past comprehension. Most English homes have their share in the muster-roll, and for those who compose it we lay our gifts of thankfulness upon the altar, praying that the number of them may not fail in our country, in spite of all the powers at present fighting against them at home. For while we have them the day of Ragnarök is surely still a distant one, so let us pray for peace—and keep our powder dry.

MABEL C. BIRCHENOUGH.

NURSES IN HOSPITALS

It is admitted generally, and by medical men as freely as anybody, that the nursing of a patient is often only a little less important than the medical treatment. In certain cases nursing may be given even the first place among the agencies employed to restore the sufferer to health.

Of how great moment therefore is it not only that the nurses should go through the full course of training now recognised as indispensable, but that the women who enter upon the work should be of the right sort. That nursing threatened at one time to become a fashionable pursuit was a pure misfortune; and, although much good has come of the entry into the nursing ranks of a superior and educated class of women, certain inconveniences and some positive evils have followed the injudicious exaltation of nurses and nursing, and a consequent encouragement of small feminine vanities which are strangely out of place when allied to a calling concerned with issues so grave. Some men who contrive to make themselves heard of in connection with the art of nursing appear unable to treat the subject seriously. Jocularity, not without its uses upon occasion, can be better employed than in treating matters intimately associated with human suffering, and to many whose business it is to be acquainted with the painful details of a sick-room and the offices demanded of a nurse the facetious attitude so frequently struck by speakers and their light references to 'pretty nurses' are little short of nauseous.

It is quite true that appearances have their importance and should be taken into consideration with other qualifications. We may safely assume that no matron would choose her probationers from applicants with marked physical blemishes, and while absolutely discrediting 'prettiness' as a recommendation she would wisely give preference to those who were personally pleasing. A somewhat amusing illustration of the opposite view was afforded by a lady desirous to introduce a probationer, who, after recounting the several virtues of her nominee, added, as a final and convincing utterance, 'and she is exactly the sort of woman for the work, because she is positively ugly.'

That a woman who contemplates nursing ought to be strong, well made, and of good presence goes without saying, and never ought she to be of sour or forbidding aspect. Certain moral qualities which we bracket together as 'character' are essential to a good nurse, and some clue to their existence should be found in her appearance and bearing. If she impress by her amiability, patience, and natural aptitude, which together constitute grace, she will be attractive in the right sense, and so far as her personality is concerned she will be fittingly equipped for an introduction to her onerous duties.

What all hospitals want is a sufficiency of suitable raw material from which to develop the accomplished nurse. Many of the young women who offer themselves appear to have no serious view of the work they are proposing to take up, and some are wholly ignorant of the essentials. The gravity of the occupation cannot be too much insisted upon. Yet women have been heard to announce their intention to become nurses for 'the fun of the thing,' and the motives of others are made manifest by a refusal to enter a hospital which is without the accompaniment of a medical school. From such applicants may patients and hospitals alike be saved !

In a lengthy letter denouncing the system of 'living in' for nurses, to which the *Times* has given prominence recently, and favourable comment, we read much of the claims of nurses, but little or nothing of their duties either to the patient or to the hospital. If the writer represented any section of nurses it would be one whose services the hospitals could well afford to forego. As a matter of fact, the suggestion that any considerable minority of nurses object to living in appears unwarranted. It cannot be too strongly insisted that nursing is a calling demanding of its followers, if they are to excel, a measure of self-obliteration which to minds dominated by ideas of personal advantage and advancement may appear foolishness, but is essential to the true nurse. This does not mean that the woman who takes up nursing must be necessarily indifferent to matters affecting her own health and well-being. Regard to them is reckoned among her duties. But she must be capable of giving them their rightful, which is a secondary, place. To insist upon the advantages to herself of 'living out,' very questionable at best, partakes too much of the attitude of the domestic servant to whom all things are ancillary to the evenings 'off.' Nursing to those who undertake it with wholesome minds is something more than a means of living, or of earning a wage, or of gratifying a personal ambition, and the best of nurses will more often need a kindly reminder of what is due to herself than an insistence upon the demands of her duty to others. One whose chief craving is for room 'to live her own life,' as the cant of the day has it, and to divest herself as often and as much as may be of her nursing environment, ought to be *ipso facto*

debarred from the occupation. To the real nurse nursing is the chiefest thing in life. It is an art imperious in its exactions and demanding in full measure the absorption of soul essential to the true artist.

History shows that nursing had been undertaken by women, and also by men, in all ages, but nothing can be found to indicate that a course of serious training was regarded until lately as requisite or even desirable. To our later and educated perceptions, when a training extending over three whole years is necessary, it seems little short of ludicrous that less than fifty years ago certain women should have been sent forth, labelled as nurses, after six weeks in hospital, to work without payment among the poor, while as recently as 1870 the so-called 'training' of a nurse at Guy's Hospital was limited to a period of six months.

These facts are more remarkable because in 1852 Miss Florence Nightingale had issued her *Notes on Hospitals*. This publication dealt carefully with the question of nursing and obtained so much and so favourable attention that in 1854, when the Crimean war broke out, Miss Nightingale, as all the world knows, was invited by the Government to organise and superintend the nursing of the sick and wounded. Yet even Florence Nightingale, pronounced and whole-hearted as was her dissatisfaction with things as they were, and comprehensive as was her understanding of the importance and future possibilities of nurse-craft, thought that the training of a nurse could be completed in a year. In this, as in many other fields of acquired knowledge, appetite has grown with feeding. Many who began with little or no thought beyond the performance of their defined daily duty have plied their minds to good purpose; they have mastered the lesson presented to them, and, making the conclusions of others their own starting-point, have pressed forward to become leaders. Thus progress is achieved. Ardent brains illumine new vistas and light the way towards a perfection which, if never reached, is always seductive. Florence Nightingale will remain the acknowledged pioneer in the art of nursing, and although much is done now, and much required, of which she never felt the want, her example still abides with us as a living power.

If ever there was an occupation to which only those who have a distinct call should turn their attention, surely it is nursing. The somewhat grotesque idea attributed to the German Emperor, that in a model community every man would be a soldier and every woman a nurse, would need only an attempt at realisation to be found hopelessly impracticable. Of the two it is more easy to picture cripples and cowards as capable soldiers than a woman destitute of essential inbred qualifications proving anything but an encumbrance when posing as a nurse. A woman is scarcely justified in taking to nursing for the sole purpose of getting a living. Though she succeed in passing

her examinations, and in obtaining her cap and apron, she will start minus the nursing spirit, and every patient who comes under her care will be robbed of something he ought to have. The loss of this something, not quite definable but very real, may not be present to his dulled invalid senses; and if it is so much the worse, but the skilled observer will readily detect the want of it, and to the patient its absence may mean increase of discomfort and not impossibly a lessening of his chances.

To state this fact is to offer one illustration of the complexity of detail which pervades hospital domestic life. In order that no patient shall receive less than the maximum of benefit his case admits of, the conscientious matron or sister is constantly bringing her trained mind to bear upon the nursing problem presented by every case of grave illness passed into the wards. Into her dispositions must enter a consideration not only of the nurse's knowledge but of her aptitude, not only of her skill but of her temperament. The merits of a nurse must be judged also in reference both to the particular case to be nursed and to the particular person who has the misfortune to be the case. He cannot be regarded rightly as merely one unit in the ward. He is a human entity. Patients whose ailments are similar will take their illnesses quite differently, and although it is impossible to study every patient's whims, yet if the purpose of treatment and nursing is to afford him the utmost benefit they are capable of yielding, some heed of his idiosyncrasies must be taken, and this means that the nurse first available must not be necessarily the one allocated. The ability to decide accurately and promptly upon the nurse and nursing methods best adapted to a given patient is among the qualities demanded every day of a matron and sister.

When we are dealing with any considerable aggregation of human beings we find them as various in mental equipment as in features. Uniformity is at most superficial, and subjected to the exacting search medical and nursing experts are capable of applying, nurses will reveal differences as fundamental as atoms of dust under a microscope. If children of the same parents, bred amid the same environs, given the same teaching, and subjected to the same code of discipline, rarely, if ever, fail to be diverse, how much more palpable must this elementary truth become when the subjects are full grown before training begins, and when character and disposition, much more than simple ability, are essential to the finished product. Hence arises one of the hardest problems connected with the training and manipulation of nurses—how to fit them into the general plan and yet make the best use of their individual qualities. The difficulty of getting a number of women to adopt the same mental attitude towards their work and to pull together harmoniously is nowhere more felt than in hospitals. If young women who are wishful to become nurses could undergo a

preliminary preparation before taking a part in hospital life, or if all probationers could start equipped with an equality of common sense, difficulty would vanish. One would suppose that a nurse would be especially convinced of the importance of health, yet efforts to keep the nursing staff physically fit cannot be relaxed, chiefly because the nurses are themselves indifferent. Familiarity with sickness and hourly demonstrations of the ills to which flesh is subject seem in some instances only to breed contempt for precaution, and the reckless neglect of ordinary rules of which some educated and skilful nurses are capable in their own cases, and occasionally beyond them, takes high place among things incomprehensible. Provision for 'off duty' hours may be liberal, but there is always the question whether the time at the disposal of the nurse is judiciously expended. Not infrequently she will be indisposed to take open air exercise. She will plead fatigue, a headache, anything, in order to gain undisturbed possession of her bedroom, and a morning passed in bed is regarded as the ideal opening for the 'day off.' Some nurses will be averse from regularity at meals, and some will make free of the opportunities afforded by the ward kitchen to supplement or to evade the common table. The appetites of nurses are a constant source of solicitude. The matron has not only to win from the authorities the liberty to provide a varied and attractive menu, but she has to reckon with individual tastes and aversions, which may disappoint all her efforts.

Those whose business embraces the sordid details of a complicated domestic organisation and an endeavour to induce general contentment find that a most prolific source of discouragement and failure centres in the commissariat. To cater for any large body of people is a thankless office. Scarcely any two of them will agree upon what is appetising, and nurses have a reputation among those who know them best for being especially difficult to satisfy. 'I never eat fish,' cries one; 'nor I poultry,' says another. 'Beef always makes me ill'; 'I don't mind shoulder of mutton, but I can't touch leg'; 'boiled beef! why it's only fit for navvies!' are echoes of actual utterances. Those who dislike joints lightly cooked usually describe them as 'raw,' while those who 'like the gravy in the meat' will as constantly refuse a dish because 'it is dried up to nothing.' A sirloin, described by an irate sister in a moment of inspiration as a 'cinder,' afterwards supplied a well-appreciated dinner in the servants' refectory, where criticisms levelled at the fastidiousness of nurses find their loudest expression. Sometimes nurses merely 'go without,' and the matron's efforts to discover their objections meet with little success. 'It's nothing, I don't feel hungry.' But whispered grumblings, formal complaints, and an occasional round-robin testify to the spirit of discontent which no liberality seems equal to banishing altogether.

One element of suitability for training ought to be maturity. 'Girls' are altogether out of place in a calling which demands the

essentials of a well-balanced mind. Hospitals might advantageously agree upon an age limit; at present custom varies, and while some institutions make twenty-five years the minimum others will accept as a probationer an applicant not yet twenty. That girls should be allowed to pass from schools to hospitals appears shocking, and it is nothing to the point to say that boys do so. The qualities required of a nurse and the influences she should exercise are something quite apart from anything looked for in a medical student, and they cannot exist where womanhood is lacking.

It may be remarked how valuable would be the addition of a small staff of male nurses to the equipment of every hospital. They would not supplant the work of the women, but they would supplement it by taking over certain definite functions when required in respect of male patients. This is a reform long urged by educated opinion and consistently advocated by the chief organs of the medical press. In some hospitals the clinical clerks and students undertake those duties which, it is not too much to say, should never be allotted to a woman.

Perhaps it comes in some degree of the undue proportion of too youthful members in the nursing body that from time to time the tendency to gossip of even fully trained nurses calls for public comment. The evil is one of magnitude. A nurse who forgets what is due to herself and the patient she serves so far as to prattle about her duties and her performances is unfitted for the calling she has assumed. When she discourses to her younger sisters, her girl friends, and others of her various experiences in hospital and private work; when she weighs volubly the relative merits of doctors; when she raises the curtain drawn over the sick-room and re-enacts its scenes, even to the reproduction of the ravings of delirium; when she tells lightly of grave operations at which she has assisted, and talks glibly of the cases she has 'pulled through,' she shows at once the deficiencies of her character and the exuberance of her vanity. She shows, too, how immeasurable is the distance separating her from the ideal nurse—the 'ministering angel' who, when she really does possess corporeal existence, of her loyalty hides much that concerns her patient in the shadow of her wings. In this connection some nurses might well take example from the medical mind of which they see so much, and imitate a reticence never to be too highly commended, which, in their relations with the outside world, the vast majority of doctors, surgeons, and students make absolute and impenetrable.

It may be accepted as an axiom that no amount of training will transform a probationer wanting in personal suitability into a good nurse. Some requisite qualities are native: they cannot be grafted. Mr. Sydney Holland, who has rendered many services to nurses and would not be suspected of any feeling for them but one of friendship, put this fact plainly some time ago in his *Lectures to Nurses*. 'There

is no magic in training,' he says, writing with a full knowledge of his subject; 'training cannot make a hard woman into a nurse; not three years and not twenty years will make a nurse of a woman unless she has the nursing character in her.' Few people with experience will refuse to echo these words. Inefficiency in a nurse is much more often due to want of character than to a lack of intelligence or a capacity to learn the mere technicalities of her art, and many a nurse who has passed examinations with distinction would be among the last to whom her matron would entrust the care of a patient at a crisis. It is nothing but misleading to suppose that the moral aptitude which counts for so much in nursing will come with practice. The work itself will never raise the characters of those who have adopted it as a pastime, or only as a means of maintenance. On the contrary, the wrong woman, so far from improving, will deteriorate. She will become the 'harder' for her training and the coarser for her familiarity with the details and jargon of the sick-ward. The nurse who approaches to the ideal will perceive that something of what is asked of her lies beyond the furthest limit of the most exacting sense of duty. It will beckon to her from the region where bides that moral sense of the unachieved which forbids us to rest content with mere performance and ever demands of us fresh sacrifices.

This feeling will be at its strongest when the actuating impulse has a religious origin and the tendance of the sick appears as a sacred mission. Careful reflection and observation will as surely convince us of the truth of this as the records of history corroborate it; and although the practical needs of hospitals forbid a demand for anything approaching to a religious test, yet in the positive absence of religious instinct a nurse will never attain to the highest standard, nor will she be able to exercise the subtle and humanising power which, when possessed in full degree, causes her to be regarded in her ward with a feeling akin to reverence. An interesting index to a nurse's personality is supplied by her attitude towards the chaplain. Here she has an opportunity to exhibit that ethical difference between the ministrations of the doctor and the nurse. If the latter makes evident that she has no welcome for the chaplain and no sense of possessing anything in common with him respecting her patient, we may be sure she is not quite conscious of her whole duty and is failing in some of her opportunities. The influence for good or evil possible to sister or nurse is only to be appreciated by those who have shared the hospital life. A hospital is necessarily a place of pain, but it is within the power of a good nurse to make it to many a sufferer a haven of peace. The comfort and well-being of the patients of a ward depend absolutely upon the character and disposition of the nurses, and especially of the head nurse or sister who is its resident mistress. Each ward is a household in itself, and a matron will be more concerned to possess trustworthy sisters than to attempt an unremitting

supervision of details, quite impossible in a large hospital. The diversity presented by different wards in the same hospital is remarkable. The qualifications of the sister are faithfully reflected in her surroundings, and a rapid survey will enable the educated eye and ear to find signs which unmistakably testify to efficiency or the reverse. Efficiency in a nurse means much more than is customarily associated with the term. It is not achieved by a mechanical discharge, however precise, of the technical duties of nursing, nor by keeping the ward in spotless condition and supplied with flowers and other evidences of good taste. These outer manifestations are valuable, but they are also merely consequential. The burnishing of a lamp will not make it yield light. If it is to illuminate, the living flame must be there; and the flame's suffusiveness suggests the enlightening yet intangible presence of certain moral elements which if too subtle to be defined are real enough to be felt. When the influences of high personal character are absent from a ward its atmosphere ceases to be wholesome; when they are present, of course in combination with the other requisites, their effect is almost magical. There is nothing that more certainly elevates the work of nursing than the evidence that beyond the skill of the trained nurse lie the sympathy, the tenderness, and the self-sacrifice of the true and earnest woman. Where the moral fibre is strongest training will give the best results. Some women never acquire the quick sense which enables them to detect instantly a want of material order and cleanliness, palpable though it may be to the more discerning. Similarly, there are others who are as incapable of realising the absence of the more elusive elements of sweetness and refinement as of appreciating their beauty and value when present. The discipline of a ward ruled by the very gentlest of sisters who ever displays moral dignity is transcendently more thorough and effective than that maintained by the scold whose severity has no grace in it. The former always generates a sense of confidence and comfort, which appeals to all brought within its scope, and so helps to marshal them in its defence. Thus it is that a temporary residence in a well-conducted ward often proves a great moral gain to the patients, who learn for the first time perhaps the pleasant consequences following upon domestic quietude and regularity. On the other hand, the influence of the cleverest nurse who displays no deep solicitude and never gains the confidence or affection of her patients may be baneful; while if she shows no respect for suffering, and seeks to substitute mere animal cheeriness for the sympathy often best expressed by reticence, she is likely to become loud and garrulous, and to invite a fatal familiarity.

Nurses habitually careless respecting the subjects upon which they converse with patients, apt to jest with them, to bandy retorts, or who make clear the fact that they do not give their work the first place in their lives, cannot look to keep their proper position or to

impose upon those in their charge the restraint never more necessary than in a sick-ward. Some nurses honestly believe that by an assumption of gay and easy manners they help to cheer the sufferers, and by making hospital life 'bright' conduce to their welfare. They will talk of their love affairs, of the pleasures of their 'evenings off'; they will sing snatches of light songs, and they will contrive to convey effectually to the minds of the patients the conviction that nursing is to them nothing more than a trade. Such women ought never to have taken to nursing, and the authorities unfortunate enough to depend upon them can scarcely hope to prevent a rapid deterioration of ward life.

No nurse can safely smother the patient's belief that her offices are performed with an elevation and detachment of mind which imparts to them a measure of sanctity. She may be thoroughly human, but her humanity must stop short of comradeship, and though she may be rightly regarded as a friend it must always be as a friend occupying a somewhat higher plane—one to be looked up to and whose friendship never deteriorates to favouritism. Patients who are not disposed to this view at the outset of the hospital interlude in their lives may be speedily brought to it if the circumstances are favourable. Some, usually women and often of the poorest type, will begin by regarding the nurse as a housemaid, and, pleased with the novelty of the position as they understand it, will become exacting and dictatorial. A nurse possessed of character will easily apply the correction without an approach to resentment, and by judicious handling may convert patients of this sort into silent worshippers. If all her efforts in this direction fail, at least she will be conscious of duty discharged under unpropitious conditions, and at no time must she make obvious her disappointment. A good nurse will exhibit the same bearing alike to the grateful and the ungrateful. So, too, she will recognise the obligations attaching to her calling even when she is on leave. Every uniform imposes upon the individual wearer a duty to the whole body entitled to wear it, and so long as a nurse's clothing displays her occupation she cannot assert even the limited independence of women in general. Among the weaker examples of their craft it sometimes happens that the uniform which should provide their protection helps to their undoing. The disposition, not wholly unwarranted, to regard nurses as prone to light and unbecoming conduct is due to the fact that some who wear the nurse's dress are wholly wanting in the nursing character, and the reputation of nurses generally suffers from the lapses of a minority. Vanity and love of attracting attention appear to be actuating causes, and the culprits do not seem able to realise that very few people witness without aversion the spectacle of uniformed nurses behaving unwomanly. But in justice it must be remembered that many women without a particle of claim to the title of nurse masquerade in nurse's garb,

sometimes of their own will, because they think it becoming; sometimes because a certain class of employers require their maids to be thus dressed when out in charge of their children and perambulators.

When we pass from the consideration of the personal qualities of the sister or nurse, which affect more particularly her relations with the patients, and examine the status she officially occupies in the hospital community, we find that her position loses none of its importance. It is fraught with opportunities. The almost invariable view of the house physicians and house surgeons is that the nurses are there to work under their orders and direction, and are charged with few duties beyond those appertaining to medical necessities. Thus there is no room for any authority independent of their own, and with a weak matron in office it is not impossible that this view may be accepted. In that case the chief safeguards of the philanthropic side of hospital work are greatly weakened. The vanity of some nurses may be tickled by the belief that they move within the purview of the profession, and are allied with it to an extent enabling them to put off the lay character, which they regard as a disability; but the more sensible majority are capable of seeing that implicit obedience to medical orders in respect of treatment is compatible with an attitude towards the patients and the hospital not wholly suggestive of the doctor, and the performance of many duties altogether outside his ken, which to neglect is to surrender some of the highest privileges of nursing.

If the moral sanitation of hospitals is to be preserved, there are overwhelming reasons why the supremacy of the matron in respect of the nursing staff and her independence of the house physician should be carefully upheld. The fact that the matron is a permanent officer of mature age, whose fitness is determined not only by considerations of technical training but of personal character, while the residents are possessed of little equipment beyond that of students, and are chosen more particularly for their achievements in the school, is in itself sufficient to enforce this view. Moreover, as their association with the hospital has no element of permanency, the holders of resident offices never advance in age or knowledge of the world, and no expectation can be entertained of the qualities which come naturally to the capable by the passage of time.

It is a misfortune for hospitals that with the developments of recent years somewhat similar difficulties have arisen in respect of the nurses' term of service. At one time it was nothing unusual for sisters and nurses to spend many years in the same hospital, and to regard it as a home. Naturally their efficiency grew with their service, and while they performed their duties with devotion their relations with the hospital were those of affection. Now few nurses are ready to identify themselves with the institution in which they work. They not uncommonly hold themselves aloof from it, and working in a

spirit of complete indifference, are ever intent upon change. A sister or a nurse whose training is completed, if she enters upon a situation in the wards, will often contemplate remaining one or two years at most. She flits from hospital to hospital, and admits frankly that her object is to gather what varied experience she can, and as quickly as possible afterwards to quit hospital life. It comes about, therefore, that hospitals depend in an increasing degree upon the services of probationers in various degrees of rawness, who, as they become useful and reliable, give place to other novices. Although one undeniable duty of hospitals is to train nurses and to send them forth, not the less the proportion of untrained women in the wards should be kept strictly within bounds. At present more is very often entrusted to them than is desirable. An ideal hospital, from the point of view of the patients' welfare, would employ none but experienced and seasoned nurses, and if hospital finance were not the almost hopeless thing it is, a first step towards domestic reform would be the payment of better, and consequently more enticing and satisfying, wages to the nursing staff.

There are many duties to be learned by a probationer, which ought to be preliminary to her entry upon the actual nursing, and if the novice's attention were confined to these during her first months of residence she would become better grounded than she usually is. For want of this initial training many nurses not only never acquire the quick, instinctive perception which instantly fastens upon defects, but they are unable to appreciate the need for it. Tidiness, one would think, should come naturally to a woman who aspires to be a nurse; yet so superficial in some is the sense of its importance that, though their wards may be well kept, they are very slatterns in their own rooms. A trained eye is microscopic, and small things are not overlooked. A smeared window-pane, a littered fireplace, a picture hung awry, blinds unevenly drawn, cupboard or locker doors left open, any one of a multitude of little matters of this kind, which are the concern of every good housewife, cannot be witnessed without suggesting disorder in a ward possibly in all other respects well kept. Yet how great is the difficulty of impressing this fact upon a nurse hardened in carelessness! Not many years ago a nurse's training embraced many duties which now devolve upon 'ward-maids,' and whatever may be said in favour of relieving nursing of menial labour, nurses are now less thorough and the appearance of the wards has suffered by the change. Probationers who under the old conditions would have felt a pride in burnishing the pots and pans of the ward kitchen now resent a suggestion that they should make use of a hearth-broom or duster, return an escaped cipher to the grate, or stop to pick up a piece of dropped paper.

Then, again, how few sisters and nurses appear to have mastered the rudiments of knowledge in respect of warming and ventilation!

Often the appliances are systematically neglected or misused. Rarely is there a display of the intelligence which enables the most to be made of them. The orthodox hospital ward possesses a row of windows on either side, and a suggestion that when a keen east wind is blowing, and temperature is low, the inlet of air should be from the west or south, or that upon a sweltering day in summer the windows on the shady side should be open, while upon the sunny side windows and blinds should be kept closed, is usually received with astonishment and question. Yet attention to these details materially assists towards the maintenance of the equable temperature which is the aim of every well-trained nurse.

The number of youthful and untrained nurses employed by hospitals furnishes an additional and cogent reason for the maintenance of the matron's authority, unhindered by any direct interference or overruling by the medical officers. No doubt care must be taken to preserve nurses from the injustice which sometimes comes of the exercise of sole power. A right of way to some tribunal of appeal ought always to exist, and its unrestricted use can be upheld by flawless academical reasoning. Nevertheless the way should run through the matron's office.

When a sister or nurse fails in interest for the hospital, and exhibits indifference to everything which, with limited comprehension, she regards as lying outside her nursing duties, the institution loses the valuable assistance towards economy which nurses in charge of wards are especially able to render. In her requisitions she affects the doctor's customary disregard of ways and means, and as naturally resents any attempt to inquire into and control the consumption of the goods entrusted to her keeping and disposal. Sometimes she is merely indifferent: in that case her training is open to criticism, and even in the best schools of training it is astonishing how little is taught of the need of frugality, and of that careful and microscopic attention to the little details of ward expenditure which none but sisters and nurses can give effectively.

Bills may be vastly swollen by systematic neglect of very small matters. To contemplate extravagance superficially is to have little appreciation of its bulk in the cube. One sister will use double the quantity of coals which suffices for another in charge of a ward precisely similar. And it is more than likely that the temperature records of the last-named will prove the more satisfactory. In the one case the sister makes it her business to see that the warming of the ward is properly controlled, and holds some one subordinate responsible; in the other she is simply heedless, and probationers, ward-maids, and even patients are all free of the coal-box. So, too, in regard to lighting, linen, surgical dressings, breakages, and the manifold items of hospital expenditure there may be diversity between different wards, ranging from scrupulous economy to reckless extravagance.

What makes waste in small things so disastrous is that in respect of many items a daily automatic multiplication ensues, portentous enough to produce a very serious effect upon the well-being and stability of the institution. Sisters and nurses who rightly realise their whole duty to the hospital they serve will not think it derogatory to give a high place to a never-ceasing solicitude for the prevention of waste. Unhappily the attitude of some of those to whom nurses look for guidance is not one which the hospitals, whether as trainers or employers, can regard with whole-hearted satisfaction. Efforts to raise the status of nurses and to afford them protection from the competition of trespassers upon the field of private nursing, whether regarded from the standpoint of the nurse or the patient, are nothing but praiseworthy, but the aims of those who seek to create a 'profession' of nursing rigidly fenced off from all lay influence and control cannot be anything but antagonistic to the established principle of lay government in hospitals. Nurses in whom the 'professional' spirit is at full strength are usually scornful of such small matters as economy, and just as unwilling to condescend to a lay level of thought in respect of ward management as the most self-assertive of the clinical clerks whom they consciously or unconsciously imitate.

Evidence has been forthcoming recently of a revolt from the earlier belief that doctors ought to have a determining voice in the councils of the nurses, but none is offered of a conviction that it would be best nurses should cease to pose before the laity as satellites of the profession of medicine. In hospitals—and we are not now discussing what happens outside them—the doctors are always at hand, and may be trusted to safeguard their own position, but so much that is important to the institution and the patients lies beyond the medical scope of vision and interest that no government can be reckoned efficient which is not able to make its authority felt and respected by the nurses from the point where the doctors' rightful prerogative ends.

B. BURFORD RAWLINGS.

A DUPE OF DESTINY

ABOUT the middle of the eighteenth century there was living in Scotland a small stonemason of the name of Robert Paterson, who, through the genius of Sir Walter Scott, is still known to posterity by his local appellation of Old Mortality. A fierce old Presbyterian, his religious enthusiasm outweighed every earthly consideration, and his wife with her five children often found herself left penniless while her husband pursued the promptings of his fanaticism. She therefore started a small school to support her family while Robert Paterson followed a vocation more in harmony with his temperament. He rode from kirkyard to kirkyard through the lowlands of Scotland gratuitously erecting tombstones over the graves of the Covenanters, or laboriously deepening with his chisel the names of the martyrs upon the stones already erected. At last there were few churchyards in Ayrshire, Galloway, or Dumfriesshire where the work of his tool could not be seen, easily distinguished from the designs of any other artist by the primitive rudeness of the emblems of death and of the inscriptions which adorned the memorials of his own creation.

For forty years Old Mortality thus laboured without fee or reward, till one day in deep snow he was found dead by the roadside, with his old pony standing beside him and his self-imposed task ended for ever. It is on record that the cost of his interment, including '*Bread and Chise at the Founnal, also 1 pint of Rume and 1 pint of Whiskie,*' amounted to the modest sum of 2*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, and as he was buried in a grave which could not afterwards be traced, he who had spent the best years of his life erecting tombstones over many less worthy than himself sleeps with no token to mark his last resting-place.

Little can Old Mortality, as poor and hungry he bent over his self-imposed task, have dreamed that in the future his grandson would be one of the richest men in another hemisphere, the father of a queen,¹ sister by marriage to the conqueror of Europe, and the father-in-law of a vicereine, sister by marriage to the vanquisher of that conqueror.² No doubt with his mind bent sternly on the greater issues of Eternity, Old Mortality would have scoffed at such

¹ See footnote on the last page of this article.

² Mary Eaton, when the widow of Robert, son of William Patterson, married the Marquis Wallasey, brother of the Duke of Wellington.

earthly considerations; yet imagination cannot but dwell curiously on the contrast afforded by that humble figure of the old fanatic and the world-wide importance of his immediate descendants and those with whom his descendants were to be allied.

The youngest son of Old Mortality, John Paterson, became an impecunious farmer in Ireland. The father of a large family, in the year 1766 he sent one of his sons, William Paterson, then a boy of fourteen, out to Philadelphia to earn his living as circumstances might dictate. The lad, landing destitute and homeless in a new world, was better equipped for the struggle before him than the most sanguine could have anticipated. By dint of industry, enterprise, and a shrewd business capacity, his advancement was as rapid as it was surprising. He was, ere long, respected by, and the friend of, all the prominent Americans of his day; he cemented his good fortune by marriage with a lady of irreproachable social position, and finally he became one of the foremost merchant princes of his adopted country, as well as one of the largest estate owners in Maryland.

On the 6th of February 1785, just nineteen years after William Paterson (or Patterson as his name is now usually spelt) had landed as a little penniless waif in a new world, there was born to him the daughter who by a strange freak of fate was destined to be the wife of a king and the sister-in-law of an emperor, who was to disturb the peace of the greatest conqueror of modern times, to produce a rupture between a pope and a monarch, and to become a brilliant leader at foreign courts, where her beauty, her wit and her romantic history were to make her conspicuous among the most remarkable women of the century.

Elizabeth Patterson, the great-granddaughter of Old Mortality, doubtless inherited something of the uncompromising inflexibility of her Presbyterian forefathers. Her character early showed an element of fatalism which the circumstances of her life were to accentuate. From her childhood her brain was clear, keen and cool, her temperament ambitious, determined and passionless. Qualities such as these make for mastery, and when united to a beauty so rare as that with which she was endowed, are calculated to sway the destinies of mankind. Yet when she made her *début* in Baltimore at the age of eighteen, a simple girl who had never yet left her home, no one predicted for her a fate more remarkable than that which immediately befell her, when she was accepted as the reigning belle of Baltimore. 'She possessed,' we are told, 'a pure Grecian contour, her head was exquisitely formed, her forehead fair and shapely, her eyes large and dark, with an expression of tenderness which did not belong to her character, and the delicate loveliness of her mouth and chin, the soft bloom of her complexion, together with her beautifully rounded shoulders and tapering arms combined to form the loveliest of women.'

But tragedy followed hard upon the footsteps of the beautiful

girl. The very year of her *début* there came to America Jerome Bonaparte, a minor, the youngest brother of the First Consul of France. Honours of every kind were lavished upon so important a visitor, he was made the lion of society, and at the Fall races he was introduced to Miss Patterson, the belle of Baltimore, the rich merchant's lovely daughter.

Legend clings lovingly about this first meeting between Jerome and his future wife. One story runs that Elizabeth became entangled in a gold chain which formed part of the magnificent attire of Lieutenant Bonaparte; and while he endeavoured to release her, she recalled, with a sense of inevitability, a strange prophecy made to her as a child that one day she would be a great lady in France. Another story relates that Jerome had been forewarned that 'to see Elizabeth Patterson was to marry her,' and vowing that nothing would ever induce him to marry an American, he had facetiously nicknamed her '*ma belle femme*' before he saw her. One thing, however, is certain—Elizabeth has left on record how she was clad on that memorable day of her life. She wore a chamois-coloured gown, of very scanty dimensions, a lace neckerchief and an enormous hat covered with pink gauze and ostrich plumes. From under this bewildering headgear her flawless face looked out in its brilliant witchery and made havoc with the heart of the susceptible young Frenchman. Black-haired and dark-eyed, small, graceful, spare, and with delicate hands like a woman, Jerome Bonaparte had sufficient good looks to win his way readily with the opposite sex; fuel was therefore but added to the flame now kindled from the recognition that while other women treated him with the adulation to which he was accustomed, this haughty young beauty viewed him with an indifference which she took no pains to conceal. Too late Jerome realised that to see her was to admire, to admire was to love. He renounced France, Napoleon, riches, glory, nay even the far from remote chance of regal splendour, if only he might become the husband of the beautiful American. And to Elizabeth herself the prospect suddenly held out to her was sufficiently dazzling. A fate for which her rare gifts befitted her fired her imagination. Her indifference was transformed to enthusiasm. It is said that in vain her father, dictated by motives of prudence, pointed out the probability of intervention on the part of Napoleon, and sought to end an infatuation of which he feared the consequences. The fidelity of the lovers survived an enforced separation, and Elizabeth sealed her fate by the declaration that she would rather be the wife of Jerome Bonaparte for an hour than that of any other man living for a lifetime.

Every detail was forthwith planned to ensure the validity of the union. The religious ceremony was to be performed by the Bishop of Baltimore, the Primate of the Catholic Church in the United States, and the civil contract was drawn up with every precaution against its future rejection, Mr. Patterson further pinning his faith to the fact

that, although Jerome might be making a union which would not be considered binding in France, the Catholic Church refuses to annul marriages for irregularities which can be rectified.

At last, on Christmas Eve, 1803, just two-and-a-half years after Old Mortality had been laid to rest in his nameless, snow-clad grave in far-away Scotland, the celebrated wedding of his descendant took place. The thoughts of all Baltimore centred on the event. For the momentous occasion the bridegroom, at least, presented an appearance which would seem strange to modern eyes. The wedding costume of Jerome, still preserved by the Baltimore Bonapartes, was a purple satin coat ornamented with lace and richly embroidered, the tails of which, lined with white satin, came down to the heels, after the fashion of the Directory. Short satin breeches, silk stockings, shoes with diamond buckles, and powdered hair completed his attire, which was more ample than that of his bride, who seems to have had a marked aversion to any superfluity of raiment. Her costume, religiously preserved by her till the day of her death, presented an admixture of daring and simplicity which was perhaps characteristic. Although the possessor of a magnificent trousseau, she chose for the ceremony a dress of fine white muslin, which she had often worn before, and which, despite rich embroidery and costly lace, remained calculated to reveal as well as to enhance the natural grace of her form, since it was as scanty in quantity as it was flimsy in quality. 'All the clothes worn by her might have been put in my pocket,' related an astonished guest; 'her dress was of muslin of extremely fine texture. Beneath her dress she wore but one single garment.'

On every hand Elizabeth received congratulations on her brilliant fortune; and the weeks which followed were perhaps the happiest of her life. The great Consul, the Sphinx of Europe, was silent, and hopes of his ultimate reconciliation to the match must have flattered the thoughts of the young couple. The rest of the Bonaparte family expressed to the bride's brother their unqualified approval of it; and Lucien preached defiance. 'The Consul,' he said, 'is to be considered as isolated from the family. All his ideas and actions are dictated by a policy with which we have nothing to do. We still remain plain citizens, and as such we feel highly gratified with the connection. Our present earnest wish is that Jerome may remain where he now is and become a citizen of the United States.'

To a couple less ambitious than Jerome and his bride such advice might have been palatable, but love and obscurity suited as ill with the views of Elizabeth as with those of her husband. And the rapid march of events served to intensify this attitude. On the 18th of May 1804 Napoleon proclaimed himself Emperor of the French, and on the 2nd of December following, in the midst of one of the most magnificent scenes ever witnessed, he and Josephine were crowned at Notre Dame, while Lucien and Jerome, the two brothers who had not

bowed to his supreme will, found themselves consigned to the obscurity they had courted, and excluded ignominiously from the Imperial dynasty.

But before that date Napoleon had spoken and had left no doubt respecting his attitude towards his brother's marriage. In March 1804, the American Ambassador, having endeavoured to bring about a favourable reception of the news, was forced to report his failure. The First Consul was incensed against his brother, inexorable in his denial of the legality of the union. Moreover he held that Jerome had been guilty of a heinous offence, and that nothing but the most abject submission on the part of the offender could efface his error. Otherwise let Jerome look to himself.

'Sole fabricator of my destiny,' Napoleon had announced hotly, 'I owe nothing to my brothers. If Jerome does nothing for me, I will see to it that I do nothing for him.' Later, Napoleon issued his orders in 'the most positive manner' that no money was to be sent to the citizen Jerome, that he was to return to his duty with the first French frigate sailing for France, and that 'the young person with whom he had connected himself,' and who was not his wife, should never be allowed to set foot on French territory.

News travelled slowly in those days, and the decision of Napoleon reached Jerome simultaneously with the news of the great event of the 18th of May, so that in the same moment Jerome knew himself to be the brother of an emperor and commanded to renounce the woman he loved.

This final realisation of their worst fears must have come like a thunderbolt into the midst of the gay social life of the young couple. Fêted, admired, intoxicated with the cup of happiness but newly placed within her grasp, the beautiful Elizabeth saw it about to be dashed from her lips by the inflexible will of the supreme egoist of Europe. Yet with wealth, power, and regal splendour in the balance, the stake was too stupendous to be lightly renounced. No doubt Elizabeth read aright a character which, as even her contemporaries recognised, held much that was curiously akin to her own, and thus knew that with Napoleon but one consideration might carry weight. To him a woman's heart and a woman's happiness, nay, honour and morality itself, were as mere bubbles with which to oppose his iron will. To him the members of her sex were at best mere tools to further his unscrupulous ambition, to furnish, through their sons, eternal food for cannon, or to cement a victory by an alliance with a conquered foe. Yet one weapon was hers to ply. If Josephine, the Creole, could enact the part of an empress, was not she, Elizabeth Bonaparte, better equipped for the part of a queen? She would meet Napoleon on his own ground. He had but to see her to know her fitted to further his schemes. With her youthful witchery, her wit as keen as a blade, her indisputable charm before which all

succumbed, had not nature fashioned her for the wife of a ruler of men? Was she not born to sway a Court and to grace a throne?

And if Napoleon had seen her, how would the history of Europe have been affected? Speculation lingers over the chance, for there is little doubt that Elizabeth, the wife of the weak and fickle Jerome, was in much the true complement of his imperious brother, and, by right of her ambition, her courage and her dauntless will was more in harmony with the temperament of Napoleon than was the ill-controlled Josephine or the insipid Marie-Louise. 'Elizabeth,' it was remarked, 'by her wit, beauty, and ambition would have helped Napoleon to rise, while her prudence, common sense, and practical wisdom would have taught him when to stop in his dazzling career.' But Elizabeth missed her destiny; she and the conqueror of Europe never met, though even from afar her pride and strength of character never failed to exercise a fascination over the man who had constituted himself her most implacable foe.

From the presence of British warships and from one cause or another, the final departure of the young couple for France was delayed until 1805, when, after a prosperous voyage, they reached Lisbon on the 2nd of April. There, for the first time, Elizabeth felt the power of her enemy. She was not allowed to land, and an ambassador from Napoleon coming on board, demanded to know what he could do for *Miss Patterson*. 'Tell your master,' she replied proudly, 'that *Madame Bonaparte* is ambitious, and demands her rights as a member of the Imperial family'; an answer which pleased and attracted Napoleon without shaking his determination.

It was obvious that under such conditions Jerome must face his brother alone. At Lisbon, therefore, the young couple bade each other what they believed to be a brief farewell, little dreaming that only once again were they ever to meet, and then under circumstances which, in the early days of their love, either would have repudiated as impossible.

Elizabeth thus left a stranger in a foreign land, surrounded by enemies, vainly sought refuge in some friendly country. She soon found that all the ports of continental Europe were closed against her by order of Napoleon, and began to fear, with good reason, that her life would be attempted. It was whispered that those who interfered with the plans of the great Napoleon had been known to quit this world with a haste which could not always be accounted for by natural causes. Elizabeth, therefore, in trepidation, sailed for England, where she arrived at Dover on the 19th of May 1805, and sought permission to land, a request which was at once granted. So great was the excitement to see her that the Prime Minister, Pitt, had to send a military escort to keep off the immense crowds which had assembled to watch her disembark. The *Times* of that date thus comments upon the event:—

The beautiful wife of Jerome Bonaparte, after being refused admittance into every port in Europe where the French influence degrades and dishonours humanity, has landed at Dover, under the protection of a great and generous people. This interesting lady, who has been the victim of imposture and ambition, will here receive all the rights of hospitality which, whatever may be the conduct of *America*, *Great Britain* will never forget, nor omit to exercise towards her with a parental hand. The contemptible Jerome was, for form's sake, made a prisoner at Lisbon. His treachery towards this lovely Unfortunate will procure him an early pardon, and a Highness-ship, from the Imperial swindler, his brother.

It is interesting to find that Napoleon's comment on the situation has also survived. 'Miss Patterson,' he wrote to Jerome, 'has been in London and caused great excitement among the English. *This has only increased her guilt*!' The logic of thus condemning a course which he had himself rendered inevitable is peculiarly characteristic. For three months Elizabeth perforce remained in England, while the English papers carefully chronicled all her doings with a minuteness and a sympathy which she found, or pretended to find, irksome. On the 7th of June her son was born at Camberwell, and was named Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte. Later, that same year, mother and child returned to America.

For a time, it is said, Jerome tried as earnestly, as he failed ignominiously, to move the determination of Napoleon. 'Your marriage is null. I will never acknowledge it,' was Napoleon's answer to his representations; and, after dictating in peremptory terms to Madame Mère that she was to revoke her approval of Jerome's 'intrigue with Miss Patterson,' Napoleon added brutally: 'Speak to his sisters that they may write to him also, for when I have pronounced his sentence I shall be inflexible, and his life will be blasted for ever.' The Emperor next ordered Pope Pius the Seventh to publish a Bull annulling the marriage, but here, for the first time, the autocrat found his power defied. The Pope refused, and on this, as on one or two subsequent occasions, held his ground with an obstinacy which rivalled Napoleon's own. A story runs that one day, tired out with the vain endeavour to force the Pontiff to consent to measures which his conscience disapproved, Napoleon said to one of his Ministers: 'Why do you not try what ill-treatment can do, short of torture? I authorise you to employ every means.' 'Mais, Sire,' was the humorous reply, 'que voulez-vous que l'on fasse d'un homme qui laisse geler l'eau dans son bénitier sans se plaindre de n'avoir pas du feu dans sa chambre?' The wrath of Napoleon, however, found expression when he imprisoned the indomitable Pontiff in the Château of Fontainebleau, a place where, by a curious irony of fate, he himself was subsequently to sign the abdication of his own throne.

Meanwhile, the prediction of the *Times* with regard to Jerome's conduct and its reward found ample fulfilment. For a few weeks, indeed, Jerome persisted in his refusal to renounce his beautiful wife:

and from April, when he left her at Lisbon, to the following October, he continued, in passionate letters to her, to renew his protestations of eternal fidelity. But it is doubtful if these ever deceived the clear brain of the woman he had left for ever. Jerome, susceptible by temperament and of lax morality, was not of a nature long to resist the pressure brought to bear upon him. His resolution melted before the combined promises and threats of Napoleon, and he proved as wax in the hands of his dictatorial brother. He consented to a divorce, and as a reward he was created a prince of the empire, an admiral of the French navy, and finally King of Westphalia; while, on the 12th of August 1807, within four years of his first marriage, he espoused the Princess Frederica Catharina, daughter of the King of Wurtemberg.

What must have been the thoughts of the woman he had abandoned as she learnt the accounts of that regal wedding, and reflected on the royal pomp and the brilliant throne which she alone had a right to share? She saw herself left a mere injured heroine of romance, an object of curiosity and pity to her fellow-townsfolk, condemned to a life of obscurity such as her nature abhorred, while a rival enjoyed the splendid fate which, by civil and religious law, should have been hers. For hours, it is said, she would stand before the glass gazing at the wonderful loveliness which had won for her a crown that she might never wear. The bright and joyous girl whose beauty had captivated the heart of the fickle Jerome was changed to a cold cynical woman, whose unsatisfied ambition was henceforth to entail upon her a life of intolerable *ennui*, and whose sarcasm was admired and feared. 'She charms by her eyes and slays by her tongue,' was said of her, and Jerome himself was to experience the biting cynicism of the wife whose love he had changed to gall. For her enemy Napoleon, indeed, Elizabeth retained the respect which one strong nature can feel for another: 'The Emperor,' she wrote in 1849, 'hurled me back on what I hated most on earth—my Baltimore obscurity. Even that shock could not destroy the admiration I felt for his genius and glory.' But for the man who had won her love and then cast it aside she felt only the most profound contempt, which, however, she had the dignity to cherish in silence. Twice only is she known to have given public expression to it. When, later in life, Jerome offered her the title of Princess of Smalkalden, with 200,000 francs a year, she declined the offer and accepted instead a yearly pension of 60,000 francs from Napoleon. Jerome expressed his indignation at such conduct. 'I prefer,' she explained, 'to be sheltered under the wings of an eagle than to be suspended from the bill of a goose.' When Jerome offered her a residence in Westphalia, she answered that 'It is indeed a large kingdom, but not large enough to hold *two Queens*.' Napoleon, it is said, was so pleased with the spirit of this answer that he caused to be conveyed to her his willingness to do for her whatever did not

interfere with his own schemes. 'Tell him,' she said for the second time in her life, 'I am ambitious. I desire to be a Duchess.' But the promise to comply with this request, though given, was never fulfilled.

And the Baltimore obscurity which she loathed ate into her very soul. The smart of her position may be traced in her correspondence; and one cannot but remark that it is not the loss of the lover of her youth and the husband of her choice which she deplores, her plaints are all directed against the brilliant fate which she has missed, the unsatisfied ambition of which she is the prey.

All my desires must be disappointed [she wrote bitterly to Lady Morgan], and I am condemned to vegetate for ever in a country where I am not happy. You have a great deal of imagination, but it can give you no idea of the mode of existence inflicted upon us. . . . Commerce, although it may fill the purse, clogs the brain. I am condemned to solitude.

Again and again she complains of the 'long weary unintellectual years inflicted on me in this my dull native country to which I have never owed advantages, pleasures or happiness. . . . Society, conversation, friendship belong to older countries and are not yet cultivated in any part of the United States which I have visited. . . .' And on another occasion she writes to her father :

It was impossible to bend my tastes and my ambition to the obscure destiny of a Baltimore housekeeper, and it was absurd to attempt it after I had married the brother of an Emperor. I often tried to reason myself into the courage necessary to commit suicide when I contemplated a long life to be passed in a trading town where everything was so disgusting to my tastes and where everything so contradicted my wishes. I never could have degraded myself by marriage with people who, after I had married a Prince, became my inferiors.

She congratulated herself that, at least, those by whom she was surrounded recognised the gulf which intervened socially and intellectually between herself and them, and did not attempt to bridge it.

The people, I believe, thought with me that neither nature nor circumstances fitted me for residing in Baltimore. At least, I judge so from the profound respect and homage they have ever shown me, and I believe they perfectly agreed with me that both my son and myself would be in our proper sphere in Europe. I would rather have died than marry anyone in Baltimore.

Only in Europe did Elisabeth find the panacea for much which she had suffered. Between the years 1815 and 1834 she visited the Continent, and as Bonstetten said of her : '*Si elle n'est pas Reine de Westphalie, elle est au moins reine des cœurs.*' In her wanderings through Europe, the deserted wife of Jerome was a person apart, a queen uncrowned—incognito, but still a queen. Her position was unique; she upheld it by reason of her beauty and her charm. Her tragic history silenced enmity, her tact and grace gained devotees, her exquisite dress and jewels roused universal admiration, and her reputation remained untarnished. At every Court which she graced by

her presence she was a welcome and an honoured guest ; though she disclaimed any pretensions to being a *femme d'esprit*, she was the friend of the celebrated men and women of her century ; despite the fact that her tongue could sting, her *savoir faire* counteracted the wounds made by a too ready wit. She always refrained from criticising the actions of her fellow-creatures. 'If I saw a woman enter a room on her head, or in the costume of Venus de Medici,' she said once, 'I should never remark upon it, being certain that she must have some excellent reason for conduct so eccentric.' Yet her involuntary comments upon her contemporaries are none the less striking and betray shrewd powers of observation. On being introduced to Miss Edgeworth, for instance, there is unconscious humour in her criticism : 'She has a great deal of good sense, which is what I particularly object to in my companions, unless accompanied by genius.' Could a few words better sum up the impression produced upon her by a character so out of harmony with her own ?

But invariably her remarks upon men and things are apt, while occasionally her sallies acquired a European celebrity. A retort which she made to Mr. Dundas was repeated with zest throughout the Continent. At a large dinner-party he was, to his annoyance, deputed to take down Madame Bonaparte, and having already suffered from her sarcasm, he determined now to be even with her. After the soup he turned to her with a malicious smile and asked her whether she had read Captain Basil Hall's book on America ? Madame Bonaparte replied in the affirmative.

'Well, Madame,' said Mr. Dundas triumphantly, 'did you notice that Captain Hall pronounced all Americans vulgarians ?'

'Yes,' answered Madame Bonaparte quietly, 'and I am not surprised at that. Were the Americans the descendants of the Indians or of the Esquimaux I should be *astonished*, but being the direct descendants of the English it is inevitable they should be vulgarians.'

Yet however brilliant her career, through it all runs the intolerable sadness of the woman who had missed her destiny. Disappointment and disillusion taint all her utterances. Bereft of the love which had deluded her girlish fancy, of the power which had appealed to her ambition, of the crown to which she was legally entitled, the dazzling fate which should have been hers served eternally to mock her imagination.

I have been in such a state of melancholy [she wrote at one time] I have wished myself dead a thousand times. All my philosophy, all my courage are insufficient to support the inexpressible *ennui* of existence, and in those moments of wretchedness I have no human being to whom I can complain. What do you think of a person advising me to turn Methodist, the other day, when I expressed just the hundredth part of the misery I felt ? I find no one can comprehend my feelings.

I perceive [she said on another occasion] content was no end of our being. . . . I wonder that people of genius marry. . . . Marrying is almost a crime in my

eyes, because I am persuaded that the highest degree of virtue is to abstain from augmenting the number of unhappy beings. If people reflected they would never marry.

And at the age of forty-seven she wrote :

I am dying with *ennui*, and do not know in what way a person of my age can be amused. I am tired of reading and of all ways of killing time. I doze away existence. I am too old to coquet, and without this stimulant I die with *ennui*. I am tired of life, and tired of having lived.

And still from afar she watched the career of Jerome ; his regal entry into his kingdom, clad in green and gold, with a royal bride beside him ; the magnificent extravagance of his parvenu Court ; the extortions under which his subjects groaned ; the infidelities which his wife ignored ; the idle luxury in which he passed his days ; the inordinate love of pomp and display by which he made himself ridiculous. With bitter satisfaction she must have seen how Napoleon had defeated his own aims, how for the shadowy gain of a royal alliance he had separated Jerome from the love which alone might have worked his salvation, and might have given him that stability of character for lack of which his days were void of honour and glory. And when she knew Jerome shorn of his mock grandeur and kingship, bankrupt, dishonoured, a fugitive upon the face of the earth, she must have dreamed how, with herself as his queen, her brain, her will, her ambition might have shaped his career far otherwise. Yet it was but a sorry triumph that another life had been wrecked beside her own ; and as in silence Elizabeth contemplated the trend of events, no expression of vindictiveness ever escaped her against the man whose weakness had wrought her such grievous wrong. Once, and once only, in a dramatic moment of her life did she see him again. In the year 1822 she was in the Gallery of the Pitti Palace in Florence when she suddenly came face to face with Jerome and the Princess of Wurtemberg. The former started as his glance fell on the woman he had not seen for seventeen years, and he whispered hurriedly to the Princess by his side : ' That is my American wife.' In that brief instant a subtle triumph might have flashed across the consciousness of Elizabeth, for while Jerome was bereft of all for which he had offered her as a sacrifice, she, courted and fêted throughout Europe, had won admiration and honour from her fellows such as his brief kingship had never gained. But Elizabeth passed him by without a word, and has not even left on record her feelings at that strange encounter. ' I could not return to Florence,' she wrote afterwards with quiet dignity, ' because Prince Jerome went to live there, having no desire ever to meet him.' She had done with romance as she had done with happiness, and had learnt to scoff at all love which was not mercenary. To her father she wrote urgent letters to guard her son from ' the absurd falling in love which has been the ruin of your family ' ; though elsewhere she confesses wearily that, for a woman, married life is best,

since even quarrels with a husband are preferable to the *ennui* of a solitary existence.' Yet when the Duchesse d'Abrantes published twelve volumes of *Memoirs* and therein related everything respecting the Bonaparte family, Elizabeth wrote with a magnanimity which does her honour, 'I have refused to give her any anecdotes, either of Prince Jerome or of myself; she has already said enough of ill of him and more of my beauty and talents than they deserve.'

And the man who had wrought her a more deliberate ill than the husband who had abandoned her, the man whose strength had worked upon his brother's weakness, lived to acknowledge her worth. In St. Helena Napoleon spoke with admiration of her talents and regretted the shadow he had cast upon her life. He had been told of her enthusiasm for his genius, and one day, speaking of her, he said sadly to Bertrand: 'Those whom I loaded with kindness have forsaken me, those whom I wronged have forgiven me.' This tribute is the more striking in that Napoleon knew his appreciation to be shared by the man who was his greatest foe. The Duke of Wellington always professed for Elizabeth a profound admiration and friendship; and it is perhaps illustrative of the strangeness of her position that the favourite pet of this sister-in-law of Napoleon was a little dog which had been given to her by the Victor of Waterloo.

Yet, to the last, the ill-fortune which had been hers continued to haunt her footsteps. Her father never understood or sympathised with her. On his death, out of his enormous wealth, with unnecessary bitterness he bequeathed to his 'disobedient daughter Betsy' only a few small houses, and although this property ultimately proved far more valuable than he had anticipated, nothing could erase the intentional hurt of such a bequest. Her son, too, disappointed her, in that he failed to make the brilliant match which she had planned for him, and marrying an American, sank contentedly into the life of obscurity against which she had always inveighed. 'When I first heard that my son could condescend to marry anyone in Baltimore, I nearly went mad,' she wrote. 'I repeat, I would have starved, died rather than have married in Baltimore!' Nor did she succeed in her energetic attempt to secure recognition of that son's legitimacy upon the death of King Jerome, his father. Later, this recognition was accorded by Napoleon the Third, yet, upon the fall of the Empire, when she put forward the claim of her grandson to be considered heir to the throne of France, it met with little success, and ere then the fate which she most dreaded had come upon her. 'I hope that Providence will let me die before my son,' she had prayed throughout life; but her son predeceased her, and in her old age she would remark pathetically: 'Once I had everything but money, now I have nothing but money.'

Moreover, that old age was fated to be passed in the surroundings which had been most antagonistic to her throughout her life. When

in 1834 she returned from Europe to look after her property in Baltimore, her dislike of everything American showed itself even in her choice of fashions, for she then brought with her a supply of finery, including twelve bonnets, which she asserted were 'to last her as long as she lived.' Yet she remained always the centre of observation there, her doings and sayings were chronicled with respect. A famous black velvet bonnet with an orange-coloured feather is always identified with her later years, as was also a *red* umbrella which it is said she carried with her, either open or shut, every time she issued out of doors for forty years. At the theatre or at an evening party she invariably wore a black velvet dress with a low neck and short sleeves, a magnificent necklace of diamonds and other superb jewellery. She still commanded the admiration of the people she affected to despise, even while she complained sarcastically: 'In America there are no resources except marriage,' and laid stress on the fact that 'it was impossible for me ever to be contented in a country where there exists no nobility, and where the society is unsuitable in every respect. . . . *My* happiness can never be separated from rank and Europe.' Even in the matter of religion the glamour of the rank to which she aspired influenced her inclination. If she adopted any form of faith, she said, it should be the Roman Catholic, because that was 'a religion of kings—a royal religion.' Her niece who was present exclaimed: 'Oh, aunt, how can you say such a thing? You would not give up Presbyterianism!' To which the descendant of Old Mortality replied: 'The only reason I would not is that I should not like to give up the stool my ancestors sat upon.'

And still her beauty was remarkable, and still there was about her that strange, hard brilliancy which attracted while it repelled, and which exercised an extraordinary fascination over all with whom she came into contact. The cold dignity with which she met and supported a life-long tragedy, the half-bored contempt with which she treated 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,' the unbroken calm which, outwardly, was hers from the cradle to the grave, and to which was attributed her long life and prolonged beauty—all these are evidences of a temperament which, if it failed to be sympathetic, was attractive by reason of its peculiarity. For the woman who had witnessed some of the most stirring events of history, who in her own person had been victimised through the course of those events, preserved to the last the freedom from emotion which had characterised her early years.

Born while the Bourbons were on the throne, the childhood of Elizabeth Patterson must have been thrilled with tales of the deluge of blood which swept before it the principalities and powers of France. Her womanhood saw the rise of Napoleon and bowed angrily before his invincible might. She saw him boldly ascend the throne which Louis the Sixteenth had vacated for the scaffold; she watched his

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And still her beauty was remarkable, and still there was about her that strange, hard brilliancy which attracted while it repelled, and which exercised an extraordinary fascination over all with whom she came into contact. The cold dignity with which she met and supported a life-long tragedy, the half-bored contempt with which she treated 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,' the unbroken calm which, outwardly, was hers from the cradle to the grave, and to which was attributed her long life and prolonged beauty—all these are evidences of a temperament which, if it failed to be sympathetic, was attractive by reason of its peculiarity. For the woman who had witnessed some of the most stirring events of history, who in her own person had been victimised through the course of those events, preserved to the last the freedom from emotion which had characterised her early years.

Born while the Bourbons were on the throne, the childhood of Elizabeth Patterson must have been thrilled with tales of the deluge of blood which swept before it the principalities and powers of France. Her womanhood saw the rise of Napoleon and bowed angrily before his invincible might. She saw him boldly ascend the throne which Louis the Sixteenth had vacated for the scaffold: she watched his

star attain its zenith, wane, vanish, and flash forth again in a mockery of its old brilliance, ere it was extinguished in eternal night. She saw dynasty succeed dynasty and revolution succeed revolution in the land of her adoption from which she was an exile. She died while France was trying the experiment of a third republic and declared in her last hours that the people of Europe were tired of kings and empires. Yet throughout all the phases of that eventful time, on which she could not look with indifference, since with it her own fate was involved, she maintained, outwardly at least, that strange unbroken apathy which bewildered while it fascinated those who witnessed it. For her plaints are but the plaints of a fretful child; in view of a life-long tragedy her greatest grievance is the *ennui* to which it has left her the prey; and the fiercest storms of life passed over her without more than ruffling the even tenour of her existence. Was that strange exterior calm, after all, but the mask by which a proud spirit concealed an incurable hurt? or was it that the strongest emotion of which Elizabeth Bonaparte was capable was but the petulance of a spoilt child who has been baulked of the toys which it coveted?

Who shall say? There is something strangely pathetic in the fact that, despite her ineradicable contempt for Jerome, she still believed, or wished others to believe, that, although overborne by the pressure of circumstance, that fickle lover of her youth had ever been faithful to her at heart. 'Jerome loved me to the last,' she asserted after his death; 'he thought me the handsomest woman in the world, and the most charming. After his marriage with the Princess, he gave to the Court painters several miniatures of me, from which to make a portrait, which he kept hidden from the good Catharine.' Was she right? All we know is that Jerome bore the name of a libertine and a betrayer, and that, at the age of ninety-four, the woman who was his wife died as she had lived, placid, blameless, picturesque, pathetic, a flawless figure in a romantic setting, solitary in death as in life, to the last a dupe of destiny.³

A. M. W. STIRLING.

³ It is perhaps necessary to state my reason for adhering to the belief that Elizabeth Bonaparte was a descendant of Old Mortality, since of late years this fact has been called in question. In *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, vol. vii. p. 219, this descent is denied by Mr. Baylis on the reputed authority of Jerome Bonaparte's descendant, Madame Bonaparte, who, in 1870, is said to have stated that her family name had always been spelt *Patterson*, and had therefore no connexion with the Scotch *Patersons*. In *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, vol. ii. p. 97, it is again contradicted owing to a report having first gained credence that Elizabeth was the daughter of Old Mortality's son John. When, therefore, it was discovered that her father's name was William, this was accepted as proof that the whole story of her descent from the old Covenanter was an error.

Andrew Lang, in his *Editor's Introduction to Old Mortality*, Border edition, 1901, also accepts this conclusion, and, stating that '*This, of course, quite settles the question,*' forthwith pronounces Elizabeth's traditional connexion with Old Mortality to be an exploded myth.

The fact is that both assertions on which rest the denial of that descent are erroneous.

With regard to the first, although it is rash to draw deductions from the extremely variable spelling of surnames in a former generation, and more particularly in the class to which Old Robert Paterson belonged, proof is in existence that the statement attributed to Madame Bonaparte is entirely inaccurate. Robert Paterson, the brother of Elizabeth, who bore the Christian name of his great-grandfather, constantly signed his surname in the manner which Madame Bonaparte denies to have been the case. In 1811 he visited Holkham with his beautiful wife, *née* Mary Caton, and in his subsequent correspondence with Coke of Norfolk his letters are all signed *Paterson*. No likewise are those of his father, William, who was a keen agriculturist and a constant correspondent of Coke. These letters are still extant, as are others of that date from friends of both father and son, spelling this surname in the same manner.

With regard to the second statement, based on the mistaken identity of Elizabeth's father, this error appears to have originated with Mr. Train, who is said to have supplied Sir Walter Scott with the memoranda for his preface to *Old Mortality*. Thus, while Mr. Train asserts that 'John Paterson of Baltimore had a son Robert and a daughter Elizabeth,' we find Sir Walter Scott stating with equal confidence that 'Old Mortality had three sons, Robert, Walter and John. . . . John went to America in the year 1776, and after various turns of fortune settled at Baltimore.' This should probably read, '*John's son William* went to Philadelphia in 1766 and afterwards settled in Baltimore.' On the other hand, though immaterial to the present question, it is quite possible that John, the father, *may* have followed William, the son, out to America ten years after the latter landed in Philadelphia; and this is borne out by a cutting from an old *Inverness Courier*, of which the date has unfortunately been lost, but which is in the possession of Dr. Richard Caton, the present Lord Mayor of Liverpool, a descendant of Richard Caton, father of Mary, the beautiful Mrs. Robert Pat(t)erson. This states that the family of Old Mortality 'experienced a singular variety of fortune. *One of his sons went to America, via Belfast*, and settled in Baltimore, where he made a large fortune. *He* had a son who married an American lady . . . this son's daughter was married to Jerome Bonaparte.'

However, since we know beyond all possibility of doubt that Elizabeth's father was a Presbyterian emigrant from Ireland to America about the middle of the eighteenth century, we need not dwell on the improbability that two men, both bearing a similar surname, and both with a similar legend attached to that name, should, within a few years of each other, have both emigrated from Ireland to America, should both have made their fortunes, and both ultimately have settled in Baltimore, yet that they had no connexion with each other, and indeed do not appear to have known of each other's existence in that then comparatively small society of successful merchants. But of one thing we may be certain. With the confusion dispelled which resulted from mistaking Elizabeth's grandfather for her father, all the weight of evidence goes to prove that she who described Presbyterianism as 'the stool my ancestors sat upon' was undoubtedly the great-granddaughter of Old Mortality, and that the tradition cherished by her family and by the descendants of the Caton family may be accepted as reliable.

THE SUPPLY OF CLERGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

THE reluctance of men to take Holy Orders in the Church of England, which is so noticeable a feature of the present time, is a matter of more than ecclesiastical interest. It affects not only the existing clergy, but also the laity; and not the Church laity alone, but the nation as a whole. In my experience, when Dissenters are godly men and women, they have, as a rule, no hostility to the Church and its work. They know that it is a great force making for righteousness, and they would be sorry to see its spiritual power weakened. Even if the Church be disestablished it will still be the Church of England, and will continue to hold a position which no other religious body can hope to rival. It will do so, that is, if its sons and daughters be faithful to it, and if an adequate supply of recruits be forthcoming to fill the gaps in the ranks of its clergy. In the present day, when there are so many incitements to mere materialism, when there are so many social evils to be combated—to say nothing of more directly spiritual work—it is a national loss if the Church is weakened through a deficiency of candidates for her ministry, or if the candidates she gets are not always of the right kind. That there is this deficiency, in numbers at all events, is notorious. The increase in the clergy is far from being proportionate to the increase of the population. To prove the want of men it is not necessary to consult statistics, though these are available for those who care to refer to them. Anyone who sees the Church newspapers may mark the same advertisements for curates running week after week, or re-appearing at intervals for months together.¹ Whenever the clergy forgather in any numbers there are sure to be mutual inquiries whether anyone knows of a likely curate, and complaints that advertisements bring no answers, or at least none from the right sort of man. The report recently presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee appointed to investigate

¹ At the Manchester Church Congress the Bishop of Liverpool stated that there were four hundred curacies vacant in England and Wales.

this subject bears the same witness, as does also the Encyclical Letter issued by the Archbishops and Bishops assembled in the late Lambeth Conference. What is the cause of this state of things? That it is a serious question for the Church is manifest, and I venture to think that it is hardly less serious for the nation as a whole. We are told that the great Nonconformist bodies have also a difficulty in recruiting their ministry, but with that I have no concern. Yet the nation as a whole cannot afford to be indifferent to the work of the religious bodies in her midst. Some of that work can be tabulated, but a great deal of it never comes under public observation, and cannot do so. Who can estimate the restraining power of religion in the teeming masses of our population? There are volcanic forces fermenting beneath the surface which are only partly kept in check by the police and by the physical restraint which can be exercised by a civilised society. It is impossible to estimate the controlling influence of religion, even where there is little or no open recognition of it. Remove this influence, and the consequences are incalculable. If the ministry of the Church be crippled for want of men this influence must be weakened, and in time become even more inadequate to cope with evil than it is now. Attempts are being made, and with some measure of success, to promote the flow of candidates for Holy Orders by the establishment of ordination funds. This is as it should be. When a young man has the vocation, and has given proof of his probable fitness for the sacred office, it is a thousand pities that he should be debarred from proceeding merely by the want of money. To provide the means in suitable cases is an obvious and proper thing to be done by those who possess this world's wealth. But these funds do not meet the need. There is still an insufficient supply of men, and one asks, Why?

There are no doubt more causes than one, there usually are for any far-reaching result. But the present writer believes that if one or two of the causes were more generally recognised, and a more vigorous effort made to remove them, very much might be accomplished. At present things are allowed to go on pretty much as they have been for years past, and the real source of the mischief is scarcely touched. I have nothing new to say, nothing that has not been said by one or another over and over again; but I wish to bring together a few ideas which may be fruitful in suggestion. Many think that the only cause for the deficiency which all deplore is the inadequacy of clerical incomes, and of course that is a potent cause; but it is not the only one, and something is being done to remedy it, though that something is far from being adequate. But I do not think that the prospect of a small income is the chief cause which is at work. Small incomes are expected by those who enter upon this career, and there are to-day in England numbers of earnest young men who are not afraid to endure hardness for the sake of Jesus Christ. To the question of income

I will return later. At present let me say that the causes which I have in mind are two in number, though the latter is complex and requires the examination of several other causes to account for it. These two causes are, first, the difficulty felt by many in subscribing to the Formularies of the Church ; and, second, the disinclination of the existing clergy to act as recruiting officers.

I. The candidate for Orders is required only to express his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer and of the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and to assert his belief that the doctrine of the Church of England, as therein set forth, is agreeable to the Word of God. Such a general declaration is not very onerous ; but every candidate for Orders hopes in course of time to be promoted to a charge of his own, and he knows that he must then 'read himself in' by publicly reciting the whole of the Articles in church on the first Sunday after his admission. Now the Articles are historically of very great interest and importance, but anyone who looks through them will see how remote the greater part of them are from the questions which agitate men's minds to-day. And when they do come in contact with ideas of present interest they too often come into conflict with them as well. Is it not of Professor Jowett that the story is told, how on one occasion someone said to him, 'But you cannot sign the Articles again,' whereupon he replied : 'Oh yes, I can, as often as you like !' Most of us get very much into this frame of mind, finding it easy enough to express a *general assent*, which is all that is required. Where we have a difficulty about any particular Article a way out can usually be found by interpreting it either strictly, according to the letter, or generally, according to the spirit. Thus many of the clergy are glad to adopt the Tractarian reading of Article xxii., which, as any plain man can see, intends to stigmatise belief in 'Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints,' as a 'Romish Doctrine,' and as 'a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture.' But we all hold that there must be some kind of development after death, though we may not call it Purgatory, and there are a few who desire to re-introduce the Invocation of Saints. Consequently it is convenient to notice that the exact words of the Article are, 'The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory . . . is a fond thing, vainly invented. . . . ' Mark, 'the Romish Doctrine' ; so that it is the Romish doctrine, and that alone, which by the actual words is condemned, and therefore I may hold what doctrine I choose on these subjects so long as it is not the Romish one. Article iv. is an instance where the other mode of escape is available. According to this Article, Christ not only rose from the dead, but ascended into heaven, 'with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature.' It is impossible that any educated man can now hold the crude idea of the Ascension which

is here implied. What we mean by the Ascension of Christ is His withdrawal from the world of sense into the spiritual sphere, and that involves the spiritualising of His body. This is involved in St. Paul's statement that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.'² We can, however, readily believe that human nature realises its perfection rather without flesh and bones than with them, and so we can freely accept the general teaching of the Article, that Christ ascended with 'all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature,' albeit we cannot endorse the details.

In one or other of these ways even those Articles which cause special difficulty can be accepted, while it is easy to give a general assent to them as a whole. But how are they regarded by the ingenuous youth now at the universities? I have no special information, but, unless all indications are misleading, the modern modes of thought which are permeating even the most ancient seats of learning make even a general assent more and more difficult. The younger generation is being trained to keep an open mind on all other subjects, and it does not see why it should be so closely tied down in religion. That there must be a rule of faith if the Church is to hold together, and if she is to preserve her status as a branch of the Church Catholic, is obvious and will be admitted by all; but why not be content with the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds? It will be asked, 'Then what about the Athanasian Creed? Is that not to be retained?' To which question I for one should answer, 'Certainly not as a symbol for recitation in the congregation.' Its doctrinal statements may be a valuable definition of Christian verities, but the 'Damnatory Clauses' are entirely out of place in public worship. I fail to see that the 'Synodical Declaration made by Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1873, and re-affirmed in 1879,' improves matters much. This declaration asserts that this Creed 'doth not make any addition to the faith as contained in Holy Scripture'; and further, 'the warnings in this Confession of faith are to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings in Holy Scripture, for we must receive God's threatenings even as His promises, in such wise as they are generally set forth in Holy Writ.' So when we say at the end of the *Quicumque Vult*, 'This is the Catholic Faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved' we claim (or Convocation does) that the declaration is to be understood as 'the like warnings in Holy Scripture'! Nor do I see that we are greatly helped by the new translations put forth from time to time. There is one before me, issued by the S.P.C.K. in 1905, 'compiled by a layman, with Preface by the Very Rev. J. L. Darby, D.D., Dean of Chester.' In this version the above sentence reads thus: 'This is the Catholic Faith which except a man have believed faithfully and firmly he cannot be in a state of

² 1 Cor. xv. 50.

salvation.'* How is this an improvement, except in verbal accuracy? And in any case, neither it nor any other new translation is adopted in the Prayer Book. The congregation is still invited to declare that unless a man believe the doctrine of the Trinity as set forth in this document 'he cannot be saved,' and as a rule the more thoughtful members of the congregation are silent.

Every attempt to abolish the public recitation of the *Quicumque Vult* meets with determined opposition, but in my humble judgment every advocate of its retention ought to ask himself the plain question, Is the above quoted statement true, or not? If we really hold that everyone who does not so believe 'cannot be saved,' the retention of the Creed is essential; it would be cruel to withdraw the warning. When, however, we think of the good and holy men who have been unable to accept its definitions we dare not assert that the statement is true. The Declaration of Convocation adds after what was quoted above, 'Moreover the Church does not herein pronounce judgment on any particular person or persons, God alone being the Judge of all.' That this is a very proper explanation of the Church's attitude may be at once allowed; but what it amounts to is this, that the Creed has just pronounced that unless you believe these definitions you 'cannot be saved,' and now Convocation explains that the pronouncement has no personal application: 'My dear sir, or madam, who do not thus think of the Trinity, we do not presume to say that you cannot be saved.'

Now no man can be ordained deacon till he is at least twenty-three years of age, and by that time many will have been repelled from the ministry. I do not mean that they will have been repelled by the Athanasian Creed alone, or even by that Creed plus the Articles, but that these act as checks to enthusiasm, which is likely to be checked still more by other influences which I am now about to discuss.

II. I have said that there is a disinclination on the part of the existing clergy to act as recruiting officers for the ministry, and I believe that statement to be absolutely true. This disinclination is not universal. There are still many clergy who do their best to induce suitable boys and youths to dedicate themselves to the Church's service, but more frequently I am afraid they discourage rather than encourage the aspirant. Certainly it is not nearly so customary as it used to be for the priest's son to follow in his father's steps. This fact may be partly accounted for by the many other openings which are now available, and partly by the straitened circumstances which prevent the fathers from paying for the necessary education. But another and most important factor is the reluctance of fathers to ask their sons to embark on a career in which themselves or their friends

* In 1906 the York Convocation adopted a re-translation in which this sentence is thus rendered: 'This is the Catholic Faith: which except each man shall have believed faithfully and firmly he cannot be saved.'

have been so harshly treated. Nor are they more inclined to encourage other people's sons to do so.

(1) Everyone who embarks on a career, whatever it may be, hopes in the course of some reasonable time to achieve an independent position, and fathers do not willingly enter their sons in a profession where such a prospect is remote. As things are at present there must be many men in the ministry of the Church of England who never attain independence. Loud as are the complaints of an insufficient supply of men, the Church is multiplying assistant clergy far more rapidly than she can provide them with independent spheres of labour. In large populous parishes, instead of subdividing into smaller parishes, she puts one man at the head, with three, four, or even more assistant clergy under him. Possibly the parishes are better worked thus, and the clergy exist for the parishes, not the parishes for the clergy. Yet it is worth considering what is to become of these men after a while. Nothing can be happier, in the great majority of cases, than the position of an assistant curate for the first few years of his ministry. When he has a capable parish priest over him, from whom he may learn the practical duties of his work, and congenial colleagues whose labours he shares, his position is almost ideal—for a time. But afterwards? Generally speaking an assistant curate is required to be always young, to be unmarried, and to be always ready at his vicar's every beck and call. This would be all very well if he could look forward to having a parish of his own in a few years. He would have learnt to rule by obeying. But what is all very well at twenty-five or thirty is less so at thirty-five or forty, and still less at forty-five or fifty. By this time it is increasingly hard to obtain employment, for in nineteen cases out of twenty incumbents say, 'I must have a young man,' and in most cases they are right. If the chief duties of the assistant curates are (as in many cases they are) to sing a musical service, and to run clubs, bands of hope, lads' brigades, and numerous other organisations, unquestionably young men are wanted. The older men are not wanted; and by this time patrons begin to pass them by. They think, very naturally, that if there were anything in the man he would have been promoted before. And even if the man is promoted at last there is always the chance that he will be a less efficient incumbent than he would have been if the promotion had come earlier. The iron has entered into his soul; too long a period of subservience has robbed him of some of his initiative. There are hundreds of men in subordinate positions to-day simply because they have not private incomes, and so have been unable to accept offers which have been made to them; or they have not received the offers because it was well known that they could not afford to accept them. And every one of these is a standing advertisement against poor men being so rash as to take Holy Orders. The Church apparently does not care that many of her servants are in this

state. Does she realise that in all probability every one of them costs her several fresh young lives which might have been devoted to her ministry were it not for the 'object-lesson' before their eyes? 'Look at So-and-so,' urge their friends—'a clever man, a gentleman, but still a curate after all these years. Serve God in some other sphere.' And they do. It must not be understood from this that the majority of assistant curates are in the condition just described. Of course the majority do, after more or less waiting, get presented to benefices, and that especially if they have served for a time in certain show parishes (as I take leave to call them) where young men who are comfortably off are content to work for a few years with little or no stipend, for the sake of the experience and of the name. Against this I have not a word to say. But both in these parishes and in others which are not so well known, there is too often one drawback to the ideal condition of which I wrote a little way back, and that is that it is impossible to get time for reading. The neglect of study by the clergy—who are too much engrossed in other, and apparently more pressing duties—is bound to tell on their efficiency in the long run. The following remark which I met with lately in a paper by Mrs. Creighton came upon me (who am a very 'ordinary' man) with somewhat of a shock, as I venture to think it will on many of my brethren. Writing of the lack of interest in Church work often shown by 'the clever well-educated girl,' Mrs. Creighton says: 'The women whom she sees concerned in [Church matters] are not those who strike her as being the most interesting, neither do the sermons she generally hears inspire her with much respect for the intellect of the ordinary clergy. They do not seem to her to be in touch with the real life about which she cares.'⁴ But I am straying from my subject, except indeed that this remark touches the question whether the Church is getting the right material even if in insufficient quantity. It makes me fear, too, that a friend of mine may have spoken more truly than he intended when by a slip of the tongue he asked me, 'Will you come and help my people to do penance by preaching to them one Wednesday evening in Lent?' Alas, it is likely that I have often made people to do penance, and not only in Lent!

(2) I have already referred to the inadequacy of clerical stipends in many cases, and I now return to the point, though it is one about which I do not wish to say a great deal. Real attempts are being made to augment the smaller incomes, but a much more energetic and general effort must be made if this reproach is to be removed. As things are, patrons are often unable to appoint the man whom they would wish because they are obliged to consider his private means. In my judgment, no private patron ought to retain in his own hands the presentation to a benefice without sufficient income. Public patrons, such as bishops or deans and chapters, cannot help themselves, but

⁴ *Pan-Anglican Papers*, No. 7, p. 7.

private patrons ought either to augment the income or to abandon the right of presentation. May I mention two cases within my own experience? In the first a patron was known to be looking for a man to fill a vacancy, and a common acquaintance of us both wished to bring my name before him. After making preliminary inquiries, he wrote to me: 'The patron thinks that any man appointed to — ought to have at least £200 a year of his own.' In the second case I actually received a letter offering me the living if I had sufficient private means to suit the views of the patron. It is plain enough that in both these cases the patrons were looking for a man to spend in the parishes money which ought to have come out of their own pockets. Yet what were they to do? The 'livings' were not livings at all, but starvings, and the patrons were right in thinking that no clergyman ought to attempt to live in those parishes on his official income alone. What I maintain is that if they could not themselves provide a 'living wage,' they should give up the right of presentation. At present the depth of a man's purse is over and over again the principal test of his fitness to undertake the cure of souls in a given locality. For an incumbent to be well off is undoubtedly an enormous advantage to himself in almost any parish, whether well or ill endowed, but the advantage for the parish is questionable; and if the rich man's successor be poor he will find many and many a reason to lament his predecessor's wealth.

(3) In treating of inadequate incomes I have been as brief as possible, both because a good deal of attention is already being given to the question, and also because I want to discourse rather more at large on another branch of the same subject—viz. the outgoings from the parson's stipend. That a clerical income is seldom what it is represented as being is a matter of common knowledge, but outside the clergy themselves few people realise how large are the deductions which must be made. A friend of mine was offered a parish which nominally was worth 500*l.* a year, with a house. He went to see it, and afterwards told me that, apart from every other consideration, he simply could not afford to take it, although he had a comfortable private income. To begin with, there was a deduction (for what purpose I forget) of 100*l.* a year, so that what would really come into his hands would be only 400*l.* Then he found that there were two churches to be served, and he would be obliged to keep a curate, paying him entirely out of his own pocket. This reduced the income to 250*l.* Rates and taxes came to about 80*l.* And finally the house and grounds were on such a scale that he, with his family, could not keep them up and live comfortably on the balance supplemented by his own resources. It will be said that this is an extreme case. Let us hope it is, but the same sort of thing is continually happening, though perhaps on a smaller scale. The net income is nearly always much less than the gross, but this is to be expected and can be allowed for. The annoying thing is that from the so-called net income further

deductions must be made, especially on first entering upon a living, or on quitting it. Again, few but the clergy themselves realise the burden of dilapidations, fees, &c. The simplest way of bringing home the facts to the minds of my readers will be to recur once more to my own experience. In doing so I wish to make it plain that I am not complaining of my own lot, which is much better than that of many others. Looking at the existing state of affairs as disinterestedly as I can (and I do not profess or claim to be altogether disinterested), I am bound to confess that the income of the parish which I have the honour of serving (though small) is not out of proportion to the work to be done, and the house is not out of proportion to the income. Many benefices with larger populations have smaller incomes, and are burdened with parsonages more suitable for the squire of the parish than for the parish priest. But, be the size of the house what it may, there are 'dilapidations' to be taken into account. One cannot resign one's living without meeting the demands of the Diocesan Surveyor, and even when the voidance occurs through death the deceased's estate (if any) is charged with the cost of repairs. My predecessor here served the parish for twenty-five years, during which time he accomplished a great deal of good work. During that time part of his remuneration from the Church was a house rent free. But when he died his estate was mulcted of over 200*l.* to pay for repairs to the house and outbuildings. Many cases are worse. Where there are farm buildings, walls, or other erections on the glebe, all must be put into a state of thorough repair at whatever cost. It is perfectly legal, but is it fair? Think how it acts to the detriment of the Church's work. A man grows old in a parish, or is enfeebled by bad health, and his conscience tells him that he ought to resign. But he cannot. Not only is there the loss of income to be faced—often that would be endurable—but there is an immediate outlay of perhaps 200*l.* or 300*l.* or more. Unable to find the money, the man hangs on till his death, when the charge, now all the heavier, is met out of his life assurance (if any), or devolves upon his successor. His successor is bound to find the money, and remit it to Queen Anne's Bounty within six months. If he fails to recover it from his predecessor's estate, or to find it himself, or to raise it by applications all round, the sum may be lent by Queen Anne's Bounty, the repayment becoming an annual charge on the benefice. It is true that once the repairs have been executed the Diocesan Surveyor's certificate holds good for five years, except in case of culpable neglect, and the certificate may be renewed every five years. All this, however, costs money, which narrow means cannot afford. It is hard enough to do the repairs which appear to be necessary; it is harder to have to pay a heavy fee to an official, courteous and competent though he may be, and usually is.

This brings me to the question of fees, and again a concrete instance will be more instructive than any amount of general declamation.

Well, then, my own fees on entering upon my small parish were as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Institution	9	14	6
Induction	0	10	0
Bishop's Order (Dilapidations)	1	11	6
Diocesan Surveyor	12	9	2
Registering Certificate of Completion of Work	0	5	0
Total	£24	10	2

The Diocesan Surveyor's charges were, of course, in respect of dilapidations, the repair of which, as has already been stated, was paid for out of my predecessor's estate. The items of this bill are of interest. I omit dates.

	£	s.	d.
For Survey and Report on Vicarage House, Offices, Gardens, Glebe and Buildings	5	5	0
For Survey and Report on Glebe Lands more than three miles from the Vicarage	1	1	0
For Additional Copies of Report, 184 folios at 4d.	2	4	8
For an Inspection and Certificate for 100l. under Section 44	1	11	6
Paid Fee to Registrar for Extract from Tithe Apportionment and Map	0	5	0
For Certificate under Section 44 and Certificate in Triplicate under Section 46, for five years	2	2	0
	£12	9	2

The only item which requires a comment is, I think, that 'For an inspection and certificate for 100l. under section 44.' This means that 100l. of the dilapidation money (lodged with Queen Anne's Bounty) was required to pay the contractor at a certain stage, according to agreement, and in order to procure this sum a certificate had to be furnished at the cost of 1l. 11s. 6d.

The fees enumerated above are by no means unusual; in fact, they may often be exceeded, especially when first-fruits and tenths are due. I make no complaint against the officials entitled to the fees, from whom I have always received courteous treatment; but I ask, Is it fair that an incumbent, entering upon the work of a parish, with all his personal expenses of removal and furnishing, should have such burdens laid upon him? What is a really iniquitous fee is now to be mentioned. By the Incumbents Resignation Acts it is possible, in certain circumstances, for a broken-down parish priest to retire with a proportion not exceeding one-third of the income of his benefice. For this the fees are 5s., payable to the Registrar, and 10l. to the bishop's secretary, 'payable in moieties by the outgoing and incoming incumbents.' Mark the irony of this arrangement. The outgoing man, who is losing the greater part of his professional income, pays 5l. 2s. 6d. for the share which is left, and the incoming man, whose professional emoluments are thus reduced, pays the same amount.

The burden of the fees which are levied on the clergy has another evil effect besides those which have been already noted. It helps to keep men in parishes when a change would be better both for the people and for themselves. One of the evils from which the Church of England is suffering is the stagnation of life in parishes which have for too long a period been served by one man. A hard and fast rule that after so many years the incumbent must move on would probably not be advisable, and would certainly not be practicable; but there ought to be greater facilities for removal in cases where it is felt to be desirable. That man is to be pitied who, while still capable of good work, realises that he has done all that he can in his present sphere of labour, but is prevented from seeking another by the knowledge that the change would mean an outlay for the repairs of dilapidations and for fees which he cannot afford. There must be many a good man eating his heart out to-day because the Church keeps him where his usefulness is past, while elsewhere he could do good work for her and her Head.

Some time ago, in a sermon which was reported, and which I remember reading (it was preached, I think, at Cuddesdon), the Bishop of London adverted to the want of clergy, and asked how it was that in almost every watering-place or favourite residential town there are so many retired clergy. Has their love grown cold? he inquired, or what is the reason that they (those of them who are not disabled) are not engaged in active work? I am not myself in the secret, but I can make a guess at the answer, and I do not think that I shall be far wrong. Most of them must be men who have found it impossible to meet all the financial and other demands which were made on them as incumbents. Their private means may be just sufficient to live on, if supplemented by what they get for taking 'occasional duty,' but they are not sufficient to discharge all their obligations as parish priests, and to pay a large share of the cost of working the parishes, which apparently is what the laity of the Church expect of their clergy.

In circumstances such as I have briefly sketched, is it any wonder that men grow disheartened? And is it any wonder that they are not enthusiastic in seeking candidates for the ministry? The grievance would not press so heavily if ours were a missionary Church, striving to set up the banner of the Cross where it had never yet been firmly planted. In that case men would die at their posts as readily and as uncomplainingly as a soldier or sailor at his. Nay, how often do they complain openly, as it is? But this is a land of professedly settled religion; there is seldom call for martyrdom, though God knows that in the slums of great cities the life is not far removed from it; and the Church which the clergy serve is 'the richest Church in the world.' That is what galls. The aggregate wealth owned by individuals who profess and call themselves Churchmen must be enormous, and yet they allow these financial burdens to oppress the

clergy. This is, I am convinced, the real cause that so many men have shaken themselves free from parochial responsibility, and that the bulk of the clergy, whether actively engaged or no, show no consuming zeal in drawing the younger generation to the Church's service. A young man who is already hesitating about the obligation of subscription is likely to be altogether disheartened by the knowledge that if ordained he may very possibly remain a curate all his life, or if presented to a 'living' he may find the outgoings so large as to make a very serious diminution of the already meagre stipend which he is supposed to receive.

If there be any truth in this argument the Church ought to set herself seriously to remove the grievances of the men who are doing her work. If she allows them to continue she is not only discouraging many of her present clergy, thus preventing them from giving her their best work, but she is drying up the future supply of clergy at its source. That the Church's loss would also be the nation's is my conviction, as I have already said, and I do not think it will be contested. The nation cannot afford any preventable diminution of the forces which make for righteousness, and which help men and women of all classes to cultivate the spiritual side of life. It is my belief that if these forces are to be maintained in the Church of England there must be a relaxation of subscription, and there must be a removal of the financial burdens of which I have written. There can be no such effective recruiting-officers for the ministry as the clergy themselves, but if they are to be enthusiastic in the cause they must be more fairly treated. It will be said, perhaps, that the leaders of the Church have other and more pressing problems engaging their attention just now, and that this question can wait. No doubt other problems may seem more immediately urgent, but I venture to think that in the long run no other will prove so important. As one of the rank and file of the clergy, I do not presume to formulate a policy, but I know 'where the shoe pinches,' and I have dared to draw attention to the facts. The matter ought to be taken in hand at once, for the forces antagonistic, not only to the Church of England, but to all religion, are growing in strength, and when the enemy is thundering at the gates it will be too late to begin to ask why the ministry is undermanned.

*Ante equidem summa de re statuisset, Latini,
Et vallem, et fuerat melius : non tempore tali
Cogere concilium, cum muros obsidet hostis.*

G. E. FRENCH.

THE CAVALRY OF THE TERRITORIAL ARMY

IN order to be able usefully to consider the strength and composition of the cavalry branch of Mr. Haldane's new Territorial Army it is necessary, as a preliminary, to endeavour to apprehend the position in which that Minister found himself placed when he undertook his task, for it must be obvious that the social, political, and economical boundaries which, in various degrees, hedge in the aspirations of every reformer, are sure to exercise a preponderating influence over the decisions arrived at. In the case of Mr. Haldane it may be assumed that the Cabinet of which he is a member was unanimous in its determination to reduce the expenditure on the Army very considerably below what it had been during the last few years of the preceding Administration. The Cabinet, moreover, was agreed on the important point that, in spite of the enormous increase in the annual Army Estimates, the Army itself was actually in a more chaotic condition and less prepared for active service than it was before the outbreak of the last South African war. Mr. Haldane's position was therefore no easy one. Like Mr. Brodrick and Mr. Arnold-Forster, he had a mandate from his Government and from the country to reorganise the Army, but, unlike his two predecessors, so far from having practically absolute control of the purse-strings, his acceptance of his office was entirely dependent upon his adhesion to the economical policy of his colleagues.

Organisers, and particularly British political organisers, have naturally fallen into one of two grooves. Either they have come to their post with the preconceived notion that they are perfectly aware of what is necessary to be done, and that all that remains to do is to issue the instructions which have perhaps already been written out, or, accepting the suggestion of incomplete knowledge of their new duties, they have set themselves to the business of assimilating the ideas of their permanent or expert officials. As he has himself frequently told us, it was into the latter of the two grooves that Mr. Haldane, upon accepting office, decided to place himself. Unlike some other War Ministers, however, Mr. Haldane has not, after hearing the opinions of his officials, concluded to follow their advice blindly,

but rather to blend the result of their knowledge with the outcome of his own deliberations and to endeavour to bring the whole into line with the political situation.

To achieve a result which has been received with so much praise and so little constructive criticism as has been the Territorial Army Bill is admittedly no easy matter, and Mr. Haldane's modest statement that he spent the first year of his official life as War Secretary in sitting in a comfortable chair, smoking vast quantities of large cigars, and merely listening to his many eager advisers, can by no means do justice to his own capacity in successfully sifting, sorting, and storing away for future reference the enormous mass of expert opinion which was placed before him. What must have greatly increased Mr. Haldane's difficulties also is the uncontrovertible fact that this expert opinion varied greatly in almost every detail. It would be impossible within the limits of any one article to give all the remedies which trained soldiers have proposed as the only possible method of rendering the Army efficient. The majority of military men, however, appear to start the basis of their schemes on the assumption either that the maximum number of recruits that can be obtained is the scale by which success should be measured, or that the first consideration should be that the various branches of the Army must all bear their proper proportions towards the sum total of the whole. The exponents of the various schemes which are based on the first of these two axioms of course lay the greatest stress upon their opinion that no man who is prepared to offer himself to undergo any form of military training should be refused the opportunity of doing so. They contend that, so long as conscription is taboo, everything imaginable should be done to foster the military spirit of the nation, in order that in time of war there should be as large a number as possible of partially trained men to reinforce the foreign service army and to fill the ranks of those troops destined for home defence. They maintain that a partially trained man is a much more useful article than a man with no training whatever, and that to place any check in time of peace upon the volunteering spirit of the nation might result in time of war in finding that this most valuable asset had been totally destroyed. On the other hand, those experts who are in favour of properly balanced units declare that to train an enormous mass of infantry without paying any regard as to whether or not it is provided with transport and hospital services, or as to whether the corps of engineers, artillery, and cavalry stand in their proper proportions with regard to the size of this mass of infantry, is needlessly to waste money which might to much better advantage be spent elsewhere. They repudiate the contention of the first party concerning the destruction of the volunteering spirit, pointing out that, from time immemorial, the auxiliary forces have been snubbed and starved, but that, whenever the slightest hope has been aroused as to the possibility of the volunteers being

brought into collision with a foreign enemy, thousands of the very best possible type of recruit have at once come forward to take their places in the ranks.

As to which of these two parties is in the right is a point which it is extremely difficult to decide on. Certainly it would be a most deplorable thing if, when they were wanted, volunteers failed to appear. Equally certainly it is a most fallacious argument to maintain that because, let us say, a particular district maintains six weak battalions of infantry mustering 3000 rifles, therefore the same district can be put down as certain to produce 3000 men ready to distribute themselves among the various component parts of an army. Nobody can deny, however, that it is a very extravagant way of raising troops to maintain the headquarters staff of six corps when there are only men enough to fill three, or to keep men on the strength who are persistent bad shots or who are physically unfit for active service. It must be admitted, too, that an army which is proportionately short in every branch of its services with the exception of its infantry, would be very greatly handicapped when in the presence of a hostile force whose numerical strength is the same but whose composition is more just.

It is perhaps in the solution of this problem that the strength and independence of Mr. Haldane's character shows itself most clearly. Without accepting the views of either party in their entirety, his decision has undoubtedly given considerable satisfaction to both. More especially is this the case with the question of proportions. His task here was one of exceptional difficulty, but it will be generally admitted that he has, on the whole, acquitted himself admirably well. In order to make a start with his scheme he was forced to select one branch which should serve, in point of size, as the model on which the other branches should be fashioned. No doubt, if it had been possible, Mr. Haldane would have been glad to have taken the field artillery branch of the auxiliary services as his standard in view of the supreme importance which military experts attach to this arm. The almost total absence of a mobile artillery however, while indicating clearly enough the urgent need for some change in our system, yet formed an insuperable barrier to its selection for, had it been chosen, the total strength of the Territorial Army would have been infinitesimally small. Driven to abandon this standpoint, Mr. Haldane would appear to have now turned to the mounted branch as the most suitable for his purpose. Here he has met with better fortune inasmuch as the mounted infantry of the auxiliary forces or, as it is now to be called, the cavalry of the Territorial Army, muster some 27,000 rifles, which, in its proportion of one-tenth of the whole, would give a second-line army of about the size the Cabinet was prepared to sanction. It is true that Continental armies appear, at a first glance, to maintain a much higher proportion of cavalry than this;

a proportion which varies, in the case of the French and German armies, between one-sixth and one-seventh. It must be remembered, however, when studying these figures, that these are peace strength only, that a very small percentage of the cavalry belong to the reserve, and that, when the whole of the reserve has been called to the colours, the proportion sinks again to about a tenth of the whole.

These 27,000 men, while forming a force of about the required strength, yet leave no margin over for the conducting of experiments, and Mr. Haldane must have seen at once that his principal difficulty was how to draw up such a scheme of military districts as would enable each to contain within its area a sufficiency of cavalry recruiting ground. To have cut down the mounted branch in any particular district just because it happened to produce more than its proper proportion would have been fatal to the success of his plans. Such proceedings are not, of course, unknown. Mr. Haldane's predecessor, Mr. Arnold-Forster, reversing the policy of encouragement initiated by Mr. Brodrick, struck heavily at the mounted corps of the auxiliaries. Regiments which were over strength were ordered to discontinue recruiting until the surplus of men had been absorbed, and squadrons were reduced to a lower level, while no attempt whatever was made, by the provision of extra corps, to take advantage of the flourishing state of the recruiting market. In common justice to Mr. Arnold-Forster, however, it is only right to point out that this action, deplorable in itself and disastrous in its effects on the late Government, was not the rash decision of a man who had paid no attention to his subject, but was the outcome of a deliberate line of policy which admittedly had for its object the discouragement and reduction of the auxiliary forces in order that more money should be released for the benefit of the regular army. This was a perfectly straightforward argument, and is one which, however unpopular in the country at large, unquestionably finds many adherents among regular officers themselves.

With all the many disadvantages against which the War Minister has had to struggle, it cannot be denied that in one respect at least he has been a very lucky man, inasmuch as he has found this force of 27,000 'cavalry' ready to his hand. Had he desired to produce a similar scheme prior to Mr. Brodrick's tenure of office in Pall Mall, his difficulties would have been vastly increased. Up to that time the auxiliary cavalry had been in a very bad way indeed. They consisted almost entirely of yeomanry, for the volunteer mounted infantry movement was then only in its infancy. The yeomanry themselves had dwindled away until barely 10,000 men underwent a short annual training of about eight working days. Fortunately enough for the force, Mr. Brodrick was encouraged by the events of the South African war to believe that, properly handled, the yeomanry might again figure respectably among the other branches of the

auxiliary army. The results of his endeavours, honourable to himself and beneficial to the country, fully equalled the most sanguine expectations. In the very short space of time which elapsed between his first taking the force seriously in hand and his retirement from office owing to being made the scapegoat for the late Government in connexion with their mismanagement of the regular army, Mr. Brodrick not only doubled the period of the permanent training, but very nearly trebled the strength of the force itself, besides instituting a number of reforms which have very greatly contributed towards the immense improvement which has taken place in the discipline and *morale* of this valuable asset in national defence.

At this point it would not perhaps be out of place to consider briefly out of what beginnings the present Imperial Yeomanry has grown. Roughly, its origin may be said to have been practically contemporaneous with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. Mounted auxiliary corps had of course been raised at various times long before that date, but until then there does not seem to have been any coherent scheme for maintaining local cavalry corps to act with the militia and volunteers of their districts. While there can be no doubt that the fear of foreign attacks on our coast-line was the principal reason which induced the Government of that day to sanction the raising of this irregular cavalry, it would be ridiculous not to admit at once that this force was meant to act in a double capacity, and that it was hoped, as indeed the event proved, that the yeomanry, being raised from the most respectable and industrious section of the nation, would be of the greatest assistance in supporting the magistracy of the rural districts in the maintenance of law and order. That the yeomanry frequently performed these duties and invariably carried them out with probity and ability is matter of history; that, in the execution of their orders, they should have incurred the hostility of that part of the community whose prosperity would appear to depend upon the degree of immunity it enjoys from receiving its due reward for the actions it has committed is of course not to be wondered at and fully explains the persistent divisions which used to be taken by a certain class of members of Parliament whenever the Yeomanry Vote came up for discussion.

As might have been expected, these bodies of yeomanry when first raised consisted only of the smallest units known in the cavalry army; that is, of troops. These troops were quite independent, and, for some years at least after the raising of the force, no attempt was made by the authorities to train the men on more combined principles. While, however, it is probable that the yeomanry of the Napoleonic era were less capable of moving in mass formations than their representatives of the present day, there cannot be any doubt that, in some directions, they were vastly superior to anything except the very best we can now produce. In those days practically every man

who joined the yeomanry was an expert horseman and was mounted on a good hunter which was his own property. This is a circumstance which, in the consideration of the value of irregular cavalry, is of the very highest importance. In time of war there is no single cavalry virtue which can by any stretch of imagination be placed upon the same plane with that of horsemanship. It was not superiority in discipline, drill, courage, or armament which enabled Benningsen's Cossacks at Eylau to overthrow Murat's Cuirassiers so completely that, within the space of a few minutes, the veterans of Austerlitz and Jena were hurled back with a loss of over five hundred killed. It was, in point of fact, nothing but the sheer superiority in horsemanship of the Cossacks by which they were enabled to wheel and strike whenever and wherever they chose. Nowadays, unfortunately, a very different state of affairs pertains in yeomanry regiments. An enormous proportion of the horses are hired annually, and even where men are stated to have brought their own horses it will be very frequently found that these horses have been merely hired or borrowed, and that the rider knows little or nothing of the characteristics of his mount. Moreover the horses themselves would compare badly indeed with those ridden by typical yeomen of a past generation. With the improvement of secondary roads and the introduction of mechanical transport, the necessity for a well-put-together horse which could be relied on to travel fast and far over tracks of the worst description has almost disappeared. At the present time anything which can shuffle quickly down an asphalt pavement and which has ever carried a saddle is considered quite good enough for yeomanry work. Certainly it is true that in all our country corps there will still be found men who are as well mounted and are as good horsemen as any that could have been produced a hundred years ago. There are also numerous examples among those regiments which are raised in urban districts of men who are excellent performers on any kind of mount they happen to be provided with. But, even when the fullest allowance has been made in this direction, it must still be admitted that the horsemanship of the force is very far below what it used to be.

It is not only in purely physical characteristics either that the yeomanry cavalry has undergone a great change. What kind of a force could not the energy of the present War Secretary have provided us with had he directly inherited the magnificent material left to his successors by Mr. Pitt? We have been accustomed of late to refer with pride to the patriotic enthusiasm which supplies us, out of a population of nearly 45,000,000, with a total auxiliary force of about 370,000 men. Can we justifiably continue to reflect on this fact with pride when we remember that, in the year 1813, with a population of barely 18,000,000, and at a time when the complete destruction of the French marine had rendered preposterous all fears

of invasion, we maintained an auxiliary army of almost exactly equal strength—to be accurate, 372,000 men? Nor, from Mr. Haldane's point of view, is even that the most noteworthy fact. To him the most tantalising consideration must be that out of this great force no fewer than 68,000 men were admirable irregular cavalry. Truly we must in the past have been badly served by some of our Ministers when we consider that the strength of the auxiliary cavalry which, if it had increased in proportion to the population, should now muster 140,000 men, has been allowed to slip down to a fourteenth of that number and is still less than a fifth.

Recriminations and regrets, however, are not the materials out of which an army can be built up, and the really important point to reflect on is whether or not the cavalry of the Territorial Army is sufficiently well armed, trained, and equipped to carry out its duties successfully in the presence of hostile regular cavalry. Here we at once approach very delicate ground. It must be remembered that the equipment and training of the yeomanry have always been proceeded with in accordance with the opinions expressed by regular soldiers at the War Office. Now it has already been shown that soldiers themselves do not invariably think exactly the same thoughts. Consequently it would be unjust to conclude that all soldiers are in favour of the present drill formations or the present equipment. Both the drill and the armament date from the late South African war. It is said that the soldiers learnt certain 'lessons' out there, and all fair critics will probably admit that, in regard to mere fighting and campaigning, our regulars did not show such a marked superiority to their agricultural foemen as might have been hoped for having regard to the 16,000,000*l.* or thereabouts which had for several years been spent upon the upkeep and training of the regular army. It is possible therefore that there really were some lessons to be learnt. What there seems to be a little doubt about, however, in the minds of some soldiers is as to whether, in this particular question of arming and drilling the yeomanry, the right conclusion has been drawn from the lesson that was taught.

Undoubtedly a certain school of officers returned from South Africa greatly impressed by the success obtained and the immunity from danger enjoyed by the Boer mounted infantry even when in the immediate presence of our best and most highly trained cavalry. Whether this particular school formed a majority in the regular army is a moot point, but they did most certainly dominate the War Office. These officers argued that as our highly-trained regular cavalry had on various occasions been approached and roughly handled by mounted infantry, and as, with one brilliant exception, the cavalry had totally failed to make the mounted infantry pay for their presumption, there was therefore not the slightest hope that the yeomanry cavalry would be likely to improve upon or even equal the record of the regulars.

They proceeded to contend that mounted infantry work was much more quickly and easily learnt than was that of cavalry, that mounted infantry had just proved their great value in warfare, and that it was only by adopting mounted infantry tactics that the yeomanry could ever hope to face foreign regular cavalry successfully.

Other equally intelligent and well-trained officers of the regular army have argued very differently, and their argument unfortunately amounts to a rather sharp criticism of their own service. They hold that the failure of the cavalry to cut up the Boer mounted infantry was certainly partly due to the excellence of the Boers as mounted infantry, but that it was mainly caused by a great want of initiative and a deplorable ignorance of the art of horsemastership, an ignorance which they claim was evident even in the highest ranks. These officers will not believe that the Boer mounted infantry was good merely because it had little to learn. They maintain that the Boer mounted infantryman had been learning all his life, and that the superiority he displayed to all except the very best of our irregulars was owing partly to his quick-wittedness, partly to his fine eyesight, partly to his cleverness in taking cover and in snap-shooting, but far more than anything else to his excellence as a horseman and a horsemaster. Nothing will persuade these officers that it is possible to manufacture good mounted infantry quickly. So far from this being the case, they insist most strongly that mounted infantry require to be taught not only the whole art of horsemanship as learnt by the cavalryman, but also the whole duty of the infantry soldier, which is in itself, they declare, a business of years. They refuse to accept the decision of those who—quoting the opinion of that most gallant warrior, Marshal Ney, expressed a few hours after his fifth and successful assault upon the bloodstained ruins of Klein Görschen, when the desperate valour of the untrained conscripts of the 3rd Corps at last wore down the stern resistance of the whole of the Prussian Guard—hold that the age and training of the infantry soldier are matters of little moment. To such arguments they retort with considerable truth that the conditions of warfare have altered very greatly since the battle of Bantzen, that the infantryman has now a great deal more to learn than he had a hundred years ago, and that the remark of the Prince of the Moskwa to General Dumas as well as the letter of Napoleon to Augereau when in front of Lyons, should be accepted more as generous tributes from brave men to brave men than as the deliberate opinion of veteran soldiers on the result of their experiences.

As a natural sequence to the holding of these views, the malcontents have expressed the conviction that the armament of the cavalry of the Territorial Army is founded on an erroneous theory, and that some weapon of offence and defence suitable to mounted men should certainly be provided. Here, again, of course, there is considerable diversity of opinion as to the arm which should be selected.

The lance is admittedly a very deadly weapon, but it is urged by many that the training of the Territorial cavalryman will be far too short for the use of the lance to be properly learnt. The revolver also has many admirers, especially among those who have studied the campaigns of the Federals and Confederates during the War of Secession in the United States. Even the revolver, however, simple though its mechanism may be, is a comparatively useless weapon until accuracy of shooting has been acquired, and accurate practice with the revolver is a feat which is not learnt in a day or even in a month. The advocates of the sword, too, are very numerous, but these, again, are subdivided into those who incline to the straight, claymore type, and those who prefer a variation of the Eastern scimitar pattern. This also is a matter for experts, and is not one in which the opinions of amateurs can or should have any weight except in so far that it is obvious enough that an effective thrust is much more easily learnt than is that drawing cut which makes the tulwar such a terribly effective weapon in the hand of the expert swordsman.

Contemplation of the cavalry section of Mr. Haldane's scheme must in fact drive observers to conclude that, if the idea is to produce a mounted force capable of contending successfully with an equal number of either cavalry or infantry of the stamp which an invader would be likely to throw upon our shores, it is foredoomed to failure, but that, if the intention is merely to provide a cavalry force of the same calibre as the rest of the Territorial Army, there is every probability that the existing yeomanry will amply fill the bill. We are therefore thrown back on the old argument as to whether it is better to have a small number of the very best trained troops obtainable or a large number of men, of a better and more intelligent class, it is true, but greatly inferior to the regulars in military education. Mr. Haldane has decided on the latter system; he is a politician, and it is probable that most of his critics will agree that the crushing snub administered by the public to the scheme of Mr. Arnold-Forster really left his successor in office no option but to reverse a policy which, whatever its intrinsic merits may have been, was certainly most unpopular.

CARDIGAN.

HAS ENGLAND WRONGED IRELAND?

It appears unhappily to be the fact that Irish hatred of England is not the offspring of the Home Rule quarrel alone or likely to die with that question, but has been rooted in the Irish breast and is carried into every land in which the Irish dwell. This opens a most doleful prospect, and one which would have been most deeply deplored by the writer's Irish friends and political associates of former years. Combined with the conflict of English parties, it seems to make a happy settlement almost hopeless.

I am glad (says the Rev. Father Caraher, addressing a great Irish meeting in California) to see the Irish people arming and practising the use of rifles and instruments of war. For centuries they have been borne down under the tyrannic weight of English rule. In every city of the world where a patriotic Irishman lives, on Tuesday the green flag of Ireland will be waved. We must make a success of our celebration, for great things depend upon it. It will reflect the spirit of Ireland throughout the world, and some day it will bring about the raising of the green flag where it belongs. The Union Jack of England will be hauled down and torn in pieces, and 200,000 armed men will march into the county of Cork and drive the English into the sea.

The harangue, it seems, brought the whole of a great audience to its feet in a spontaneous burst of applause which lasted many minutes. This was in the United States and the Far West; but the Canadian Parliament has deemed it expedient more than once to pass resolutions in favour of Home Rule, in spite of reproof from the Home Government, to satisfy Irish feeling in Canada.

Irish history, in all that relates to the conduct of England to Ireland, is perverted to the service of hatred. Nor is this done by Irish patriots only; it is apt to be done by English supporters of Home Rule. 'England' is charged with things which belong to the account of the Normans, the Papacy, or the general convulsions of Europe, political or religious.

It was about 1866 that Guizot, walking with an English visitor in the garden at Val Richer, when the conversation touched on Ireland, stopped and with an emphatic wave of the hand said, 'The conduct of England to Ireland for the last thirty years has been admirable.' Reminded of the State Church, which had not been then disestablished, he recognised the exception, but repeated with renewed emphasis his

first words. Guizot was not an Anglo-maniac; as a French Minister he had more than once come into collision with England. His friend did not ask him what he thought of the continuance of the abuse and hostility, when in the eyes of an impartial observer like himself the treatment had been admirable.

In 1866 the English people had not themselves been in the enjoyment of a really representative Parliament for much more than one generation. Ireland had received her share of parliamentary reform. Catholic emancipation had been carried four years earlier. Ireland had shared other Liberal measures with England and Scotland, notably those for the establishment and improvement of public education. She has since obtained disestablishment while England has not.

Coercion there has been, no doubt, but it was inevitable. At a time when the writer was in Dublin an agrarian murder was committed. The Council met, and the Attorney-General was asked whether he had obtained information about the case. He replied that he was perfectly informed, that he knew by whom the murder had been committed, and who had been the accomplices watching the roads to guard the murderer against surprise. But he added that he should not think of at once going to trial; every witness would perjure himself; the only chance of a verdict was delay. The law has had to deal with people whose moral ideas had been by an unhappy destiny perverted and who had murder in their hearts.

The attitude of Irish politicians towards England, and their habit of appealing to the enemies of England in the United States, have not made it easier for the English promoters of reform in Ireland to gain the support of their own people.

The Irish land question is one of extreme difficulty. But it cannot be said that it has been neglected by English legislatures, or that they have not done their best to solve it aright. There may be people no doubt ready to solve the difficulty by a sweeping measure of confiscation, the effects of which apparently would be the loss by rural Ireland of its heads, reckless multiplication of the peasantry, and the turning of more land from pasture into potato ground, the reverse of what agriculturists declare the best policy. The Celtic Irish do not appear to be specially successful as farmers in the United States. They certainly were not said to be so in the district of the United States where the writer spent some time. The Norman peasant does pretty well on a small holding. But the Norman peasant is very industrious, very thrifty, and not so philoprogenitive as the Celt. The culture which is the most profitable must surely in the end prevail.

Let the accuser of England cross the water and see the Ireland in America. He would be struck at once by one thing most creditable to the Irish—the warmth of family affection which has brought so many thousands of the race across the water, the first settlers of the

family paying out of their earnings the passage of the rest. On the other hand, he would be told what the Irish have been as a political element; what powers have been able to command their votes; how the American statesman views their influence. He would be told that they have been the most unfeeling trampers on the negro. He would be told that, in the middle of the Civil War, the Irish having risen in New York against the draft,

spreading over the city, raised a cry against 'the nigger'; forced their way into hotels and restaurants where coloured servants were employed; sacked an asylum for coloured children (it had several hundreds of those little helpless inmates), the women in the mob carrying off beds, furniture, and such other property as could be removed—they then set the building on fire; an armoury not far distant shared the same fate. In the lower part of the city an attack was made on the office of a newspaper—the *Tribune*—specially obnoxious to the rioters on account of its supporting the Government; the omnibuses and street cars were stopped; the railroads and telegraphs cut; factories, machine shops, shipyards, &c., were forcibly closed; business was paralysed. In all directions the unoffending negroes were pursued in the streets; some were murdered; their old men and infirm women were beaten without mercy; their houses were burnt; one negro was tied to a tree, a fire kindled under him, and he was roasted to death.¹

On this occasion the Americans, when they got up troops, quelled the rising with a vigour at least as decisive as that which would have been displayed on a like occasion by the British Government. Next year a repetition of the outbreak was apprehended. But an American general came into the harbour with troops, called the leaders of the Irish before him, and told them that if there was any disturbance he would hold them personally responsible. There was no disturbance. A character may have very bright and winning features and yet stand in need of firm government.

The prime authoress of all the unhappiness which we admit and deplore appears to have been Nature, who formed the two islands and placed them as they are relatively to each other and to the continent. In the age of predatory and roving wars, invasion of the lesser island by the greater there was pretty sure to be.

Ireland in the dawn of her history was tribal, and tribalism means disunion and general weakness, though by union under a war-king tribal Ireland was enabled to repulse the Dane. Tribal Ireland had a brilliant missionary Church of which the touching monument is Iona. But if the Round Towers were, as is supposed, places of refuge, the tribal state would seem not to have been a commonwealth of law. Of one race all the tribes may have been, and they may have had a code of customs; but they could hardly have been called a nation. The history of Dermott and Strongbow does not seem to point to the existence of any powerful and centralised government.

After the Dane, who left some little settlements on the coast, the

¹ *History of the American Civil War* (iii. 442). By John William Draper.

next invaders of Ireland are the Normans, like the Danes a roving and marauding race, who present themselves in the eleventh century as the special soldiers of Father Caraher's spiritual chief and bear the banner of Papal aggrandisement at Hastings. Hildebrand, the real creator of the Papacy, found them the useful instruments of his ambition, while he lent to their enterprise his spiritual consecration. He demanded homage of William the Conqueror, but the Conqueror was too strong to concede it, though Hildebrand was allowed to crush the national Church of England and instal Ultramontaniam in its place. The conquest of Ireland, irregularly commenced by the Norman adventurer Strongbow, was presently pressed and formally achieved by his king. The marauding and Papal banner passed from Hastings to Ireland. But Henry the Second, weaker than the Conqueror, paid homage, and Ireland thus passed under the suzerainty of the Papacy, combined with and consecrating the dominion of the foreign raider.

The Norman kingdom of Ireland had been too hastily and weakly founded on the nominal submission of the tribal chiefs. The power of England was distracted by European conflicts. The consequence was the permanent division of the island between the Celtic tribe-land and the feudal province of the Norman; the people of one differing radically in blood, language, character, and customs from that of the other. This was the original source of all the evil, and for it 'England' is no more responsible than she is for the Fall of Man.

Had the Norman conquest of Ireland been complete, like the Norman conquest of England, the result would have been the same—ultimate fusion and a united nation. Unhappily, owing to the distraction of the English power and to local obstacles, the conquest remained incomplete, and the result was the permanent and disastrous division of Ireland between what remained of Celtic tribalism and the Pale.

War between the tribes and the feudal Pale went on incessantly. It was pretty much a battle between a dog and a fish, the man-at-arms failing to penetrate the woods and bogs which were the stronghold of the tribesman, the tribesman being unable to stand against the man-at-arms in the field. The scene was varied for a time by the Scotch invasion under Edward Bruce, who during his run of success made general havoc, and apparently led some of the feudal lords of the Pale in the chaos to change their character and become lords of tribal combinations. At the close of the Middle Ages the Pale was reduced to a small circle round Dublin, and evidently was in a state of great internal disorder. Its condition being wretched, it was no doubt largely filled with riff-raff. Civilisation and law of course made no way. The Lancastrian Government of England was at enmity with the Pale, which was Yorkist, and caused to be passed Poyning's Act, by which it was enacted that all existing English laws should be

in force in Ireland, and that no Parliament should be held in Ireland without the sanction of the king in Council, who should also be empowered to disallow statutes passed by the Irish Houses. This, of which Irishmen speak as a felonious extinction of the independence of the Irish nation, was apparently in fact a suppression of the lawlessness of the Pale. The policy of the early Tudors appears to have been the delegation of the government of Ireland to an Anglo-Irish chief; but it was soon found that the chief governed for himself.

The conquest was weak and protracted, consequently cruel. England had always France or Scotland on her hands. Then came the Civil War between York and Lancaster, when Ireland fell for a time into the hands of York and was thus brought into conflict with Lancaster, victorious under Henry the Seventh. To charge England at the present day with the consequences of these remote events, or with any part of Ireland's historical inheritance of misfortune, is no more rational than it would be to charge her with the mischief wrought by a catastrophe of Nature. Had Edward the First been free to complete the annexation of Ireland and her union with England, as it seems he designed, all these dark pages might have been torn from the book of Fate.

Professor Richey, a recognised authority, says :

From the date of the attempt to reduce the Irish, in the reign of Richard the Second, to 1535, the condition of the tribes had not improved, but rather retrograded. The evils of the Celtic system were aggravated, its counterbalancing advantages were obsolete and forgotten. The several tribes were devoid of any central authority or bond of union. The idea of nationality had disappeared; although the English were styled strangers and invaders, the national union of the native tribes had not been attempted for two centuries.

But can it be said that the tribal union had ever been in the full sense national? There had been a king to lead in war and there was a code of tribal customs, but otherwise probably the tie was loose. Can there be truly said now to be an Irish any more than an Anglo-Saxon nation?

It is needless to say what was the effect of religious war of the most deadly kind added to that of race by the Reformation. It appears from the narrative of Cuellar, a Spaniard cast ashore from the Armada on the Irish coast, that the common Irish were in a very low state of civilisation. Cuellar treats them as savages. It seems that they robbed and stripped Spaniards, their fellow Catholics and allies, cast ashore from the Armada.

Burghley and his colleagues had shown their statesmanship nobly by their foundation of Trinity College. But their plans of political organisation were at once wrecked in the deadly war of race and of religion which raged to the end of the reign of Elizabeth; the last of the Celts being led by chiefs who were a cross between the tribal and the feudal. At the opening of the reign of James, the last of these

had submitted and fled. His vast domain in the north of Ireland was confiscated and sold to English and Scotch settlers, Protestants, the Scotch vehemently so, who in effect formed a new Pale in the north of the island, with laws, ideas, and customs not less alien than had been those of the Norman Pale to the laws and the customs of the Celts; added to which was now the more deadly antagonism of religion. Infuriated by the loss of their lands under what to them was an alien land law treating as private and forfeitable that which belonged to the whole tribe, as well as moved by religious antagonism, the Irish Catholics of Ulster rose upon the intruders, chased them out of the territory, and savagely massacred a number of them unquestionably large, though it may have been over-stated. There ensued a long and deadly war of races and sects, carried on contemporaneously with the Civil War in England, and ended at last by Cromwell, whose treatment of the garrison of Drogheda, cruel as it was, and a deep stain upon a character generally humane, was in accordance with the custom of war in those days, and fell far below the atrocity of Papal generals such as Alva and Tilly. The transplantation of the Papal land-owners from the north of Ireland to the south was again a cruel measure, but after the Ulster massacre it would surely have been perilous to leave the dispossessed and the disposessor, the Catholic and the Protestant, together. The government of Ireland under the Protector was unquestionably good, as the royalist Clarendon testifies, and a remarkable advance in material prosperity, in Ulster at least, was its fruit.

The policy of the worthy Ormonde, Viceroy under Charles the Second, was peace and moderation. Under him the poor island had a glimpse of happiness. But with James the reaction, political and religious, came into power. At the Revolution Ireland once more became a hapless battle-ground of civil war, political and religious, and Irish Protestantism made what was near being its last stand behind the walls of heroic Derry. There was a general persecution and maltreatment of Protestants by the Catholics ominous of something worse. There was a sweeping proscription by a Catholic Parliament of the Protestant proprietary of the island. Then followed in turn an outpouring of the vengeance of the victor in the thrice-hateful Penal Code, which was, however, the offspring not so much of English as of Protestant Irish fear and hatred. Of fear and most natural fear be it remembered, on the part of its authors, it was an offspring, as well as of hatred. It was in fact largely a measure of self-defence keeping power out of most dangerous hands. What would have been the fate of the Irish Protestants if James, instead of William, had triumphed? They had been warned by the great Act of Attainder at home. But, looking across the sea, what did they behold? The Edict of Nantes perfidiously revoked; a worthy and loyal peasantry guilty of no crime but being Protestants maltreated, plundered, out-

raged, given up to the license of a brutal soldiery, driven from their homes and their country. With such memories, and with such perils still impending, the tyranny of Louis the Fourteenth threatening to add itself to that of James the Second, some excuse may be made for the authors of the Penal Code. It was at all events not merely religious intolerance, but religious intolerance combined with real and most natural fear that gave it birth. As soon as that fear had passed away, practical if not legislative mitigation seems to have begun. The social breach unhappily could not be healed, nor could Irish gentlemen, natural leaders of the Catholic peasantry whom the Penal law had driven into exile, be recalled to Ireland. To continental armies, some of them hostile to England, great was the gain. There was a military Ireland, not unlaurelled, in Catholic Europe. In Ireland another sharp division, another Pale, as it were, of race, religion, and class had been formed.

A more disastrous situation than that of a country with a land-owning oligarchy and a peasantry alien to it in race, language, and religion, the bitter memories of a deadly war between the two being still fresh and its wounds bleeding, the malice of fortune could not have devised. Unutterably degraded and cruel was the lot of the serf. But James the Second, Louis the Fourteenth, and Rome were not less responsible than the England even of that day. Much less can the England of this day be held answerable.

For her share in the Penal Code, England had to plead that her own rights and liberties had been attacked by a Catholic king with Jesuits as his advisers, the Catholic despot of France as his ally, and Catholic Ireland as his ardent supporter. Her escape had been narrow.

It is fair in condemning Protestant intolerance in general to remember what the attitude and practices of the Papal Church then were. The fires of the autos-da-fe were still burning.² There were autos-da-fe in Mexico as late as 1815. It is not on the charge of intolerance that the liegemen of the Papacy in Ireland will put the Orangemen to shame.

In defence of the protectionist policy, excluding Irish goods and killing Irish trades, which English manufacturers and producers forced on their Government, thereby naturally estranging even Ulster and preparing her for revolution, there is not a word to be said, saving that it was the prevailing folly of the time. Pitt when he came on the scene did his best for free trade between the countries, but his offer, having been reduced by the selfishness of the English manufacturers, was rejected by the Irish Parliament, which had better have accepted the insult and afterwards bargained for more.

After the union of Scotland with England, which proved so

² See a frightful proof of this in a note to Lord Mahon's *History of England* (i. 107).

beneficial to Scotland, Ireland held out her hand, but was unhappily repelled, owing, it seems, to fear of the character of the Irish population, though Protectionist cupidity no doubt did its part. Thus was formed the growing element of discontent in which Swift, exiled to Ireland, found play for his own spleen.

As the Protestant gentry were politically the privileged body in Ireland, it must have been as much the tariff as any political or administrative grievance that caused the rising of the Volunteers for independence of England, whose hands were then tied by the war with the American colonies. The Castle Government was one of shameless corruption, but a misuse of Crown patronage, or official corruption of any kind, could hardly have seemed to traders in rotten boroughs a sufficient cause for a revolution. The relief which the change brought to the Catholic serf was not religious freedom and equality, or a real share in legislation and government, but merely the electoral franchise to be exercised subject to landlord influence and giving no real hold upon Parliament. The nation to which Grattan bowed in adoration was in effect still not so much a nation as a Pale; nor, when disaffection broke out, could anything be more ruthless than the Irish Parliament's treatment of the people. Repeal agitators of the present day in identifying their cause with that of the Volunteers as a body are surely astray.

After the hideous civil war of '98 between races and religions; after the alliance of Irish with French revolution; after the narrow escape of Ireland from French conquest, besides the proof that the Protestant oligarchy and the Catholics would not live on fair terms and happily together, could a statesman like Pitt fail to see the necessity of bringing the two islands under the same legislature and government? The Union was carried, like other contested measures in those days of loose political morality, by means more or less corrupt, especially by a lavish creation of titles. The notion that the sums paid to the owners of Irish rotten boroughs were bribes, it may be assumed, is no longer entertained. The Viceroy Cornwallis, writing from Dublin, testifies that the measure, when passed, was proclaimed without adverse demonstration of any kind. In the general election which followed in Ireland, the question of the Union was not an issue. Of the three principal opponents of Union in the Irish Parliament, all took their seats in the United Parliament: Foster accepted office, Plunkett formally withdrew his opposition to the Union, and Grattan, while he continued to move for Catholic emancipation, refused to join in agitation with O'Connell. That Pitt would have carried Catholic emancipation if he could, that he was perfectly sincere, no candid mind can doubt. He could not overcome the stolid prejudices of the king; his sincerity he proved by retiring from office. It was by national necessity the most absolute that he was afterwards recalled to power.

That three such men as Grattan, Foster, and Plunkett could come in as they did immediately after the Union seems proof in itself that patriotism might have acquiesced in it from the first, and that it was not solely the creature of corruption.

Ireland had become the scene of a faction fight the most hellish, with mutual massacres, flogging, picketing, pitch-capping, and every sort of destructive outrage. People, we are told, were at last afraid to fry bacon lest the swine might have been fed on human flesh. But these were the doings of Irish factions before the Union, and it is not to the account of the people of England that they should be set down. The Parliament of Ireland, to which Grattan had bowed as the nation impersonated, looked on, doing nothing in the interests of mercy, but letting loose martial law and passing Acts of Indemnity for all atrocities committed on the side of repression, even those of Judkin Fitzgerald. What is there to warrant the assumption that had the Union not taken place these men would have let power out of their own hands, given Ireland a really popular government, passed Catholic emancipation, and made over the land to the peasant? It was by leading English members of the United Parliament that Catholic emancipation at last was carried.

Since that time, it may be truly said, legislative reform and improvement have advanced in the two countries with nearly even step. Sad necessity, which it is idle to deny, made an exception in the case of the criminal law. O'Connell with his virulence did his best to keep up an estrangement between the two countries and make concession difficult. Ireland has suffered under exploitation by political adventurers such as Sadleir and Keogh, painted to the life by an Irish hand.

It is not denied, O'Connell himself testified, that in the famine England and Scotland did their best to succour Ireland, though this unfortunately did not prevent the renewal of bitter language on the Irish side. Agitation against the Union had become an Irish calling. It has made the task of the real friends of reform in Ireland very hard.

O'Connell's original object was Catholic emancipation, which, warmly supported from the beginning by British Liberalism, was presently conceded. But he had taken his place as a leader and monarch of agitation, and he was evidently determined to retain his throne. From Catholic emancipation he went on to the repeal of the Union and was defeated in the House of Commons by an overwhelming vote, followed by an address to the king pledging the House to stand by the Union. From that time everything that was or went wrong in Ireland, the sufferings of the peasantry from over-population, from unthrif, from the treacherous potato, and from evils which are the sad heritage of a disastrous history, has been charged to the account of the Union, and Repeal has been the cry. Sympathy with

of England could be found. It must be owned that British faction, pandering to Irish Anglophobia for votes, has to bear a part and no small part of the blame.

The agitation for Repeal, however, made comparatively little way under the immediate successors of O'Connell. The peasantry, simple-minded as they were, must have had an inkling of the fact that the Union after all was not the source of the potato blight. The priesthood, at all events, after Catholic emancipation, had got pretty much what it wanted, and could not relish the connexion with continental revolution and scepticism into which the Repeal movement had got, and which bred 'Young Ireland.' Smith O'Brien's rising ended in widow McCormack's cabbage garden. It was when Parnell united the agrarian with the political movement that the active interest of the Irish peasantry in the political movement was revived, and that movement became formidable again.

Even so, however, a movement with no more military force than could be crushed by a policeman in a cabbage garden would not have become formidable to the Empire had it not been for the madness of British faction which angled for support in Irish discontent. Gladstone had at first not only opposed Home Rule, but anathematised it in the very strongest terms, proclaimed the arrest of Parnell to a shouting multitude at Guildhall, thrown him and his leading followers into prison. But he found that this had cost his party and his general policy the Irish vote. He must have seen also that the Conservatives were beginning to flirt with the Irish against him. Then he suddenly turned round, took Parnell's hand, and ultimately brought in a measure of Home Rule giving Ireland virtually a Parliament of her own, and in addition to it a representation in the Imperial Parliament, to bend by intrigue its councils to her will. That the House of Commons could by a considerable majority pass such a measure as Gladstone's Home Rule Bill is surely a proof both of the character of government by party and of the need of a second Chamber to guard the nation against the tendencies of the popular House.

Gladstone's Home Rule Bill would have been virtually Repeal of the Union. After giving Ireland legislative and executive power of her own, there would have been little use in saying that these were to be exercised subject to the legislative and executive power of Great Britain. The restriction could never have been patiently endured. British supremacy would have dwindled into a form like the Royal veto. This would be worse than the grant of independence outright, since it would involve a series of quarrels, while Great Britain would not be free from Irish responsibilities. Between union and separation the choice must apparently be made. What the Home Rule party demands is nationality, which implies complete separation.

There seems to be no general forecast of the course which things would take in Ireland were the Home Rule Bill passed.

priesthood would at first at all events be great, and would practically be used by them as delegates of the Papacy. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and that in French Canada are probably about the two best things that Roman Catholicism has to show. I never heard in Ireland anything about the character and lives of the priesthood that was not favourable from an ecclesiastical point of view. In a head of Maynooth I had a friend who was as liberal-minded as he was good. But Maynooth could not fail to be very narrowing. A young peasant was there kept for a series of years in intellectual seclusion, after which he would go forth into the world proof against all but Church influences, and with his mind absorbed in the objects of his profession. Progress would be hardly possible under such rule. The country would be lucky if there were no backsliding in its civilisation. To be under the dominion of the Papal priesthood is of course also to be under the dominion of the Pope, whose will would be made known through his delegate. But Ultramontanism and 'Modernism' are evidently coming into collision. Quebec shows us what an Ireland ruled by the priesthood would be.

The demands of the Church upon the pockets of the people are apparently beginning to be felt.

It is the tendency of the Irish generally in both hemispheres to follow popular leaders, and it is equally the tendency of ambitious men of the upper class to furnish them with the leaders to follow. Political adventurers would probably be numerous. O'Connell and Parnell were both of them, starting for an object which lifted them out of the depths of political adventure. But the ordinary political adventurer will be found vividly painted by Mr. T. P. O'Connor in his *Parnell Movement*. Sadler and Keogh were extreme specimens of a class. The people have been trained too much to look to agitation instead of looking to self-extension for improvement of their lot. That there would be a general settling down to steady industry and commerce cannot surely be very confidently assumed.

An agrarian movement of the radical kind would sweep away the landed proprietary, who might otherwise, if they would take earnestly to their duty, be the best leaders of the people in the rural districts. A landed proprietor, whether in England or Ireland, who resides constantly on his estate and does his duty to his people, giving them such guidance and help as is in his power, earns perhaps a not inconsiderable portion of his rent.

What would be the position of British and Protestant Ulster left to the political mercy of an overwhelming majority of Roman Catholics and Celts traditionally hostile? Could England, to whom Ulster has always been faithful, afford to see her wronged? Would there not be intervention on the part of England, met perhaps by appeals to foreign intervention on the other side?

to encourage a limitation of expenditure on armaments, so far as can be done without prejudice to that 'indisputable superiority on the sea,' which is of vital necessity to the existence and well-being of the Empire. The Hague Conference having demonstrated the hopelessness of reaching an agreement in regard to such a limitation, and in view of the determined action of Germany and its effects upon the shipbuilding programmes of other countries, the question now naturally arises whether or not the time has arrived for taking corresponding action here, and embarking without delay on a large and necessarily costly programme of new construction. In some quarters it has been asserted that the delay has already been too long continued, that risks have been incurred which can be remedied only by urgent and special measures, and that if this is not done at once our naval supremacy will disappear three or four years hence. In support of this view it is pointed out that since March 1907 Germany has laid down seven battleships and three armoured cruisers of the largest size and most powerful types, whereas our shipbuilding programmes for the last two financial years have included only four battleships and one cruiser of comparable types. Moreover, the German programme, as recently amended, provides for laying down in each of the three years 1909-11 three battleships and one armoured cruiser, and for meeting the large further increase in expenditure consequent thereon. In 1904-5 the German Vote for new construction and armaments was (in round figures) 4,645,000*l.*; in the current financial year it is 8,366,400*l.*; and for 1909-10 is to be 10,988,000*l.* On the other hand, the British Vote for new construction and armaments, which exceeded 13,500,000*l.* in 1904-5, has gradually fallen to 8,660,000*l.* this financial year, and is lower than it has been during the present century. The average British Vote for ten years has been about 10,600,000*l.*

These and other figures have been freely used for the purpose of awakening public sentiment and securing prompt action in laying down a considerable number of new ships. The balance of opinion on the subject, so far as can be judged from a perusal of many articles and speeches, is that at least six and possibly seven battleships, exceeding in dimensions and fighting powers any existing vessels, ought to be laid down at an early date, and pressed forward rapidly to completion in order to make our naval position secure in 1912. The total outlay involved in this programme would be from twelve to fourteen millions sterling, and it is urged that it should be finished within two and a half years. There are large outstanding liabilities on vessels of various classes now in process of construction, and the proposed additional programme would necessitate, therefore, a great increase in the Vote for shipbuilding and armaments in 1909-10 and the following financial year. In addition, there are considerable increases in naval expenditure—more or less automatic in character,

and therefore unavoidable—which must be provided for next year, as was explained in detail by the writer in the April number of this Review. In these circumstances it is of extreme importance to examine closely the reasons which have been advanced in support of this new shipbuilding programme. Everyone will agree that if the additions to our fleet are really necessary they must be provided at all costs. The incident will be regrettable, but if the need exists it must be met, and no good purpose can be served by spending time and thought in ascertaining who may have been responsible for the unsatisfactory conditions which make this 'spurt' in shipbuilding imperatively necessary. On the other hand, unless there is an absolute necessity for an immediate increase in our naval force, it is preferable not to commence so many ships simultaneously, and to concentrate such great expenditure within a very limited period. From the national point of view it is desirable to approximate more closely to a uniform rate of expenditure; from the industrial point of view it is preferable to maintain a fairly constant and regular flow of orders for warships and their armaments.

In passing, allusion may be made to an argument that has been put forward lately in favour of large immediate orders for warships, on the ground that this action would relieve, to some extent, the prevailing depression and unemployment in the shipbuilding, engineering, and steel-making industries of Great Britain; while it would enable contracts to be placed at low prices. This statement is unquestionably true, but it might be applied equally well to many other classes of Government orders. While sympathising heartily with industries which would be benefited by an immediate commencement of a considerable number of warships, the writer is of opinion that their claims to consideration are not special or pre-eminent as compared with other industries. The subject should be dealt with as a whole if dealt with at all; and there must be consideration and decision of the nature and extent of the aid which the Government should or ought to give towards the employment of labour in periods of industrial depression.

The fundamental question to be examined in connexion with British programmes for warship-building, including that for 1909-10, is, What is necessary for the defence of the Empire and the maintenance of our naval supremacy? The responsibility for dealing with this matter rests upon the Government, acting under the advice of the Admiralty, and in many technical matters under the special guidance of naval members of the Board. The writer has no intention to join the ranks of the 'naval experts' who have been freely tendering advice in regard to the number and types of new ships which ought to be laid down without delay. His long experience of official life and responsibility convinces him that any such action on his

part would be undesirable and unnecessary. On the other hand, he is of opinion that the case presented to the public recently by advocates of a great shipbuilding programme has been exaggerated, and that the comparisons of British and foreign fleets which have been made have been in some respects misleading. It is proposed, therefore, in this article to draw attention to certain facts that appear to have been either misunderstood or overlooked, although their due and fair consideration is essential to a correct appreciation of the existing naval situation.

On the 12th of November, the Prime Minister—in answer to a question of Mr. Lee (formerly Civil Lord of the Admiralty)—stated in the House of Commons that the Government ‘accepted the two-Power standard of naval strength, as meaning a preponderance of ten per cent. over the combined strengths in capital ships of the two next strongest Powers.’ Mr. Asquith then confirmed the adherence of the present Government to a formula which has been adopted by successive Governments during the last twenty years. Lord Tweedmouth had made a similar announcement during the naval debate in the House of Lords on the 18th of March, and other members of the Government on different occasions have said the same thing. Apart from these public declarations of policy, it is obvious that the responsibility for fixing the proper standard for the naval and military forces of the Empire must always rest upon the Government of the day. In some quarters, however, there has been a confusion of ideas on this matter, and it has been assumed that responsibility for fixing this standard, although nominally resting on the Government, is really borne by the Board of Admiralty. The true function of that Board is to advise the Government in regard to the numbers and types of ships which are required to be added to the existing fleet from time to time, in order that the standard laid down by the Government may be secured. The members of the Board are responsible for the arrangement and execution of shipbuilding programmes, as well as for the training of the *personnel*, the organisation and discipline of the Royal Navy, the maintenance of the fleet in an efficient condition, and all other matters which affect its readiness and fitness for war. These duties are sufficiently varied and onerous to tax severely the ability and energy of the members of any Board of Admiralty, and especially of the naval members. The professional and technical business of the Admiralty is distributed amongst the members by the First Lord, and may be varied at his discretion. Of course the limitation of official responsibility does not preclude individual members of the Board of Admiralty from forming and expressing opinions as to the sufficiency or insufficiency of the standard of naval force laid down by the Government under which they are serving. When that standard has been publicly declared, as is the case at present, there is also no bar to the free expression

of opinion as to its sufficiency by any naval officer or British citizen. In fact, instances are not lacking in which the condemnation of an officially accepted standard by educated public opinion has led to its modification. The two-Power standard, however, runs no risk of revision at present.

It is interesting to note that this standard was proposed by a Committee of three distinguished admirals appointed in 1888 to consider and report on the naval manœuvres of that year. The members of the Committee were Sir William Dowell, Sir Vesey Hamilton, and Sir Frederick Richards (now Admiral of the Fleet). Their report was remarkable in many respects, and it bore fruit subsequently in the well-considered and far-reaching policy which was carried into practical effect during the long and distinguished service of Sir Frederick Richards as First Naval Lord. In these days of short-lived memories it may be permitted to quote the following passage :

If England could 'consistently with national honour' control the question of peace or war there would be no need for haste in bringing up her naval force to the standard required for insuring, under Providence, a successful issue to a struggle for the freedom of the seas ; but, as there seems nothing to support the belief that she would have any option in the matter, when it suited another great Power to challenge her maritime position, we are decidedly of opinion that no time should be lost in placing her Navy *beyond comparison with that of any two Powers*. Without particularising her possible antagonist, there can be no doubt but that, were England involved in a maritime war, and she were to resume her natural rights as a belligerent—which appear to have been voluntarily laid aside by the Declaration of Paris in 1856—complications with neutral States would inevitably ensue, and her whole commercial position and the immense carrying trade by which it is sustained would be jeopardised at the outset, were war to be forced upon her at a time when her Navy was weak. No other nation has any such interest in the maintenance of an undoubted superiority at sea as has England, whose seaboard is her frontier.

England ranks among the great Powers of the world by virtue of the naval position she has acquired in the past, and which has never been seriously challenged since the close of the last great war. The defeat of her Navy means to her the loss of India and her Colonies, and of her place among the nations. Without any desire to question the sums annually granted by Parliament for the maintenance of the services, we cannot but note the disproportion in the appropriation when the magnitude of the issues involved is taken into consideration. It would, in our opinion, be far more in consonance with the requirements of the nation by the provision of an adequate fleet to render invasion an impossibility, than to enter into costly arrangements to meet an enemy on our shores (instead of destroying his 'Armadas' off our shores) ; for, under the conditions in which it would be possible for a great Power to successfully invade England, nothing could avail her ; as, the command of the sea once being lost, it would not require the landing of a single man upon her shores to bring her to an ignominious capitulation, for by her Navy she must stand or fall.

In 1888, and for many years after, the two-Power standard possessed a very real meaning and remained unquestioned. France and Russia owned the two most powerful war-fleets were in practical alliance.

match or attempt to match the British. At present the foreign relations of this country are radically changed, and so is the naval situation. Under the pressure of financial necessities and the paramount claims of the land forces, France has dropped from the second place in the war-fleets of the world. The Russian Navy has been for a time practically effaced by the disasters of the war in the Far East. The United States of America, spurred on by experience gained during the war with Spain and by action taken elsewhere, has created a powerful fleet and can now fairly claim the position long occupied by France, being second only to Great Britain. Germany aspires to an equally proud position, and is carrying out a huge programme of shipbuilding as well as making a corresponding increase in *personnel*, and completing great works on land—on the North Sea Canal and at naval ports—to provide for the accommodation, maintenance and effective use of her fleet. In these circumstances a new interpretation of the two-Power standard has become necessary. There remain, however, differences of opinion in regard to the proper interpretation to be given to the formula. Since Mr. Asquith made the statement unreservedly accepting the two-Power standard, the suggestion has been made that it should be restricted to European Navies in its practical application; and that, even by implication, it should not be assumed that the war-fleets of the English-speaking peoples on both sides of the Atlantic will ever be arrayed against one another. Such an event appears incredible and ought never to occur. Neither is it probable that France and Germany will be found united against Great Britain in naval warfare. Yet history and experience teach us that events and alliances which appeared to be impossible have come to pass; and in framing British naval programmes it is well to err on the side of excess in strength. A British Navy of supreme power is undoubtedly one of the greatest guarantees of the peace of the world, and the adoption of the two-Power standard in its broadest sense ought not to give offence in any quarter, because no other country depends for its existence upon a command of the sea. In reply to questions asked on November 23, Mr. Asquith stated in the House of Commons, that ‘under existing conditions, and under all foreseeable circumstances’ the phrase ‘two next strongest Powers’ must be taken to mean ‘the two next strongest Powers, whatever they may be, and wherever they may be situated.’ Thus interpreted he regarded ‘the two-Power standard as a workable formula,’ by which our superiority at sea can be secured.

Having accepted the two-Power standard as a rough-and-ready working rule, its practical application involves decisions on many important points. Is ‘the preponderance of ten per cent. in capital ships’ to be determined simply by numerical comparisons, or by the consideration of the aggregate offensive and defensive powers of ships ranking as ‘capital’? It is not possible to say that the standard is

ship to be defined? How are the aggregate fighting powers of two differently constituted fleets to be measured for individual vessels or totalled for the fleets? What allowances are to be made for differences always existing between the total numbers of ships appearing on the Effective List of a Navy, and the numbers actually in efficient condition and ready for service at any moment? Besides these there are many other questions that must be asked and finally answered by the responsible authority—and for the Royal Navy that authority undoubtedly must be the Board of Admiralty.

In dealing with this vital matter certain fundamental considerations have to be regarded. The available strength of a Navy in any and every class of ship at a given moment depends on the numbers which are complete, thoroughly efficient and ready for service. Ships which are building, however far advanced, must not be taken into account; nor must ships which are dismantled and undergoing large repairs; or ships which have become inefficient in propelling apparatus, armaments and all other features contributing to fighting efficiency. The presence of 'lame ducks' in a fleet means loss of combatant power and strategical capability in the fleet as a whole. Each naval department knows, or should know, what weaknesses of this nature exist in the fleet of which it has charge; but it cannot be so well informed about the actual condition of foreign Navies. There is no excuse for a policy which temporarily neglects or postpones adequate financial provision for the upkeep and repairs of all completed ships which are still continued on the Effective List of a fleet. There are temptations no doubt to do this, in order to reduce expenditure or to devote money to other objects, such as new construction. The writer has repeatedly dealt with this matter in this Review and elsewhere, and would again assert his conviction that failure to provide liberally for the maintenance and repairs of the ships on the Effective List of the Royal Navy is inexcusable and dangerous. 'Paper' ships are of no service in the day of battle.

In making comparisons between the strengths of fleets it is also unwise to concentrate attention on vessels of the latest types in whose design it has been possible to take advantage of the most recent inventions and improvements; and to treat vessels of earlier date as of little worth, or as negligible quantities. Ever since steam-propulsion began to supersede sail-power, iron and steel to take the place of wood, modern rifled guns to be employed instead of cast-iron smooth-bore guns, and armour to be used for defence, it has been true that the rapid introduction of new types of warships has involved relative depreciation in the fighting powers of their predecessors. This law is of universal application. The terms 'obsolescent' and 'obsolete,' as applied to warships of no great age, have been in use for half a century; but their employment has been more frequent and general since the 'Dreadnought era' began four years ago. Consequently

there has been created a popular impression that something new and unprecedented happened when the *Dreadnought* type was introduced. In the June number of this Review the writer showed that history is simply repeating itself in the *Dreadnought* of 1905. The *Dreadnought* of 1873 in her day embodied similar fundamental ideas and was no less remarkable. Reference to that article will show moreover that there is not universal acceptance of the view, put forward again and again during the last four years, that the present *Dreadnought* type is immensely superior in fighting efficiency to all its predecessors. If what has been claimed for that type were admitted, it would, however, still remain true that the existing naval supremacy of Great Britain does not depend entirely, or even chiefly, upon the possession of a certain number of ships of great size and high speed each armed with many 12-inch guns of long range and great power. The war-fleet of Britain or of any other country must be considered as a whole. Command of the sea depends upon our possession of a sufficient aggregate power in all types of capital ships still remaining on the Effective List. In addition to these capital ships the Royal Navy must possess other and less powerful vessels in sufficient numbers and of suitable types to perform efficiently numerous and important duties—as auxiliaries to fleets, and for the protection of British interests throughout the world. Unless all these requirements are fulfilled the needs of the Empire cannot be met, even if we were possessed of surpassing force in *Dreadnoughts* or any other type of capital ship.

The foregoing statements are truisms, no doubt; but in some circumstances it is desirable to restate and enforce truisms. The extremely narrow view which has been taken in recent discussions of the coming programme of shipbuilding justifies what has been said; because it has been tacitly assumed that the maintenance of British naval supremacy depended wholly or chiefly on our possession of a superiority in numbers of ships of the *Dreadnought* type. It is this view of the matter which has led to the suggestion that six or seven improved *Dreadnoughts* should be laid down immediately in order that they may be ready for service in 1911. It cannot be supposed that such a restricted view of the subject has received or will receive official sanction. It may be anticipated that in framing their programme the Admiralty will neither ignore nor unduly depreciate the value attaching to earlier types of capital ships; seeing that these ships constitute the main strength of the existing British fleet. Vessels of comparable types occupy an equally important position in foreign Navies at the present time, and our business is to deal first with existing forces, immediately available for employment in hostilities if war broke out; although attention must also be given to ships building and their possible dates of completion.

Not one foreign vessel of the *Dreadnought* type, or designed as a rival to that type, is completed, nor is one likely to be ready for service

until next year has well advanced. On the other hand, the Royal Navy at the close of this year, besides the *Dreadnought* herself, will have available three *Invincibles*—all with single-calibre big-gun armaments—in addition to the *Lord Nelson* and *Agamemnon*, which in offensive and defensive powers compare favourably with the *Dreadnought* and closely resemble in armament the most recent types of French battleships now building. Furthermore we have three other battleships of the *Téméraire* type, which were described by Lord Tweedmouth as ‘infinitely better than the *Dreadnought*,’ now rapidly approaching completion. The two German battleships and the large cruiser *Blucher* first laid down as replies to the *Dreadnoughts* and *Invincibles* will not be completed until the latter part of 1909; two more and a large armoured cruiser are intended to be finished in 1910, before which date the Royal Navy will have been reinforced by three *St. Vincents*, which Lord Tweedmouth described as ‘a great advance’ on the *Téméraires*. In the United States the *Michigan* and *South Carolina* are to be completed by contractors at the end of 1909, and the *North Dakota* and *Delaware* in the summer of 1910. Consequently in 1910 the Royal Navy will possess twelve battleships and cruisers of the latest types, as against six comparable ships possessed by Germany and four belonging to the United States. France will not finish any of the six first-class battleships now building until 1911; in the course of that year it is proposed to complete four, and the other two are to be completed in the following year. So far as these types are concerned, therefore, the Royal Navy during the next two years will retain a considerable superiority in numbers over the three most powerful fleets combined, even if their programmes of construction are completely realised and no delays occur from non-preventible causes. At the present time, moreover, quite apart from this superiority in most recent types of capital ships, the British Navy is capable of meeting any possible combination of the two strongest war-fleets of other Powers. Before substantiating this statement it may be noted that if the popular view were correct—viz. that the introduction of the *Dreadnought* type in 1905 greatly depreciated the value of all preceding vessels—the Admiralty of that day must have committed an act of folly without precedent in the history of the Royal Navy. This conclusion rests upon the unquestioned fact that before the *Dreadnought* was laid down in 1905 our naval supremacy was greater than it had been at any time since armour and modern armaments were introduced, largely in consequence of the virtual destruction of the Russian fleet. It surely could not have been deliberately intended to weaken that supremacy—consisting as it did of types then generally accepted and imitated elsewhere—by entering upon a policy which necessarily involved a serious depreciation in value of existing warships. If this was not intended then it follows that the Admiralty did not and does not endorse the opinion freely expressed at the time of the

Dreadnought's commencement or believe that her advent involved a complete revolution in naval construction. Mr. McKenna, at all events, made it abundantly clear that he did not endorse that view in one of the first speeches delivered by him in the House of Commons after he became First Lord. He then said, and most people will agree with the statement, that

down to the last three years the battleship superiority of this country over Germany was very considerable. It was generally assumed that the introduction of the *Dreadnought* had altered the whole relations between the two countries. Valuable as most people now agreed the *Dreadnought* was, as a new type of ship, no one would assert that the existence of the *Dreadnought* nullified the existence of the previous kinds of ships. Those must be taken into account in striking a balance between the two Powers.

It may be of assistance to readers desirous of mastering the facts if an attempt is made in popular language to describe the existing naval situation, and to illustrate the standing of the Royal Navy relatively to the hypothetical combination of any two of the three most powerful foreign fleets. The public mind has been much disturbed by statements of an alarmist character, in which great prominence has been given to future possibilities, while little has been said about existing conditions. A few preliminary explanations must be given, in order that the method of tabulation and comparison adopted may be clearly understood.

The distinction between 'battleships' and 'armoured cruisers' has been diminishing in recent years. In the battle of Tsushima Togo associated the two classes and treated his armoured cruisers as 'capital ships' forming part of his line of battle. It may be taken for granted that this example will be followed in future naval actions. Differences in manœuvring power, even if they exist between the units in a fleet, obviously become of comparatively small importance when actions are fought at very long ranges; the power of 'quick turning' in small spaces by individual ships in these circumstances is not of the same value as it was formerly. In all large Navies, however, some vessels classed as armoured cruisers are very moderately armed and protected; so that they could not be treated as 'capital ships' or included in the line of battle. In dealing with the following tables this difference will be allowed for roughly, although the writer recognises that the matter is one on which there is room for difference of opinion and that his classification may be criticised. It has, however, been fairly applied to each fleet.

As to the 'life' on the Effective List which may reasonably be assigned to battleships and armoured cruisers, it may be said that the latest German law takes twenty years. The 'Cawdor' Return takes twenty-five years for battleships and twenty years for armoured cruisers, which was the German practice until the present year. In the following tables twenty years from the date of launch has been

taken for both classes. This bears more hardly on the British list than on the others. For instance, the battleships *Nile* and *Trafalgar* of the Royal Navy are shut out, whereas vessels such as the German *Brandenburgs* or the United States *Oregons* are retained, although they are greatly inferior to the two British ships in offensive and defensive power.

Displacement tonnages are given on the tables, and deserve consideration in making comparisons, especially between warships of which the designs have been prepared at or about the same date. No claim can reasonably be made for the possession by British naval architects of skill superior to that of foreign competitors. Inventions and improvements made in one country soon become known elsewhere, and are made use of or rivalled. Hence it may be assumed that the designs for warships prepared *at or about the same date* in different countries will be carried out under practically equal conditions. The displacement tonnage, or total weight, of a warship is the capital with which the designer works. He may and does distribute the total displacement differently according to the views of the naval authority whom he serves, and to some extent according to his own ideas. For different classes of ships the distribution is necessarily different. In a battleship the percentages of displacement assigned to armour-protection and armament are generally greater than the corresponding percentages in an armoured cruiser; while the percentages assigned to propelling machinery and fuel-supply in the cruiser, with higher speed and greater engine-power, would usually be larger than that for the battleship. As improvements are made in armour and its powers of resistance in proportion to thickness are increased, the weight of protective material per unit of armoured area may be and has been considerably diminished in association with a certain power of resistance to perforation. Consequently a mere comparison of tabulated thicknesses of armour carried by two ships of different dates of construction, protected by different qualities of armour, would be fallacious. Furthermore, unless regard is paid to the *area protected* by armour as well as the thicknesses of plating in two ships of the same date of design and with armour of the same quality, wrong conclusions may be reached as to comparative defensive powers. Similarly in regard to armaments careful note must be taken of the date of construction of guns, since weapons of later design are greatly superior to earlier guns of the same calibre in range, power and accuracy. Great improvements have been made also in regard to the propelling apparatus of warships, enabling large economies to be effected in the proportion of weight of machinery to power developed or in the expenditure of fuel to generate a certain power; and in this way it has been made possible to attain higher speeds and greater capacity for steaming over long distances. These are only samples of the difficulties arising and requiring to be dealt with when comparisons of

fighting efficiency are attempted between individual ships; and the problem becomes still more complex when squadrons or fleets are compared. Some writers on the subject, it is true, have treated these difficulties in a light-hearted fashion, and produced formulæ or modes of comparison which are quite satisfactory to themselves, on which they base professedly accurate and authoritative estimates (or typical 'numbers') indicating relative fighting value. No one really familiar with the subject accepts these estimates; it is therefore unnecessary to say more about them. All that need be added is that in any examination made of the tables the fact should be recognised that the *larger displacement* of one ship of given date, when compared with another ship of about the same date, ought to, and as a rule does, indicate the possession of one or more superior qualities, either in defence, armament, fuel supply, or equipment. The point is important, as for many years British ships have been deliberately made larger in displacement than their contemporaries of corresponding classes in foreign Navies. One cause of this was for many years the fixed determination to endow our ships with larger supplies of fuel, ammunition, stores, and equipment, so that they should be superior to rivals in sea-keeping capacity, and should be able to make 'the British frontier an enemy's coast.' No doubt in the day of battle offensive and defensive powers must play the greatest part; but speed and coal-endurance are very important factors in naval strategy, and their increase necessarily involves greater size and cost.

In Table I there are enumerated certain particulars for *completed* battleships less than twenty years old. Table II contains corresponding details for armoured cruisers. Table III gives a list of armoured ships still building or completing, and the dates at which it is anticipated they will be ready for service. Taking Tables I and II, the following results (in round figures) are obtained for ships completed at the end of 1908:

	Battleships		Armoured Cruisers		Grand Totals for Armoured Ships	
	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons	Ships	Tons
United States	26	340,500	15	186,500	41	527,000
France	20	230,200	20	185,000	40	415,200
Germany	24	282,700	8	78,500	32	361,200
United States and France	46	570,700	35	371,500	81	942,200
United States and Germany	50	623,200	23	265,000	73	888,200
France and Germany	44	512,900	28	263,500	72	776,400
Great Britain	52	753,900	38	468,300	90	1,222,200

So far as these comparisons go, therefore, Great Britain possesses a great preponderance in armoured ships, and the latest definition of the two-Power standard is fulfilled. It may be thought that the foregoing summary does not fairly represent relative naval

forces, since the tables include 'obsolescent' battleships and cruisers which are obviously unfitted for the line of battle. This criticism, however, must be applied all round, and less affects British ships than it does foreign ships. Some guidance can be found for dealing with this difficulty in Parliamentary Paper No. 111 of 1907, wherein the Admiralty put on record their view of the subject so far as battleships are concerned. In this Paper seven *Royal Sovereigns*, the *Hood*, *Renown*, and two *Centurions* were classed as *obsolescent* in the British list given in Table I; total, eleven ships, of 146,550 tons. In the German list, five *Kaisers* and four *Brandenburgs* were similarly treated; total, nine ships, of 94,500 tons. In the French list, the four *Amiral Trehouarts*, of 26,300 tons, were not included in the first class. In the United States list the *Iowa* and three *Oregons* were treated as *obsolescent*, and the *Texas* was not included in the first class; five ships, of 48,550 tons. Making these deductions, the corrected totals of completed battleships would stand as follows:

	Ships	Tons	Average Displacement in Tons
United States	21	292,000	13,900
France	16	203,900	12,750
Germany	15	188,200	12,550
United States and France	37	495,900	
United States and Germany	36	480,200	
France and Germany	31	392,100	
Great Britain	41	607,300	14,800

In considering this summary it is important to remark that the deductions made from the British list consist of vessels still fit for service and of much larger individual displacement, as well as greater fighting value, than the vessels deducted from foreign lists.

Turning to Table II, there is no official guidance available, and personal opinion must be exercised in selecting armoured cruisers which may fairly be treated as capable of taking part in fleet actions in association with battleships. It is proposed to omit from the British list the six *Devonshires* and ten *Monmouths*, although the former are certainly not incapable of meeting some so-called battleships in foreign fleets on more than equal terms, having regard to defensive as well as offensive powers. The total deduction would then be sixteen ships, of 163,000 tons. Applying similar methods to German armoured cruisers, the *Roons* and three vessels of the *Prinz* class, which are not superior to the *Devonshires*, must be deducted: a total of five ships and 45,100 tons. From the French list must disappear all except the *Léon Gambetta* and *Gloire* classes; or ten ships, of 71,500 tons. From the United States list must be struck out the *Milwaukee*s, which closely resemble the *Monmouths*, as well as the *Brooklyn* and *New York*, which have only a very small amount of thin

side-armour ; that is to say, five ships, of 46,400 tons. Making these deductions, the comparative force in armoured cruisers would stand as follows :

	Ships	Tons	Average Displacement of Cruiser in Tons
United States	10	140,000	14,000
France	10	113,400	11,300
Germany	3	33,400	11,100
United States and France	20	253,400	
United States and Germany	13	173,400	
France and Germany	13	146,800	
Great Britain	22	305,200	13,900

Combining these revised lists of battleships and cruisers, the figures are :

	Ships	Tons
United States	31	432,000
France	26	317,300
Germany	18	221,600
United States and France	57	749,300
United States and Germany	49	653,600
France and Germany	44	538,900
Great Britain	63	912,500

Limits of space prevent the comparison of other classes of completed British and foreign ships, nor could a similar method be followed in regard to cruisers not attached to fleets. The numbers and types of cruisers and smaller vessels required for the Royal Navy must be governed by the special requirements of the British Empire and not by an enumeration of corresponding vessels in foreign fleets. In other words the two-Power standard does not apply ; and the matter is one that can only be dealt with satisfactorily by the naval authorities. There can be no doubt, however, that the practical cessation of cruiser construction from 1904 to the present year and the 'scrap-ping' of many useful vessels of the class in the same period have very seriously reduced our available force, and that much requires to be done to make good these losses. In our torpedo flotillas also there is a necessity for continuous reconstruction and due regard to action taken abroad. Still, on the whole the Prime Minister stated the simple truth in a recent speech : ' No one who is conversant with the facts can impugn the proposition . . . that the British Navy is at this moment fully equal to any responsibilities that could conceivably be thrown upon it.' This proposition is not disputed, but it is desirable in existing circumstances not merely to accept the proposition, but to realise how great is the margin of superiority we possess in consequence of the continued and systematic efforts made during the past twenty years by all Governments which have held office. It is also worth noting at the present time that our superiority remains

assured, even if no account is taken of the *Dreadnought* and *Invincibles* laid down in 1905, or of the fact that early next year three improved *Dreadnoughts* (*Téméraires*) will be added to the available force. In dealing with the new shipbuilding programme these facts must not be overlooked, or unduly minimised. It is the *strength of our fleet as a whole* that determines our safety or danger—not our strength in any single type or class of ships.

Turning to ships now building or completing, the facts, so far as can be ascertained at present, are summarised in Table III for both battleships and armoured cruisers. Taken in connexion with preceding statements respecting ships completed and available for service, and the large margin of power in our favour shown to exist, this list of new construction and anticipated dates of completion must be regarded as entirely satisfactory. It is true in all cases that unforeseen and uncontrollable circumstances may cause the entry of ships into service to be delayed, and the larger the programme is in relation to the warship-building resources of a country, the greater must be the risk run in that direction. In the case of Germany this risk is greatest, because the programme in course of execution and that contemplated during the next three years makes excessively large demands upon the industrial resources of that country. Already orders for large ships have been placed with firms having little or no experience with work of that class, no doubt because more experienced firms have or will have their hands kept full. On the side of the manufacturers of armour, gun-mountings, and auxiliary machinery of all kinds, the pinch must be felt in Germany owing to abnormal demands made by the new programme. These circumstances may be transitory, but they take time and great expenditure for rectification. Private firms are not disposed to embark on large and costly extensions of premises and plant unless they can obtain guarantees of future work which will enable them to recoup their outlay. In this country, thanks to the great programmes of naval construction devised and executed during the last twenty years, with most of which the writer has been intimately concerned, this development of resources for building, arming, and equipping warships has been carried to a point which meets and possibly exceeds all probable requirements now that the demands for foreign warships to be built in Great Britain are less than they have been in the past.

The subject was dealt with in detail elsewhere by the writer some time ago, and need not be discussed further now. It is most important to note, however, that in many recent utterances—some of which have approached a condition of panic for which there was not a shadow of justification—it has been assumed that the period of construction of large battleships and armoured cruisers—fixed by the German Naval Bills at about three years, and for which the financial provision has been correspondingly adjusted—might be

considerably abridged, and probably would be. Already the German programme has failed to keep pace with the rate of progress assumed; as was anticipated by the writer would happen when ships of novel design and unprecedented dimensions were undertaken. It is said too—perhaps on insufficient authority—that the designs of the later ships will differ from those of vessels already laid down; if this happens the recurrence of delays may be expected, more especially if the heavy armaments are altered from 11-inch to 12-inch guns. The German Admiralty are reported to have asked the leading private firms to state what periods of construction could be guaranteed for building and completing large armoured ships, and the answers varied from twenty-four to thirty months. The authority who states these facts suggestively adds:

In each case the reservation was made that the promised results could only be realised provided ordnance was promptly delivered. . . . Krupp's vast works at Essen represent the unknown quantity; for upon this firm must fall the whole burden of supplying the new German leviathans with armour and artillery. . . . It is recognised in Germany that in case of emergency the supply of guns and armour might be unequal to a severe strain, and there is talk of erecting a national arsenal at some point adjacent to the coast.¹

In the United States, thanks to private enterprise, the resources for warship-building, including the manufacture of armour and armaments, are much in excess of present requirements or of any prospective programme of construction; yet experience has led to the allowance of three years as the period of construction for the largest classes of warships. In France, when it was decided to lay down six battleships of the *Danton* class in one year, there was anxious consideration of the sufficiency of the national resources for carrying out this programme of work in a reasonable time. The final decision was to allow four years for the completion of the vessels, and it appears probable that they may not all be finished within the stipulated period.

Financial considerations play a no less important part than industrial capacity in warship-building programmes. Germany and France have worked out in detail the incidence of expenditure estimated to fall on each financial year over which their programmes extend, on the basis of the periods of construction assigned. If any attempt were made to quicken the rate of construction the annual expenditure would have to be correspondingly increased; and already, as is well known, a considerable part of the cost of the increase to the German Navy is being borne by loan. Moreover, the commencement of the *Dreadnought* type in this country in 1905 has led the German authorities to increase considerably the cost of each unit in the new fleet. At first it was intended to have battleships and armoured cruisers of much less size and cost than those now building.

¹ *Navy League Annual*, 1908, p. 181.

but when the British Admiralty adopted 18,000 tons as the displacement of the *Dreadnought* and 17,250 tons as that of the *Invincible* class, the German Navy Bill was amended, and vessels of equal or greater individual power were provided for at greatly increased cost. For example, the original estimate for each armoured cruiser was 1,375,000*l.* (including armament), but the later estimate is about 1,800,000*l.* Nor should it be forgotten that the most recent decision to supplement the Navy Bill of 1906, and to quicken construction by shortening the official 'life' of battleships on the Effective List, followed upon the publication (in July 1907) of Lord Tweedmouth's statement as to relative strength of war-fleets, first made in the House of Lords in reply to a speech by his predecessor. That official paper showed (as remarked above) that in the opinion of the Admiralty nine out of a total of twenty completed German battleships were 'considered obsolescent in type.' No wonder, therefore, that fresh force was given to the agitation promoted by the German Navy League for a large and immediate increase of the fleet. To this cause must be largely attributed the action taken in passing the Law of 1908, the effect of which will be to secure the laying down in the four years 1908-11 of twelve battleships and four large cruisers, instead of seven battleships and four large cruisers as provided for under previous laws. It cannot be doubted that the action taken by Germany has been greatly influenced, if not absolutely prompted, by action taken by the British Admiralty since 1904. If the traditional British policy had been followed—viz., to wait until foreign Navies have committed themselves to new programmes and then to take steps to match or surpass their efforts, making sure that our ships are completed at least as soon as their rivals—it is probable that very large expenditure in both countries would have been saved. The pace was forced by us in 1905-7, and now the bill has to be paid. May it be hoped that the lesson will not be forgotten in present circumstances!

Assertions have been made of late that British superiority in speed of construction for warships has been forfeited, at least as far as Germany is concerned. In support of this contention comparisons are produced of the periods actually occupied in building a number of ships in the two countries during recent years. Obviously these actual periods of construction may be, and for many British warships have been, determined by other considerations than the desire to finish ships at the earliest possible dates. Some delays have been due to strikes and labour difficulties, none of which are peculiar to Great Britain. Indeed, as German industries have been developed similar delays have occurred there. In other cases financial difficulties experienced by contracting firms have involved serious delays in the execution of work, and this has accounted for the longest periods occupied in building British warships within the last ten years. In the case

of dockyard-built ships, the time actually occupied is usually determined by Admiralty authorities as part of their scheme for employment and expenditure for particular financial years, and if necessary it could be shortened. The official Admiralty view is that there is no difficulty in building simultaneously a considerable number of large armoured ships, and completing each ship in about two years from the date of laying down. No one familiar with the facts as to the manufacturing resources of this country can doubt the possibility of doing this if it is thought desirable, or of shortening that time in cases of emergency. No doubt the case of the *Dreadnought* has given rise to some misapprehension, but it is in no way a representative case, as can be seen by turning to this Review for April 1906, in which full explanations were given of the special circumstances and arrangements. What is essential in our programmes of construction is, however, what was mentioned above: British ships must be laid down at such dates as will ensure their completion as soon as, and preferably somewhat earlier than, the times when their rivals will be finished. Our unrivalled resources, greater experience, and larger command of labour in the shipbuilding trades enable the Admiralty to make a later start on British ships, and yet to fulfil this essential condition. Not to avail ourselves of this superiority is to forfeit many and great advantages, the value of which has been demonstrated again and again. It is unwise for us to take the lead—as was done four years ago—in forcing on expenditure at a moment when our naval supremacy is already well assured. Such action can only tend to provoke corresponding increase in the expenditure of other Powers, and so to demand a still further growth of British expenditure. Mr. McKenna put the case strongly and clearly at Glasgow in October last. He said:

The worst possible policy for us to pursue is to fall behind in our naval equipment, as we should thereby risk the safety of our country; but the next worst policy is needlessly to make the pace in expenditure on armaments. By doing so we should set the fashion in large naval expenditure, we should exhaust ourselves prematurely, and we should reduce our power to expend when occasion required. . . . Any rise in the general level of naval power throws a heavier burden on us than on any other naval country, and it is the height of unwisdom in us to invite foreign nations to increase their expenditure by any uncalled-for parade of our naval strength.

The Prime Minister, speaking at Leeds nearly at the same time, repeated and emphasised what he had said in the House of Commons in March:

We here in Great Britain start with a large margin of superior strength, and by keeping our attention, as we do, upon what is actually being done in other quarters we can always, with the resources which we possess, maintain that margin intact. . . . We not only do not want to take the lead; we want to do everything in our power to prevent a new spurt in shipbuilding.

These are sane and wise words, indicating a return to a well-proved policy, the departure from which four years ago has cost this country much and will cost it more, if, as we are told, the German Navy Bill is 'like the laws of the Medes and Persians,' and certain to be carried out now that it has been framed.

Advocates of the commencement of another great programme of new construction in the next financial year have dwelt upon the large reductions in the British Vote for new shipbuilding and armaments since 1904. It may be of interest, therefore, to state how our actual expenditure on these services during recent years compares with the corresponding expenditure of other countries. Details can be found in Mr. Thomasson's Return (No. 281 of 1908). Taking the ten financial years from 1899-1900 to 1908-9 (inclusive), the total sums voted have been as follows (round figures):—

	£
United States	62,800,000
France	53,100,000
Germany	50,732,000
Great Britain	105,934,000

In considering these figures it must be remembered that the cost of building ships in this country is less than the cost elsewhere. In the United States and in France it is very considerably greater than here; while German shipowners find it advantageous to place large orders in this country. According to Lloyd's Returns the tonnage of merchant ships built here for German owners in the three years 1905-7 reached a total of 234,000 tons, while the total tonnage launched in Germany was 848,650 tons. If the inadequate allowance of 25 per cent. excess of cost is made for the United States and France, and no similar allowance is made for German excess of cost, it will be seen, therefore, that over this long period Great Britain has exceeded considerably the two-Power standard on the side of expenditure on additions to naval armaments. There is no reason to suppose that sums expended here have been less profitably employed than money spent abroad. Consequently so far as this comparison can form a guide to the maintenance of naval supremacy we have fresh reason for satisfaction and for confidence in facing the future.

From the foregoing statements it will be concluded that no case can be made out for entering immediately upon and rapidly executing a large and costly further programme of new construction. At present our position is one of assured supremacy at sea provided our completed ships are maintained in efficient condition; while the programme of shipbuilding now in hand provides for its continued maintenance over the next three years, even if there is no check in the execution of the German programme. We have full information as to the intentions of foreign naval authorities in the immediate future, so far as numbers of ships and rate of

Completed Battleships less than Twenty years Old from date of Launch.

GREAT BRITAIN				GERMANY				FRANCE				UNITED STATES			
Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)
1868	Breadalough.	1	17,900	1904-6	Deutschland	5	65,200	1902-7	Patrie	6	87,800	1904-6	Connecticut	6	94,000
1870	Lord Nelson	2	33,000	1902-4	Braunschweig	5	64,950	1899	Suffren	1	12,500	1905	Idaho	2	26,000
1872	King Edward	8	130,800	1900-1	Wittelsbach	5	58,050	1895-6	Charlemagne	3	33,300	1904	Georgia	2	74,750
1873	Duncan	5	70,000	1898-1900	Kaiser	5	64,900	1895-6	Bouvet	2	23,750	1901	Maine	3	37,500
1874	Fernandale	8	120,000	1891-2	Brandenburg	4	39,600	1893-4	Charles Martel	2	23,650	1898	Illinois	3	34,550
1875	Swiftsure	2	23,800					1893	Jaureguiberry	1	11,650	1898	Kearsage	2	23,050
1877-80	Majestic	6	77,700					1891	Brennus	1	11,200	1896	Iowa	1	11,350
1880-6	Royal Sovereign	7	113,200					1893	Admiral Trehouart	4	26,300	1893	Oregon	3	30,900
1881-2	Hood	1	12,350					1892-3				1892	Texas	1	6,800
1882	Benbow	1	12,350												
1882	Centurion	2	21,000												
Battleships: Totals		52	753,850			24	282,700				20	230,150		26	340,500

TABLE II.

Completed Armoured Cruisers less than Twenty years Old from date of Launch which might be used with Battleships.

GREAT BRITAIN				GERMANY				FRANCE				UNITED STATES			
Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)
1877	Invincible	3	51,750	1906	Scharnhorst	2	22,850	1901-6	Léon Gambetta	5	62,850	1904-6	Tennessee	4	58,000
1880-7	Minotaur	3	43,800	1903-4	Roon	2	18,700	1900-2	Gloire	4	39,400	1903-4	West Virginia	6	82,100
1881-2	Duke of Edinburgh	6	81,300	1901-2	Prinz Adalbert	2	17,700	1899-1901	Montcalm	3	29,100	1905-6	Mississippi	3	28,100
1882	Drake	4	56,400	1900	Prinz Heinrich	1	8,750	1899	Jeanne d'Arc	1	11,100	1891-6	Brooklyn	2	17,350
1883	Cressy	6	72,000	1897	Furst Bismarck	1	10,800	1900-2	Kléber	3	22,750				
	Dermshire	6	65,100					1892-4	Dupuy de Lôme	3	14,100				
	Monmouth	10	98,000					1890		1	6,700				
Armoured Cruisers: Totals		38	498,350			8	78,50			20	185,000			15	186,550

TABLE III.

Battleships and Armoured Cruisers. Building and Completing.

	Tons	To be Completed in
GREAT BRITAIN.		
Bellerophon type 3	55,800	1909 (early)
St. Vincent 3	57,750	1910
New Battleship ¹ 1	38,000 (guess)	1911
New Armoured Cruiser ¹ 1		
8	151,550 (approximate)	
GERMANY.		
Nassau type 2	35,800	1909 (end)
Rheinland type 2	90,000	1910
Ersatz Beowulf type 3		1911
Blucher—armoured cruiser 1	14,780	1909
F and G—armoured cruisers 2	38,000 (approximate)	1910-11
10	178,280	
FRANCE.		
Danton type 6	108,000	1911-12
Renan type—armoured cruiser 2	27,500	1909
8	135,500	
UNITED STATES.		
Michigan type 2	32,000	1909 (end)
Delaware type 2	40,000	1910
Utah type ¹ 2	40,000	1911
6	112,000	

¹ Orders just placed.

TABLE I.
Completed Battleships less than Twenty years Old from date of Launch.

GREAT BRITAIN				GERMANY				FRANCE				UNITED STATES			
Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)
1906	Dreadnought.	1	17,800	1904-6	Deutschland	5	65,200	1902-7	Patrie	6	87,800	1904-6	Connecticut	6	94,000
1906	Lord Nelson	2	33,000	1902-4	Braunschweig	5	64,950	1899	Suffren	1	12,500	1905	Idaho	2	24,000
1902-6	King Edward.	8	130,800	1900-1	Wittelsbach	5	58,000	1895-6	Charlemagne	3	33,300	1904	Georgia	5	74,750
1901	Duncan	5	70,000	1896-1900	Kaiser	5	54,900	1895-6	Bouvet	2	23,750	1901	Maine	3	37,500
1898-1903	Formidable	8	120,000	1891-2	Brandenburg	4	39,600	1893-4	Charles Martel	2	23,650	1898	Illinois	3	24,650
1903	Swiftsure	2	23,800					1891	Jaurguiberry	1	11,650	1898	Kearsage	2	23,650
1897-99	Carapace	6	77,700					1893	Brennus	1	11,200	1896	Iowa	1	11,350
1896-6	Majestic	9	134,100					1891	Admiral	3	30,900	1893	Oregon	3	30,900
1891-2	Royal Sovereign	7	113,200					1892-3	Trehouart	4	26,300	1892	Texas	1	6,300
1895	Hood	1	12,350												
1895	Renown	1	12,350												
1892	Centurion	2	21,000												
Battleships: Totals			52	753,850			24	282,700				20	230,150		340,500

TABLE II.
Completed Armoured Cruisers less than Twenty years Old from date of Launch which might be used with Battleships.

GREAT BRITAIN				GERMANY				FRANCE				UNITED STATES			
Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)	Launched	Class	No. of Ships	Displacement (tons)
1907	Invincible	3	51,750	1906	Seehornhorst	2	22,850	1901-6	Léon	5	62,850	1904-6	Tennessee	4	55,000
1896-7	Minotaur.	3	43,800	1903-4	Roon	2	18,700	1900-2	Gambetta	4	39,400	1903-4	West Virginia	6	82,100
1894-5	Duke of Edinburgh	6	81,300	1901-2	Prinz Adalbert	2	17,700	1899-1901	Gloire	3	28,100	1905-6	Milwaukee	3	22,100
1901	Drake	4	56,400	1900	Prinz Heinrich	1	8,750	1899	Montcalm	1	11,100	1891-6	Brooklyn	2	17,350
1898-1901	Cressy	6	72,000	1897	Furt	1	10,500	1900-2	Jeanne d'Arc	3	22,700				
1903-4	Devonshire	6	65,100		Bismarck			1892-4	Kléber	3	14,100				
1901-2	Monmouth	10	98,000					1890	Dupuy de Lôme	1	6,700				
			68	448,850			8	78,550			20	183,500		125	180,550

TABLE III.

Battleships and Armoured Cruisers. Building and Completing.

	Tons	To be Completed in
GREAT BRITAIN.		
Bellerophon type 3	55,800	1909 (early)
St. Vincent 3	57,750	1910
New Battleship 1	38,000 (guess)	1911
New Armoured Cruiser 1		
8	151,550 (approximate)	
GERMANY.		
Nassau type 2	35,500	1909 (end)
Rheinland type 2	90,000	1910
Ersatz Beowulf type 3		1911
Blucher—armoured cruiser 1	14,760	1909
F and G—armoured cruisers 2	38,000 (approximate)	1910-11
10	178,260	
FRANCE.		
Danton type 6	108,000	1911-12
Renan type—armoured cruiser 2	27,500	1909
8	135,500	
UNITED STATES.		
Michigan type 2	32,000	1909 (end)
Delaware type 2	40,000	1910
Utah type 2	40,000	1911
6	112,000	

Orders just placed.

THE BERLIN CRISIS

It may be permitted me to preface the subjoined reflections with an allusion to the first German Emperor.

On the occasion of a great popular ovation in his favour, which took place not many years before his decease, Kaiser Wilhelm I., the grandfather of the present wearer of the German Imperial crown, is known to have turned to a personage in his immediate entourage and to have said with a smile: 'This is very agreeable to behold now; but there was a time when these same people received me here in quite a different spirit.' This monarch not only outlived his days of unpopularity in Germany, but reigned for many years beloved beyond measure by the people of his narrower Fatherland and by the whole population of the German Empire. Yet he also was a firm upholder to the very last of the sentiments of monarchy as understood by the Prussian Hohenzollerns. It is true that as *Deutscher Kaiser*—President of the Confederate League known as the German Empire—he took care to be shielded in all official acts in the eyes of the people by the Chancellor, as his responsible minister; but that Chancellor was Bismarck, whose power during the first Emperor's reign knew hardly any limit. It should not be forgotten that Kaiser Wilhelm I. issued in 1882 the following Rescript:

It is therefore my will, that both in Prussia and in the legislative bodies of the Empire, no doubt shall be allowed to exist as to the constitutional rights of myself and my successors to conduct the policy of my Government personally, and that the idea shall always be contradicted that the inviolability of the person of the King or the necessity of responsible counter-signature has taken away the character of my Government documents as independent Royal decisions.

These words can well be recalled to mind when contemplating the crisis brought about by the *Daily Telegraph's* publication, 'The German Emperor and England,' of the 28th of October last.

Kaiser Wilhelm II. has been continuously reproached throughout his reign for his predilection for 'personal government,' 'absolutism,' and 'autocracy.' A crisis connected with these very

charges was nearly brought about so recently as 1906, just before the last elections to the Reichstag. Hence the nation was fully prepared to manifest its indignation at the very next unqualified display of what was regarded as 'personal régime.' The outburst of anger that arose simultaneously throughout the German Empire after the publication of the so-called 'Kaiser Interview,' was tantamount to an explosion of pent-up dissatisfaction that has been taking root deeper and deeper every year in Germany in all classes of the population, and amongst people of all shades of political opinion for some time past. After the last memorable dissolution of the Reichstag, and during the elections that subsequently followed, resulting in a tremendous set-back to Social-Democracy, and in the establishment of the Liberal-Conservative majority in the Reichstag, I repeatedly pointed out that Germany was going through a state of unarmed revolution, that a Liberal spirit was pervading the whole Empire, and that the national demands would have to be considered and conceded. In an article entitled 'Wilhelm II.,' that appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* on the 11th of November of last year, the day their German Majesties arrived in England on a visit to the King and the Queen, I wrote on the question of the Kaiser's 'personal government' as follows :

The question of 'personal government' and 'autocracy' has been constantly before the public during Wilhelm II.'s reign; and it was brought to a head before last year's elections for the Reichstag. It appears now that the astuteness, that has always characterised the rule of the Hohenzollerns, will not forsake the reigning monarch at the present critical stage of national development. Wilhelm II.'s personal predilections take him back to the principles of Frederick the Great and the Great Elector, and further than this also, to the mystic rights and power of the former wearers of the Imperial crown. There was a danger of a rift in the relations of sovereign and people when the Emperor seemed to show that he laid more stress on his romantic ideas of bygone days than did the people he governs. Prussians and Germans are, beyond doubt, as a whole, imbued with the monarchic spirit; and if the Crown and the Ministers lead them according to the spirit of the age and the requirements of modern civilisation, there is no probability of the realisation of a modern State on the lines of Socialism and anti-monarchic principles either in Prussia or Germany. The people want to see their monarchical traditions brought into harmony with modern life, and would not brook the revival of doctrines from the dusty archives of the buried past. They do not fail to appreciate, and they are not likely under favourable conditions to forget in the future, the services rendered by the Hohenzollerns to Prussia and to Germany. If then, as seems probable, Wilhelm II. and his Chancellor have grasped the fact that constitutional concessions must be made to satisfy the liberal spirit of its age, a pacific development cannot fail to be the consequence; and this must redound to the strengthening of Prussia and of the German Empire at home and abroad. . . . The agreements between the Crown and the people in Prussia made in 1848 will have to be revised in some measure suitable to the development of the Prussian people, who are no longer the *rudis indigestaque moles* of bygone days.

I have quoted this passage, written just over a year ago, partly because it will serve as a pendant to the criticism used by

the German Reichstag and by the German Press during the past month on the questions of the day—constitutional government and personal régime; and partly because His Majesty the Kaiser last year himself expressed his endorsement of the situation as therein depicted. I received on the 16th of November 1907, as was then mentioned in the *Westminster Gazette*, a message from Windsor to the effect that the Kaiser was much pleased with the contents of the article. On the 18th of November, after the successful issue of the historic meeting between Kaiser Wilhelm and Prince von Bülow, the *National Zeitung*, one of the chief organs of the National Liberal Party—the party of the leading authorities in manufacture and commerce in the Empire—wrote: ‘This act of renunciation will be greeted with the most joyful satisfaction by the whole German people. A new epoch is approaching. Rome was not built in a day. The national desires of the people are nearing accomplishment.’

Before the *National Zeitung* could speak in this strain the German Empire had, however, been shaken to its very foundations for nearly a fortnight by a tremendous crisis the like of which it has not faced since its renovation nearly thirty-nine years ago. As soon as Germans learnt through the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* that the utterances attributed to the Kaiser by an English newspaper on the 28th of October were to all intents and purposes authentic, they felt themselves from one end of the Empire to the other awakened to the sense that the Kaiser’s idea of personal régime had carried him so far as to allow himself to further his personal policy by means of an interview in a foreign newspaper. ‘There was enkindled,’ said Herr Bassermann before the Reichstag, ‘a torrent of boundless amazement and deep grief.’ The leader of the National Liberals added that revelations of such a kind would make the entire world speak of dissension in German policy. ‘There is a want of confidence in German policy,’ he said; ‘we see at a glance why German policy now meets with obstacles and resistance.’ Owing to this, the feeling of respect for the wearer of the crown was becoming impaired, and there was an almost unanimous protest against the Kaiser’s personal régime and intervention in the official policy of the Empire. ‘We wish,’ he added in the name of his party, ‘so far as it is possible, for trustworthy guarantees against the intervention of the personal régime.’ And before he sat down he declared with the approval of the House:

It is the desire of my friends that the Kaiser should be thoroughly informed with regard to these proceedings (loud cheers) . . . Although fully convinced that even these utterances of our Kaiser sprang from his deep anxiety for the welfare of his people, we must give expression to the earnest desire that the Kaiser will, in his political activity, impose upon himself the reserve proper to a Constitutional ruler.

Dr. Wiemer, for the Radicals, corroborated the previous speaker by declaring that the article in question had filled the entire nation with embitterment, consternation, and rage, because it was felt that 'confidence in our trustworthiness had been shaken. Everywhere it had been recognised that Germany's prestige had received a severe blow.' The trend of his speech was to show that the so-called 'interview' had been interpreted in Germany as a crass specimen of personal régime which was distasteful to the nation in its entirety. Constitutional Government was what was wanted: the Minister, not the Sovereign, should be responsible to the people. The Socialist leader, Herr Singer, complained that the Reichstag was itself in part responsible for what had taken place because it had not hitherto restrained the glorification of the personal régime. What Dr. Heydebrandt, a Conservative Deputy, then added was significant. It was as follows:

It is a question here of a sum of anxieties, of doubts and disquietudes, which has been collecting for a long time past, even in circles as to whose fidelity to the Kaiser and the Empire there has hitherto never been any doubt. . . . It would do the Fatherland no good to whitewash the affair.

Prince Hatzfeldt, of the Imperial party, who stands in great favour with the Kaiser, impressed upon the House that the Chancellor and not the wearer of the crown was the responsible personage in the State. For the Centre party, Dr. von Hertling, who holds the reputation for being a speaker who always takes a temperate view of things, went so far as to state frankly:

We do not agree with what the Emperor has said, and are anxious that his words should not be regarded abroad as representing the aims of German policy. . . . We are obliged now to say—now at last we see the ground for the incomprehensible distrust of the foreigner towards our policy. . . . What had created among the people so terrible a discontent and embitterment and feeling of the very deepest grief and depression was that the German Emperor did not in every moment think and feel as a German. (Loud applause.)

The South German Deputy, Herr Haussmann, of the People's party, held the attention of the House for a long time. He said:

It is not only the citizen who is overcome by fear and alarm, not only the lower classes and the artisans who have accustomed themselves to a point of view which makes it easier for them to condemn. In all classes of the population, even in the officers' casinos, the same view is found. In their judgment of the situation, all classes are at one. . . . In my opinion the chief misfortune is that the hitherto unjustified appearance of a hemming-in policy has received through these observations a documentary justification. ('Very true' from various sides of the House.) The phrase has been spoken—'I will not suffer pessimists.' The mouth that uttered this phrase has created pessimists by millions. (Cries of 'Very true'.)

At the close of his speech Herr Haussmann said amidst loud cheers from the left of the House :—

The chief thing, however, is that we must pass over to a really Constitutional manner of Government, which we can do without a change in the Constitution. After what has happened, even the Conservatives cannot defend the personal régime. . . . If nothing happens now, the next election will be fought by the German nation with this parole.

What did the Chancellor say to the heavy indictment against his sovereign that he had to listen to ? For two days his Majesty's person was drawn into the debates of the Imperial Diet, and he was subjected to most scathing criticism from all sides. Not once was a deputy called to order ! Prince von Bülow, speaking on the first day, declared that grave injury had been caused by the publication in the *Daily Telegraph*. Lower down we shall see how he characterised the 'interview' as such. He added that immediately on reading the article in question, as to the disastrous consequences of which he could not for a moment be in doubt, he sent in his resignation, taking upon himself full responsibility for the mistakes which had been made in handling the manuscript. And he followed this up with the following significant declaration :

Gentlemen ! recognition that the publication of these utterances has not in England had the effect anticipated by his Majesty the Emperor ; and, on the other hand, in Germany has called forth great excitement and painful regret, will—this firm conviction I have won in these sad days—induce his Majesty the Kaiser in future to impose upon himself, even in his private conversations, that reserve which is indispensable to a consistent policy and to the authority of the Crown. If that were not so, neither I nor any of my successors could accept responsibility for it.

Herr Haussmann's picture of the irritation that has pervaded all classes against the Kaiser throughout Germany during the past few years is no exaggeration. Discontent has not merely been rampant amongst the lower ranks of the population, which may be said to be mainly under the influence of eloquent agitators. It has been observed with amazement by foreigners having access to the highest spheres of society in the capital of the Empire that the actions and sayings of the sovereign were being criticised with a freedom—nay license—by persons whose loyalty to the Crown had never been called in question ; were being, indeed, criticised in terms of malevolence and disapproval quite unknown in former times : terms that would have brought the utterers to gaol for *lèse majesté* under Bismarck's régime. Even the guests of the Royal Castle and wearers of his Majesty's uniform have been known to dilate with as much warmth of expression against Imperial utterances as did the most pronounced democratic malcontents in the land. More especially has this been the case since the opening of the Moroccan question. Domestic incidents, too, connected with men who had for years enjoyed the friendship and

confidence of the monarch, have served to intensify that seething discontent and general malaise that the Kaiser has so often branded as pessimism, not knowing that the main cause of it all was the prevailing misunderstanding between himself and his people. The Kaiser did not know that there was that shadow between himself and the nation referred to rather late in the day during the crisis by the *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. It has been freely said in Berlin that, after the outbreak of this crisis, it came to the ear of the Kaiser that very unseemly remarks concerning his Majesty's person were going the round of the officers' mess-rooms in the capital, and that his Majesty was naturally extremely indignant thereat. There may be a *grain de vérité* in the narrative, because it has been noteworthy during the last few days that his Majesty's officers in the German capital have avoided all mention of politics in society.

The *Daily Telegraph* on the day that it published the article announced that it had received its communication from a source of such unimpeachable authority that the message conveyed therein could be commended to the attention of the public. This communication was described by its author, who calls himself a retired diplomatist, as 'a calculated indiscretion,' but nevertheless as the substance of a lengthy conversation which he had recently had with the German Emperor. He distinctly implied, moreover, that what he called a 'calculated indiscretion' was tantamount to a message from the Kaiser to the British nation, his Majesty being sincerely desirous of eradicating from the British mind the obstinate misconception of the character of his feelings towards England.

Prince von Bülow's estimate of the so-called 'interview,' as given before the German Reichstag, was couched in the following terms :

His Majesty the Emperor at various times made in the presence of private English personalities private statements, which have been linked together and published in the *Daily Telegraph*. I cannot help doubting whether all the details of these conversations have been accurately reported.

In reply to Prince von Bülow's description of the interview, the *Daily Telegraph* submitted :

It should be sufficient to say that the interview was not sought by the *Daily Telegraph*, that publication was not given to a document of so serious a character until every possible step had been taken to make sure that publicity was in accordance with the wishes of the sovereign concerned, and that the matter contained in the interview represented the considered opinions of his Majesty himself.

There is no doubt that Prince von Bülow was perfectly justified in doubting the full accuracy of many of the statements made in the interview, and in adding, in respect to some of them, that the colours had been laid on too thickly, and that too strong expressions had been chosen. The first part only of the 'interview'

reflects with what may be said to be real accuracy the sentiments of the Kaiser, and it is not only devoid of exaggeration but understates the Kaiser's case. In these introductory sentences the author gives a brief summary of conversations of a very frank and open nature that the Kaiser had had with various people at Cronberg on the occasion of the visit of the King in August last. In these sentences he cannot be charged with having laid on the colours too thickly; in my opinion, which is formed from what I know, he has said considerably less than he could have disclosed if he desired to do so. The German Emperor was exceedingly irate during last summer at the continued suspicion of his own actions rampant in certain quarters in England, and notably over an article that appeared in London dealing with the diplomatic history of the Boer War. In this frame of mind he complained in private conversations in very forcible language at Cronberg, and referred specially to his speech delivered at the Guildhall in November of last year when, as he said, he opened his heart to the British nation and took them into his full confidence. An explanation of this part of the interview is given in the following paragraph from Prince von Bülow's Reichstag speech :

Above all, we should not, in preoccupation with the material, lose sight of the psychological side. For two decades our Kaiser's efforts have been directed, often under very difficult conditions, towards bringing about friendly relationship between England and Germany. In these earnest and sincere efforts he has had to struggle with obstacles which would have discouraged many. Sympathy with the weaker is, indeed, an amiable trait, but it led to unjust and often unrestrained attacks on England; and unjust and hateful attacks have also been made on Germany from the English side. Our intentions were misrepresented. Plans were attributed to us of which we had never thought. The Kaiser, however, filled with the weighty and accurate conviction that this condition was an impossibility for both countries, and a danger for the civilised world, was imperturbably faithful to his idea, and held firmly to the goal which he had set himself. In general, a grave injustice is done to our Emperor by every doubt as to the purity of his intentions, his ideal sentiments, and his deep love of the Fatherland. Gentlemen, we wish to avoid everything that looks like an excessive suing for foreign favour, or in any way resembles inconsistency or caprice, but I know that the Kaiser, precisely because he was conscious of having always worked industriously and sincerely for an understanding with England, felt hurt by attacks which misrepresented his best views.

In these words we can see between the lines an effort on the part of the German Chancellor to explain the Kaiser's reasons for co-operating with the author of the manuscript that found its way to the office of the *Daily Telegraph*; for he goes on to say: 'The Kaiser, in private conversations with English friends, sought to prove by reference to his attitude at a time of difficulty for England that he had been misunderstood and unjustly judged.'

In September an article appeared in the *Deutsche Revue*, entitled 'German Intrigues against England during the Boer War,' by 'One Who Knows.' This article was a defence of German policy during

the Boer War ; and there can be little doubt that the scant attention paid to it was not without influence on those responsible for the 'Kaiser Interview' as it subsequently appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*. There is one passage in the German article to which attention may be drawn. It is :

Thus the line of our official policy at the beginning of the Boer War was defined once and for all. How difficult it was to maintain it in face of the feelings of the nation that were in part friendly to the Boers almost to fanaticism is well known. That it was maintained despite the warm-hearted but short-sighted expressions of sentiment in the country, and despite the efforts from abroad to draw us away from it, is the lasting merit of the Kaiser and Count (now Prince) Bülow. At the very outbreak of the war the Secretary of State (for Foreign Affairs) gave Sir Frank Lascelles the following declaration : 'As long as we can count on respect for our rights and due regard for our interests, the German Government will not co-operate during the hostilities in any combination, and will not join any grouping of Powers that might cause inconvenience to the British Government.'

I am not in a position to confirm or deny the latter part of this statement ; but one may assume that its accuracy could be easily tested. There is no doubt that the writer of this article had access to official sources of information in Berlin. The anonymous author of the *Daily Telegraph* 'interview' was unnecessarily reserved in laying on his colours in his opening paragraph ; it is therefore strange that he quoted as coming direct from the Kaiser the phrase that misrepresentations and distortions of his Majesty's words and actions were looked upon by him as 'a personal insult' which he felt and resented. If his Majesty had been properly informed, he would have known that the vast majority of the British nation had no sympathy with these misrepresentations and distortions ; and, in that case, he would have been the last to blame them for the actions of others. It is well known that Kaiser Wilhelm, who assumes an active and leading part in politics, is of a very sensitive nature, and that he invariably takes it as a personal insult to himself when the German or the foreign Press wilfully, as he interprets their action, misrepresent and twist in an unfavourable sense his pacific intentions and assurances. This exaggerated sensitiveness is of purely German origin, and is common to most Germans in public as well as private life, and constantly leads to misunderstandings which would otherwise be impossible.

It may be respectfully submitted to his Majesty that no fair critic in or out of his own country desires wilfully to insult him. In giving his consent to the publication of the 'interview' that caused the acute crisis through which the German Empire passed during the month of November, it is absolutely beyond question that his Majesty's main object was to try to effect an improvement in the relations of Germany with Great Britain. He was doubtless persuaded to believe that where the voice of others—even of the Chancellor—found no

hearing, his own would. For certain reasons the 'interview' did not have the desired effect in England; but his Majesty must have noted with satisfaction that at the time of its appearance and throughout the crisis the tone of the criticism of the British Press was both respectful to himself and friendly to Germany. It was at once felt that the subject was in the main a domestic matter for Germany; in this sense it was taken up throughout the length and breadth of the German Empire. The words used by Sir Edward Grey in a speech at Scarborough on the 19th of November are noteworthy in this connexion, and may be commended to the careful attention of the German Emperor, the German Foreign Office, and the German nation. Our Foreign Secretary, referring to the debates in the Reichstag on the German crisis, said:

Therefore, my only reason for introducing this subject at all is this—that the circumstances of those debates in the German Parliament were such as to cause the representatives of the various parties of the people in Germany to speak their mind with exceeding freedom. Anyone who has followed those debates would have observed that not one word was said by the representatives of any party in Germany which indicated on the part of the Germans any hostility towards this or any other country (cheers). *I should like that this should be noted, should be appreciated, should be reciprocated and reflected in any language which is used in this country towards the German nation. (Renewed cheers.)*

Before dealing with the inaccuracies in the 'interview' that Prince von Bülow exposed, let me state that the English 'diplomatist,' who wrote the 'interview' that did the Kaiser such an ill turn in his own country, asked his Majesty not to let his name be known. His secret has been loyally kept in Berlin, and he himself has calmly looked on whilst a series of other men's names, at the head of which stands that of the late Ambassador, Sir Frank Lascelles, have been dragged before the public, and the authorship of his imperfect work has been attributed successively to them. Surely the assumption of an anonymous position in such a matter is not justifiable!

The most palpable inaccuracy in the interview is contained in the lines wherein the Kaiser is made to say: 'The prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes of my own people is not friendly to England.' These words, if really from the Kaiser's mouth, would have been exploited for all they were worth by British fomentors of strife with Germany; it is precisely what they have been saying for years, notwithstanding the emphatic denial given to such sentiments throughout the length and breadth of the land. But Prince von Bülow denied that the Kaiser could have made such a statement, adding:

Between Germany and England misunderstandings have occurred, regrettable and serious misunderstandings; but I know myself to be at one with this entire House when I say that the German nation desires peaceable and friendly relations with the British nation on the basis of mutual respect—('Very true')—and I note that speakers of all parties have expressed themselves in this sense.

And they had done so in the most unequivocal terms, those that had already spoken, and the others who rose later made similar protestations. Herr Bassermann, the National Liberal leader, declared that the deputies in the Reichstag must protest against the assertion that the German nation in its great majority was not friendly but even hostile to England; and his words were greeted with loud cheers from all parties. Herr Wiemer declared that if the Kaiser really believed that a hostile feeling towards England prevailed amongst the German people, he was not correctly informed. Herr Singer, for the Socialists, stated: 'The assertion that the middle and lower classes in Germany were hostile to England was a positive blow in the face of actual facts.' On behalf of the Centre party, that returned over a hundred members to Parliament, Dr. von Hertling emphatically declared that it was simply untrue that the great majority of the German people were not friendly to England. And Herr Haussmann, a South German barrister, who is a leading member of the South German Radical or People's party, delivered an extremely eloquent and pregnant speech, in the course of which he submitted: 'We desire friendship with England, for whose achievements we have the very greatest respect.'

The above words are conclusive evidence of the inaccuracy of the anonymous diplomatist's report of his conversation with the Kaiser. But have not numerous deputations from England been continuously hearing on German soil similar protestations for some years past? I think, too, I may claim to speak with some authority on this subject. Two years ago I conducted six intelligent British workmen from Gainsborough through the chief industrial districts of Germany. They came in contact with manufacturers and workmen in all parts of the Empire, starting at Crefeld and ending up their tour at Hamburg, after having carefully traversed the main manufacturing districts in Rhineland and Westphalia, Bavaria and Saxony. One of these men wrote to me after his return to England about his experiences during the tour. He concluded his letter as follows: 'Many pleasant memories will linger in my mind of the kind wishes expressed towards England by Germans of every station of life.' A couple of months after their departure I had the honour of being received in audience by his Majesty the Kaiser, who spoke at length to me about the impressions these workmen had taken away with them from Germany. His Majesty told me that Count von Posadowsky, the Imperial Home Secretary for the Interior, had given him full reports of the journey, in which he (his Majesty) had taken great interest. He was greatly pleased to learn that the British workmen had everywhere convinced themselves that the reports of German animosity towards England were false, and that they had seen no trace of such a feeling either amongst their German comrades or amongst the employers of labour. They had been received with

every token of friendship, and manufacturers had shown such confidence in them that they had on their own initiative shown them their labour books, had answered every question put them concerning wages and the conditions of labour, and had given them every facility for making inquiries of the men in the works; from the Socialist officials, too, every possible assistance had been accorded them. His Majesty concluded by expressing a hope that similar commissions of British workmen would frequently come over to Germany, and that deputations of German workmen would also be sent to England. ¶

The oftener they come, the better (said his Majesty); it is an advantage for the two nations that people of all ranks in the two countries should come in contact with one another. Let them come over as often as possible from England. We have nothing to hide from them and shall always be pleased to show them anything we have to show.

Some months afterwards a London Sunday paper published a series of articles about Germany, and a good deal was stated therein about alleged German hostility towards England. I consulted Count von Posadowsky, the Imperial Home Secretary, on the subject, and he assured me most emphatically that all the talk about the hostility of Germans towards England was nothing but malignant falsehood. He said he had instituted full inquiries on this subject through his officials who were spread all over the Empire, and the reports he had received showed him that there was not the slightest foundation for the legends on this subject sent to England.

The German people awaited with anxiety the result of the memorable interview between Kaiser and Chancellor on the 17th of November. The Kaiser listened to Prince von Bülow and recognised the seriousness of the situation. The Chancellor spoke the plain and unvarnished truth to his Sovereign. Wilhelm the Second at once perceived where his duty as a sovereign lay. The Chancellor, the Reichstag, the Prussian Ministers, the Federal Council Committee for Foreign Affairs, the Press of all shades of political thought, voicing the unanimous feeling of the people, had spoken unanimously to the effect that constitutional methods were demanded in place of personal régime and the personal intervention of the monarch in foreign affairs, and that the system that had been followed during the past years of his Majesty's reign was not in accordance with the spirit of the age and the aspirations of modern Germans, whilst at the same time it was injurious to Germany's interests abroad. His Majesty acted promptly and yielded, and his action is described now as the most popular step he has taken since he came to the throne. His will was proclaimed as follows :

Unswerved by exaggerations of public criticism, which he feels to be unjust, he regards it as his foremost imperial duty to secure the consistency of the policy of the Empire while safeguarding constitutional responsibilities.

Accordingly his Majesty the Kaiser approved the declarations made by the Chancellor of the Empire in the Reichstag and assured Prince Bülow of his continued confidence.

However dissatisfied some journals are at the above declaration, it must be assumed that the door is now open for an understanding between the Crown, the first Minister of the Crown, and the deputies of the Imperial Diet on the question of constitutional reforms. In agreeing on the 17th of November to Prince von Bülow's view of the situation, his Majesty obviously admitted the necessity of granting the guarantees demanded by the Reichstag. He did so of his own free will in deference to the wishes of the nation, and we shall soon find that the nation will repay him with gratitude for showing that he knows as a Hohenzollern how to play his part as Deutscher Kaiser and, as his great forbear put it, as the first servant of the State.

The old cordial relations between Kaiser and people will now be restored. Kaiser Wilhelm the Second will never fully do anything to lose the favour and affection of his people; if, as in the present case, he transgresses against their well-founded wishes, he will find a way for setting things right again. When the Kaiser said at the Berlin Rathaus on the 21st of November, 'rising clouds shall never separate me and my people by casting a shadow betwixt us' he showed Germany that he had admitted his error and had yielded to the wishes of the people.

Public attention has been almost exclusively diverted during the present crisis in Germany to its constitutional issues, so that another very important issue which is, as far as I can gather, very closely connected with the special desire of the Kaiser and his Government, to be on amicable terms with Great Britain, has been kept in the background. Kaiser Wilhelm's utterances at the Guildhall in November of last year and his speech this summer on the Franco-German frontier are ample evidence to all but those who will not attach weight to his Majesty's words that he desires and works for peace. But there are other cogent factors that make for the maintenance of peace besides the personal wishes of sovereigns. It has frequently been said in Germany during the past year that, had the German Empire been involved in a war a couple of years ago, it would have taken the field with certain misgivings on account of the relative inferiority of its artillery, but that now there would be absolutely no risk of failure, as the new guns had placed the country in a position of vast superiority over its neighbours. As, however, war cannot be carried on alone with men and weapons, and as a nation requires the 'sinews of war' as well, there are at this juncture very cogent reasons, besides the real and well-founded love of peace of the monarch and the nation, for Germany to remain on terms of amity with her neighbours. In military circles there is doubtless a good deal of talk about tension with the western neighbour; but it must be admitted

that, despite frictions of more or less anxious nature, both sides have of late acted with coolness and common-sense, so much so indeed as to have recently evoked a very warmly indited and significant compliment from Sir Edward Grey. According to the opinion of the most eminent financiers in Berlin, a campaign just now, despite the military strength of the Empire, would be very fatal to its financial condition. Politicians and statesmen, being now fully occupied with reforms in the imperial finances, would be aghast if their labours were suspended by an outbreak of war. Whether or not the financial difficulties under which the German Empire is now labouring are of a temporary nature only, and are likely to be soon tided over, is a matter upon which well-known financial authorities do not absolutely agree. In military circles the views on this point are of an optimistic nature, and it is said there that the prevailing difficulties will soon be surmounted; but in certain well-informed financial circles a very gloomy view, as far as I can learn, is taken. It is there said that no small anxiety prevails owing to the commission of certain inexplicable mistakes, and that, if wanted, real difficulty would be experienced in the raising of a loan. In any case my financial informants declare emphatically that Germany could not possibly entertain the idea of any big undertaking involving indefinite expenditure, even if she wished to do so, for at least a couple of years.

II

The trend of the discussion in Germany on the subject justifies us in believing that the sole object Kaiser Wilhelm had in consenting to the publication of the *Daily Telegraph* 'interview' was to effect an improvement in the relations between Germany and Great Britain—a task which, as Prince von Bülow rightly said, his Majesty has diligently applied himself to for two decades. The Prince told the Reichstag that the Kaiser had recognised that the publication in question had not had that effect in England which was anticipated for it. No great nation could like to be told that the plan of campaign against its foe had been drawn up by a foreign potentate! What would Germans have said if they were assured that the Tzar or the Emperor of Austria had drawn up the plan of campaign in 1870-71 and not Moltke? And if they were assured that this was so by the monarchs themselves!

The object of the remaining lines of this paper is to try to show to the Kaiser and to the German nation that there is no prospect whatever of a real friendly understanding between Britain and Germany until an agreement shall have been effected between the two countries on the question of naval expenditure. This is the only real point of difference between Britain and Germany;

but it is a point about which the Germans take a one-sided view. The Germans declare that they *must* have a fleet adequate to protect their coasts, their oversea interests, and their commercial relations; that this fleet *must* be strong enough to stand up against any foe whatever, strong enough to force the most powerful assailant to think twice, nay thrice, before deciding to attack it. This language seems to Britons to be ill-chosen, because it can only refer to Britain; and in England we can conceive of no reason why Britain should attack Germany unless forced to do so by an act of aggression on the part of Germany. The language is as unfortunate as that used by Prince von Bülow on the 19th of November in the Reichstag, when he declared that Germany's economic progress had transformed the once friendly feelings entertained by at least a section of the British people for Germany into mistrust or apprehensions of a particular character, by which he meant apprehension of an invasion of England by Germany. The feelings, as it appears to me, of the mass of Britons for Germany are quite friendly; and Germans are now held in far higher estimation in England than they were thirty or forty years ago.

Prince Bülow declared that, as Germany had been compelled to take up world policy, the new Empire was obliged to provide itself with a navy adequate for the protection of German coasts, of German oversea interests, and of German commerce. 'We had to build this fleet,' said the Chancellor, 'and we had to build it quickly.'

Very well. Germany had, according to her view, to build this fleet; and nobody in Britain contests her *right* to build whatever fleet she likes. But we do in Britain step in and protest, not against Germany's *right* to build a large fleet, but—and that is a very different thing—against the enormous expenditure that her new point of view forces upon our own citizens. We consider that Germany is building a much larger fleet than is necessary for the mere defensive purposes she says she has in view; and as we are bound from the very conditions of our existence to strengthen our naval armaments in proportion as our neighbours and other countries strengthen theirs we resent what we consider to be the thrusting of unnecessary expenditure upon us. Sir Edward Grey summed up the situation at Scarborough as regards our navy a few days ago:

Take, for instance, our naval power. We must have and we must maintain it. It must be a naval power equal to meet and to overcome any probable combination which might be brought to bear upon us, because without that we cannot protect what we have. There is no half-way house, as far as we are concerned, in naval affairs; there is no half-way house between complete safety and absolute ruin.

We are an island Power, and our island population depend upon their food supplies from abroad. If our coasts were blockaded by a

superior hostile naval force, our people would be starved; but if Germany's coasts were blockaded, she would obtain that amount of corn and supplies of other kinds which she does not produce herself from inland countries untouched by a naval blockade.

Let us consider the relative tasks of the two navies. The United Kingdom and Ireland alone, not taking in the Colonies, have a coast line to defend very much longer than that of Germany. The tonnage of that shipping of the British Empire that has to be defended was in 1907-08 18,320,668 tons, whilst that of Germany was 4,110,562—i.e., roughly, in the proportion of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. The total trade of the whole British Empire that has to be defended amounted in 1905 to 1,366,706,000*l.*, that of Germany to 650,985,294*l.*—i.e., roughly, as 2 to 1. Now I respectfully submit that with only these figures before us the British argument holds good that the German Navy is relatively to our own larger than is necessary.

The British arguments do not appeal to the Germans because they say 'our Navy construction law was passed in 1900, and this law limits our number of battleships to thirty-eight, but it establishes that number as the limit to be obtained.' We do not, of course, ask Germany to repeal her law or even to amend it; but we point out that the increase of the size and fighting strength of the new type of battleship now adopted by all naval Powers has vastly increased the amount of naval expenditure. Of course Germany's new naval policy and her naval programme have created a new condition of things in the North Sea. We consider that a discussion on this subject would be profitable and might help to ameliorate the political relations of the two countries. Both Kaiser Wilhelm and King Edward have been working for the peace of the world. King Edward said at Wilhelms-höhe: 'Your Majesty knows that it is my greatest wish that only the best and pleasantest relations should exist between the two nations.' The King is bound to accept the naval policy of his people. This policy is to build two *Dreadnoughts* for every one that Germany builds. But our Government want the German Government to have a discussion on the question of naval expenditure. Why should this discussion not take place between two Great Powers whose Sovereigns and Governments aim at the maintenance of general peace and desire mutual good relations, and whose peoples are eminently pacific in their sentiments? The olive branch was actually held out by Britain when the King went to Cronberg last August, and the German Government have long known that the British Government are ready to discuss this matter. As long as the question of naval expenditure is not discussed between Berlin and London no visits of sovereigns, no exchanges of politeness between the monarchs and sections of their people, will be of any avail for the dissipation of that mutual distrust that prevails and has long prevailed. And until some settlement be arrived at, the two countries will not be on terms

of good relations with each other. The question of good relations between Britain and Germany depends *solely* on Germany's disposition to discuss this question with us.

The rejection of the olive branch by the Kaiser at Cronberg has crystallised public opinion in Great Britain; and it may now be said that the Liberal British Cabinet have absolutely decided on a considerably enlarged naval programme. This is the result of Germany's unyielding attitude. No Government in England could retain its position if it were to reject the will of the nation on this point. No Liberal Government would accept a policy of huge expenditure in naval construction for the mere love of doing so; they are merely carrying out a policy of stern necessity.

As things are it is of course impossible for the British Government again to approach his Majesty or the German Government on the subject of a reduction of naval expenditure and armaments, for they might thereby expose themselves to an undesirable rebuff; but I firmly believe that the door is not closed to such a discussion. Indeed, I am disposed to emphasise most emphatically the assurance that the proposal for a discussion on the subject of naval armaments and expenditure would be welcomed in a very friendly spirit in Downing Street as well as at the British Admiralty if the slightest indication of a desire for such a discussion were given from Berlin.

It is stated in naval circles in Berlin that recent events will not exercise the slightest influence on German naval expenditure generally or on the German naval estimates for the ensuing year. In fact we are told that the item for new construction and armaments for 1909 has increased by nearly 2½ millions of pounds, to not far short of 11,000,000*l.*, as compared with 8,358,260*l.* last year.

I repeat that until this wretched naval rivalry between Britain and Germany shall have been brought to an end, it is almost useless to talk of bringing about those good relations between the two countries for which Prince von Bülow tells us that Kaiser Wilhelm has laboured for the last two decades. And I go further and submit that, as the condition of Anglo-German relations is a most weighty factor in European politics, the prevailing unrest in Europe is bound to continue until this question is solved. It is in the power of the Kaiser, the Chancellor, and the Reichstag to pave the way for such a solution which will bring about that state of good political relations between the two countries which both sides desire.

J. L. BASHFORD.

'WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?'

'Let me beg of you not to believe for one moment that an inexperienced, inadequately trained second line of citizen soldiers could cope successfully with the thoroughly organised, highly trained troops that would assuredly be selected for an attack on this country.'—*Earl Roberts in the House of Lords, the 23rd of November, 1908.*

IN the August issue of this Review I was permitted to bring before its readers the *precariousness* of our Home Defence. It was to the educated men and women of the country that my remarks were specially addressed, and I have reason to know that the article went home to them. From a gentleman at a very large town, I received a letter saying that several ladies had read what I had written, and were so impressed by it that they had asked him to write to me to give them counsel as to how they could exert their influence practically, in inducing others to aid in averting the dangers to which, owing to its *precariousness*, our Home Defence is exposed to-day. This general reception of the article is eminently satisfactory, because it shows that the mind of England is gradually awakening to the importance of Home Defence; and that the mental soil on which literary seed may fall is no longer unresponsive, hard or stony as it was a short time ago, but is ready to receive and is rapidly becoming prepared to assimilate, with results beneficial to the nation, seed sown in future. Again, therefore, do I return in these pages to the subject of Home Defence, and with the same class of readers specially in view.

In August I pointed out that though at that time the international political barometer was pointing to 'Set Fair,' yet some sudden and unexpected change might occur in the atmosphere of these politics, and the needle whirl round to 'Stormy.' Not being either prophet or seer, little did I anticipate the immediateness of the 'fall' which has since taken place. True it is that the needle is now back at 'Calm,' but whether the lull is due to the actual dying out of the storm, or is the precursor of an approaching devastating cyclone, not even the most far-seeing and experienced political navigators can tell. Fortunately we have, at the national helm, men, whom all, irrespective of party, recognise deservedly as 'strong men,' careful

of the needs and the honour of the Empire. Doubtless, however optimistic they may be, they in no way ignore the possibility of being confronted with the worst; and necessarily one of the very first problems before them for consideration is the eventual distribution of the sea forces and the land forces of the Empire to meet the heavy and sometimes conflicting requirements of Imperial Policy, Imperial Defence, and of the Security of the Home. It is with the last only that I am here concerned; and let me again warn my reader, as I did four months ago, of the irresistible temptation that the possible dispersion of our militant forces over the whole huge area of Imperial war operations may offer for a determined dash at the heart of the Empire. What we have to-day to consider is, whether in this case we are now ready—or if not now, when we shall be ready—not only to meet and repel that possible intruder successfully, but also give him such a lesson as will effectually deter him, or any other Power similarly inclined, from essaying the experiment again.

Now it always seems to me that our rulers, no matter to whichever political party they belong, steadily abstain from openly and honestly telling us the whole truth as regards these vitally important questions. The whole truth is known to every would-be hostile Power in the world; it is an 'open' secret; the wisdom of withholding it from us, the inhabitants of Great Britain, is wisdom of the 'ostrich' statesmanship order, so here I give my personal reading and interpretation of the secret.

We are *not* ready; at our present rate of preparation we shall not be ready before the fatal 'Too Late' knell is sounded; and finally, the methods of preparation adopted by the Government and the War Office are miserably inadequate and futile, and can result only in the production of a defence of the paper and cardboard kind.

These are strong assertions, but as the first is on all hands admitted to be true, it is necessary for me to justify only the two others; and I can justify them 'to the hilt'! And in doing so I deliberately appeal to the people against the Government and the War Office combined. But in taking this apparently strange and presumptuous course I am merely endeavouring, as one of the people, to act in the spirit of the really grave and solemn injunctions imposed on us, at a time when our defensive condition at home was strictly analogous to what it might become to-morrow should the flames of war burst out in Europe, by one of the greatest statesmen whose names are recorded in our national annals. In May 1901, during the Boer war, we were well on the way to the exhaustion of our military resources; we were pouring out of Great Britain to South Africa not only every real soldier, but every man on whom we could lay hands, and whose only qualification as a soldier was the soldier's dress he wore. Of regular soldiers we were well-nigh bareft at home; and of guns, those of us behind the scenes knew that there were barely forty pieces of field

artillery with which to fight our battles against an invader who would have come amply provided with guns; and now in 1908, according to a statement made recently on the express authority of Mr. Haldane at a large public meeting, the conditions would be almost precisely the same should the Territorial Army find itself suddenly entrusted with the defence of Great Britain. On the 13th of November Lieut.-General Sir Edmond Elles, as Mr. Haldane's mouth-piece, warned us that, *then*, the *whole of the Regular Army* would have been sent out of the country—a really appalling statement. It would be consequently on untrained soldiers—and with, it is true perhaps, more field guns, but those in the hands of incompetent gunners—that, according to this ministerial announcement, the protection of our home against the most highly trained troops in Europe will depend. With this terrible and awful future, as honestly and authoritatively placed before us 500 or 600 people who were present, I turn back to 1901, to find perhaps light, or at all events 'leading.' I find it, and on it I act, secure in the wisdom of my counsellor. That counsellor is none other than the late Lord Salisbury, in whose hand at that time were the reins of power. No one knew better than he did our well-nigh desperate military condition for Home Defence then; no one would realise better than he our condition as it might be to-morrow. On the 9th or 10th of May 1901, speaking at the Albert Hall to the members of the Primrose League, he counselled the people of Great Britain in the words that follow:

It [preparation for Home Defence] can only be set on foot in the parishes, it is not a thing that can come from the centre; but if once the feeling can be promulgated abroad that it is the duty of every able [? bodied] Englishman to make himself competent to meet the invading enemy, if ever—God forbid—in the course of time an invading enemy should appear—if you once impress on him that *the defence of the country is not the business of the War Office or of the Government, but the business of the people themselves*, learning in their own parishes the practices and the accomplishments which are necessary to make them formidable in the field—you will then have a defensive force which will not only repel the assailant if he come, but will make the chance of the assailant so bad that no assailant will ever appear.

These are remarkable words: Lord Salisbury could not have intended, however, that they should be taken literally; it was the true principle of sound Home Defence that, even with some exaggeration, he was seeking to impress on the country in that hour of dire need. The universality of the duty of all able men to participate in the defence of the home, and in preparing themselves for that participation: this is the teaching, this is the real counsel of Lord Salisbury. And he seems almost to say in as many words, 'it is for you, the people, not to wait for the Government and the War Office to find out how far you are willing to go in this matter, and meanwhile for them to advance with only slow, uncertain and faltering steps; it is for you, the people, to tell the Government and the War Office

plainly and decisively *how far* you will go ; and then, with them does lie the business of leading you there as a defensive power in the country.' And it is to-day the mistake of these authorities, that not only are they ignorant of how far the people are willing to go, not only do they seem to take no measures to feel the pulse, to 'take the temperature' of the blood of the people on this matter, but with wearying reiterancy on every possible occasion they declare that the people will never go so far as all experience teaches us is the only safe and reliable haven of safety. Their conduct is like that of a physician who says to a patient, 'My friend, you are a weak invalid ; I *have* a medicine here which I know would make you well and strong, but I know you won't take it, therefore I do not even ask you to do so, and I will put it aside.' No wonder the patient does not even try to find out anything about the medicine and what it really is.

I purpose, therefore, now, as one of the people, to sketch as briefly as possible some of the horrors before us in the case of invasion, the best method for saving ourselves from those horrors, and the absolute futility and childishness of the plans which in their ignorance of how far we are 'prepared to go' the Government and the War Office alike are pressing us to adopt.

Taking into account the far too general indifference shown to this matter of Home Defence by the majority of the dwellers in our island, I am often led to ask myself whether the men and women in England, Scotland, and Wales have the very faintest idea of what the presence of an enemy who has effected a landing on our shores, and is intent on pushing on further inland, really means to every dweller in that part of the country which is in the enemy's occupation. Of course the troubles indirectly caused all over the land, even away from the area where the enemy actually is—the fall in public confidence, the disruption of business, the interruption of the means of transit for even the most ordinary necessities of life, and the resulting riot and confusion—would be felt from John o' Groat's to Land's End, but it is more of the direct effects that I am thinking now. Strange to my mind it is that when talking of this matter of invasion I have very rarely met women who seem to take any interest in the matter ; they seem to regard it as purely a man's question, a matter for the fighters alone. They neither know nor realise that in invasion, or even in the mere temporary occupation of a district, a town, or a village by invaders, it will not be the men, it will be themselves, the women and their families, that will be the sufferers, the victims. Let me take for illustration the district and village or large central town of what I will call 'Burley.' Enter the foreign invaders. Nowadays those invaders will be men held tight in bonds of discipline, far tighter than those our soldiers know. Judging from what took place, or rather what did not take place in France in 1870-71, and to the not generally recognised but well-

deserved credit of the German invaders, our women will be safe from those crimes of violence and lust which were common in war only a hundred years ago. But short of these, there are no extremities leading to misery, suffering and death to which the intruders will not go. The first demand of the 'men in possession' will be shelter and food. Fortunate will the women, the children, and the infirm old fathers be, if to them remain even an outhouse or shed for cover; fortunate for them if for sustenance are available some of the crumbs which may fall from the invaders' tables. And after days of misery and of semi-starvation they rejoice to find the invaders moving away. But a shot is heard; soon afterwards a volley: some young son has been accused of firing on the unwelcome intruders. With short shrift, a volley terminates his brief life; and then punishment on the village for the outrage. But the few pence, shillings, or perhaps pounds in their pockets to make up the fine are not sufficient, and as the intruders leave, smoke and fire burst out from the houses, and the women and children find but ashes, instead of a home; and nowhere in their own old homes is anywhere to lay their heads—death from starvation and exposure is the only end. Then with this sorrow and anguish the anxiety for the dear ones far away fighting, but whose life of action and excitement takes from them half the weight of the troubles of the time. Are not the women of this country right in seeking to know what the Government and the War Office are doing to-day for their future protection?

And now to the measures which the combined authorities are taking to preserve us—old men, mothers of families, and children—from all these horrors. These great people have apparently, for purposes of Home Defence, grouped Lord Salisbury's able-bodied men, constituting the manhood of Great Britain, into two classes, the 'Have No Timers' and the 'Have *Some* Timers.' To which of these groups a man may elect to attach himself is the man's affair, not that of the authorities. The first-named includes, therefore, not only the men whom, in the general interest, it would not be well to take away even temporarily from civil occupations, and young fellows who are perhaps the only breadwinners in poor families, but all the host of shirkers who like to have time for amusement or for making their money whilst the care and security of the home where that money is being amassed is voluntarily undertaken for them by other people who may die or be maimed in the possible death-struggle.

So the only material out of which to form the Army for Home Defence is that furnished by the group of 'Have *Some* Timers'; and as regards these the County Associations move heaven and earth to secure proselytes, and then they coax them, when obtained, to remain with them, in one district at all events, by limiting the teaching to only those details which flavour of 'beer and sugar.' All things regarded by soldiers as disagreeable but absolutely necessary in-

gradients in the life of a real soldier are either deliberately suppressed, or hidden away in the obscurity of a back place. But even then the 'some time' at disposal is at disposal at irregular intervals only. The hour or day which suits one man does not suit another. What could be learnt in seven days' steady continuous work may have to be spread over seven weeks in one case, seven months in another. But there must, however, be some minimum of work to justify the acceptance and retention of even a 'Have Some Timer' as a defender of our homes. And lately we have been told, on the highest authority, that during the first year of training each of our noble defenders *must* put in forty drills of one hour each during the 365 days; it is hoped that he will be good enough, and that it will suit his personal convenience and the convenience of other people under whom he may be working in civil life, to spend fourteen days out of the 365 in a camp; and, finally, to qualify him to try and hit with a bullet an enemy who, be it remarked, may be half hidden or perhaps on the fast run 100 to 1000 yards distant, he will be allowed to fire in the 365 days no fewer than twenty-eight times a loaded rifle. In the following 365 days he is regarded as officially stamped with the badge of honour 'Trained Soldier.' And to these *soi-disant* soldiers we, the people of Great Britain, may have to entrust the defence of our homes (when all our Regular Army is out of the country) against the onset of the very best of continental soldiers, each of whom has undergone for two whole years the severest of continuous training.

My readers surely need not know aught of the technicalities or the details of learning the work of a soldier in order to determine the relative value of a forty-hour soldier and a two-year soldier. Let them apply this marvellous form of learning the soldier's, the Home Defender's trade to any trade or profession in civil life, whether that of medicine, land surveying, dressmaking, carpenter, bricklayer, tinker, or tailor. Would they trust, buy from, or employ any one of these civilian 'Have Some Timers'?

And now I will narrate briefly what in connexion with this business of the people, this defence of our homes, took place on the 13th of November last, at a meeting at which I was present, in a Surrey district to which I have already given the name of 'Burley.' The population of 'Burley' district is about 14,000, but of these some 4000 are troops lying on the outskirts; they come and go, and take no part in the affairs of 'Burley'; it may be remarked, however, that they furnish to 'Burley' an object-lesson in the art of 'soldier manufacture.'

My 'Burley' has its peculiarities: it comprises one very old but small village, one old large village, one large and rapidly expanding modern village. In 'Burley' are to be found nearly all classes and many creeds: some half-dozen civilian residents of considerable private means; then not a few residents of the retired Indian or retired British officer type, the latter, with one or two sad and lamentable exceptions,

being of the strictly conservative order. In 'Burley' are some officers on the Active List; but these are birds of passage, and neither 'Burley' nor its concerns have much interest for them. And then we come to what is real 'Burley,' a very large number indeed of the professional and tradesmen class, with a still larger number of people employed by them, and a strong contingent of the so-called 'working classes.' These are 'Burley' in deciding local questions. And on the 13th of November representatives of all these classes came to the local Drill Hall at the invitation of the County Association to consider whether 'Burley' should contribute a company to the Territorial Army. 'Bigwigs,' representing both the Government and the War Office, were on the platform, and they spoke first, dangling the 'Have Some Timers' system of defence seductively before 'Burley,' and assuring 'Burley' that any other system would not be accepted in this country. And the information as to the working weakness of the system, arising from the absence of the whole of the Regular Army in our time of peril, and entrusting the safety of 'Burley' to the forty-hour soldiers, was actually volunteered from the platform, or was elicited by simple questions. Then up rose an old hand, well known to 'Burley,' and he, bearing in mind Lord Salisbury's decisive statement that the matter was one for 'Burley' alone and not for the occupiers of the platform, propounded for consideration a system universally adopted in almost all other countries in the civilised world, with the warranty of experience to back it up. That system is very simple, and may be briefly described as follows:

The names of all and every one of the young men of 'Burley' within the prescribed ages are put in a jar or bag. Say that for training for our defence thirty young men out of the 300 or 400 whose names are in the jar are required. The thirty to go would be those whose names are drawn first from the jar. Among these might be found the eldest sons of a peer and of a millionaire, both fresh from Eton and intent on a real good time in the immediate future. Naturally these young fellows suggest 'exemption,' offering to find in 'Burley' a couple of other young men quite willing for a good pecuniary payment to take their places as 'substitutes.' But this 'substitute' system was one of the many contributory causes to the downfall of France in her hopeless struggle against the German invaders in 1870. The exemption would not be allowed or even taken into consideration. Into the ranks they both go; but, in their very natural desire to serve on pleasanter terms, they would soon learn how to become efficient, and emerge to play during the remainder of their service the part of non-commissioned officers or even officers, in positions of trust and responsibility corresponding to their educational as well as their social position. And so the drawing goes on, impartially and without respect

of persons; but now it pauses, for names have come out which show the system on its compassionate side—the name of a young fellow the support either of his widowed mother and young brothers and sisters, or of old parents whose only refuge in his absence must be the 'house.' This name remains on the list, but the young fellow is for the present exempted, and is to be called out only in the very last extremity. But besides these there are exemptions of particular cases in the interest of the public. And now, though forty or fifty names have had to be drawn, the tale of thirty is complete. A higher Power than ours has determined the order of the drawing of the lots; neither wealth, social position, nor personal influence has been taken into account: in the chances of the drawing it has been share and share alike, the sons of the peer and of the road-sweeper had precisely the same chances of serving or of not serving. Those young men whose names were not drawn have run their chance with the others; they in no way shirked their liability to service, and can, as men, look their selected comrades in the face without feeling aught of shame or self-reproach. This principle of filling the ranks of the Territorial Army, 'Burley,' in spite of cold looks from the platform, eventually decided on as best for all the homes in 'Burley.' And then what to substitute for the present make-believe training? It had been pointed out at a previous gathering that one year of continuous steady training, backed up as it would be by the instincts of patriotism and self-preservation, would suffice. Patriotism and sentimental considerations alone are of little value in war; by resting on a basis of thorough training and the self-confidence engendered thereby, it is hoped that they will render the one-year British soldier the equal of the two-year soldier intruder.

And then from the painfully obvious hostile platform came the question to the audience: 'Do you desire to add the following words to your consent to the request to contribute a company from "Burley" to the Territorial Army?

"We, the men and women of the district, present at this meeting, desire to place on record our opinion that the time has arrived when it shall be the law of the land that men of all classes, from highest to lowest alike, shall be equally liable to undergo preparation for the defence of our common home; and further, that that preparation, whilst lasting as short a time as possible, shall be thorough, complete, and effectual."

The reply was decisive. A seconder being called for, both a civilian resident and another civilian who is the owner of one of the largest businesses in 'Burley' competed for the position, whilst from the back of the hall, from the 'working class,' came a cry, 'We all second it!' So, with but five or six dissentients, this large thoroughly representative meeting of 'Burley' had, following Lord Salisbury's wise counsel, thrown over both Government and War Office as postulating *no locus standi* at present in the matter; had regarded

it as 'Burley's' own business, and plainly told the representatives of the powers that be, who were present, that '*Liability to service in defence of the home ought to be Universal on the manhood of the Land, and that fact, not fiction, should be the principle of the training.*' And 'Burley' was heard to say, later on, in conversational intercourse: 'We did not understand this system until it was explained to us at the meeting; why not get rid of those horrid names "Compulsory Service" and "Conscription," and call it what it really is, "Universal Liability for Home Defence"?'

Right glad was I at this breaking clear of official influence, of official views. 'Burley' as one of the legion of communities which constitute Great Britain had conclusively shown the unreliability and the gratuitous character of the official assumption that the country will not even look at any form of home defence better than that afforded by the 'Have Some Timers.' 'Burley' had demanded real in lieu of sham defence.

And then uprose the Lord Lieutenant, His Majesty's representative in the county; and to my utter amazement, this high official, in his parting words, instead of expressing recognition and approval of the real patriotic spirit shown by 'Burley,' and thereby encouraging other communities in our county to follow our example, deliberately uttered words of discouragement by assuring us that it would be ten years before the House of Commons would accept the principles involved. However, 'Burley' remains horribly obstinate, and perhaps prefers to accept as a counsellor the late Lord Salisbury rather than the present Lord Lieutenant of the County of Surrey.

And I doubt not that other communities will ere long follow our lead; and 'Burley' may ever feel proud of itself and thoroughly self-satisfied in having acted as the pioneer of Great Britain on the way to sound and efficient defence of our families, our hearths and our homes.

In conclusion, let me contrast the line taken by the military authorities a few years ago, when Lord Wolseley was in power, with that taken by the same authorities now. In the course of a discussion at the Royal United Service Institution, when the term 'gates of wood' had been used as expressing the value of our then Home Defenders, the Volunteer Force, Lord Wolseley, whilst admitting the justice of the designation, openly said that if we cannot get gates of iron it was better to have 'gates of wood' than none at all. But he in no way concealed from the public his opinion of the inadequacy of the gates as gates. Nowadays the authorities seem studiously silent as to the inadequacy of this same force with only its name changed. They know, quite as well as did Lord Wolseley, that the security it can give is not of a sufficiently high order; yet they talk of it and to it as if it was the thing really wanted, the only thing needful. They seem to think that the grand old British spirit has died out—that combination of the

spirits of the mastiff and the bull-dog—and has degenerated into that of the name so appropriately applied to their Force—the 'Terriers.' My belief is that the old spirit is not dead, it is only latent. Let the authorities boldly and honestly tell their 'Terriers' that they are as guardians of our homes 'Terriers' only, and nothing better. Let them tell the country that we must have gates of iron, and that at present the country is giving only 'gates of wood.' My firm conviction is that my fellow countrymen and countrywomen alike will rise to the appeal; and willingly placing in the hands of the authorities the good material needed, they will insist on the right manufacturing and the high tempering of the material for its purpose, and then our gates will be gates of iron or steel indeed, and will be strong enough to stand whatever strain from oversea would-be invaders may bring to bear against them.

LONSDALE HALE.

AN EDUCATIONAL SURRENDER

For some years past an increasing number of Churchmen have asked but one question in reference to each fresh attempt to deal with the religious difficulty in elementary schools: Does it make the State deal out absolutely equal measure to all forms of religious teaching? Unfortunately not one of them has been able to stand this test. They have been measures of varying degrees of merit in other respects, but they have uniformly failed in this one. Still the situation had one encouraging feature. There was a real advance on the part of Churchmen towards the acceptance of the principle. They might not always show a very clear understanding of what was involved in equality, but at least they recognised that it did not become them to put up with anything short of it. To-day this vital principle is threatened by a new and formidable combination of forces. The Liberal Government has introduced a third Bill, quite as destructive of equality as either of its predecessors, but differing from them in being brought forward with an imposing array of official support from the Church. It was easy to get Churchmen to oppose an Education Bill when it was backed only by Mr. Birrell or Mr. McKenna, but the present measure has claims which were wanting in both the others. It is as much the Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill as it is Mr. Runciman's. It embodies not merely what the Government are prepared to concede, but what the leaders of the Church are prepared to accept. This fact does undoubtedly give the Bill of 1908 a marked advantage over all that have gone before it. It cannot be dismissed with the single criticism that it violates the principle of equality. When Churchmen are asked by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by a majority of the bishops, to hold out a friendly hand to Mr. Runciman's proposals, they are bound to give them most careful examination.

It can hardly be needful to show that the new Bill does go directly in the teeth of equality of treatment as regards religious teaching. I do not believe that its authors themselves would give any other description of it. Still, it is prudent to take nothing for granted, and I will therefore set out at starting what the Government propose

to do for the two forms of religious teaching—Undenominational and Denominational :

(1) In every school provided by the local education authority Undenominational instruction *must* be given on five mornings in the week ; Denominational instruction *may* be given (if accommodation 'can reasonably be made available') on *two* mornings in the week. Thus the relative importance of Undenominational and Denominational teaching is determined by the Bill to be as five to two.

(2) Undenominational instruction is established by the State and paid for by the State ; Denominational instruction must be provided and paid for by, or on behalf of, such parents as happen to value it. The one is treated as a matter of universal utility—something for which Parliament thinks it necessary to provide a time and a place ; the other is treated as something which may have some value for A or B—there is no accounting for tastes in religion any more than in food—but of which the State, whose business it is to care for the community as a whole, knows nothing. Whatever other merits a compromise founded on these two foundations may have, inequality is written large on both of them.

When the majority of the bishops ask Churchmen to accept such a measure as this it is only respectful to assume that they have some reason for what they do. They have opposed, and successfully opposed, other Bills coming from the same quarter, though to eyes which have not received some special enlightenment they seem less objectionable than this one. What is it that has worked this miraculous change ? Undoubtedly 'compromise' is a word which has a great charm for Englishmen, and I am quite conscious that to advise the rejection, absolute and final, of any arrangement which bears this attractive heading is to damage one's cause at starting. But the merit of a compromise, or rather its title to be called a compromise, depends upon its human content. Whom does it include ? The answer commonly given to this inquiry explains the failure of many seemingly promising settlements. They have swept in those who do not greatly care how a question is decided while they have left out those to whom that decision is a matter of passionate concern. These last are sufficiently damned by being labelled 'Extremists.' Yet in matters of religion this is always a dangerous policy. It satisfies a very large class—the class which is chiefly anxious to get a controversy safely under ground. But where religious differences are concerned premature burial is often no burial. Before the grave can be filled up the dead man has risen from it and is as great a nuisance as ever. If I am right in my estimate of Mr. Runciman's Bill this is exactly what will happen if it is passed. The forces formerly in the field will be in the field again. Those who have hitherto striven to prevent the adoption of a settlement will next year be striving to upset a settlement which

has been adopted. If anyone is inclined to make light of this prospect I would ask him to recall the history of the present Education Act. Few Bills, I should say, were better framed from the point of view of any moderate man than this ill-fated measure. I doubt whether even those who disliked it foresaw the resistance it would arouse. For two generations Nonconformists had contentedly taxed themselves for the support of Denominational schools; who could have supposed that a law which did no more than rate them for the same purpose would evoke such a storm of opposition? The admirers of the Act assured us that all this display of passion meant nothing—that sensible Nonconformists would treat it with contempt, while the few enthusiasts who might try to keep up the agitation would soon get tired of carrying it on at the sacrifice of their spoons and teapots. It took a General Election to undeceive these sanguine politicians; yet the very men who read them the lesson three years ago seem quite unable to apply it to themselves now that the tables are turned.

I should say all this if the opposition to Mr. Runciman's Bill were really the work of Extremists. But is it? I can only say that if it is the word has taken on quite a new meaning. I say nothing of the 'strangers' whose presumption in addressing a letter to their clergy has so much disturbed certain of the bishops, though I should have thought that the close co-operation of men so unlike in character, in views, and in antecedents as Lord Hugh Cecil, the Dean of Canterbury and Lord Halifax would have shown how inapplicable the common division into Moderates and Extremists is to present circumstances. But when we pass beyond the leaders so suddenly raised to the chief place among the assailants of the Bill, whom do we find among the rank and file of their supporters? I declare that when I hear the National Society called Extremist, I feel as though I had suddenly been privy to some monstrous profanity. If ever there was a living embodiment of caution, bordering, some might say, on timidity, I should have thought it was this venerable institution. Yet the Consultative Committee met on the very day on which the Bill was read a first time, and by ninety-six votes to thirty-nine refused 'to advise Churchmen to accept any settlement which gives preferential treatment to Undenominational as compared with Denominational schools or teaching.' It is a new thing for the National Society to find itself in open opposition to the majority of the Episcopate, and, considering its history and character, it is not unreasonable to see in the Society's novel attitude an overmastering sense of the grave character of the situation which the action of the bishops has created.

But this is not a solitary example. Next to the National Society there are, I should say, no men less open to the charge of being Extremists than the members of the Representative Church Council. I do not claim for this body that it has any specially good title to the name it bears. Probably neither the Clerical nor the Lay House can

quite be taken as a fair sample of those whom in name it represents. The Clerical House is simply the Lower Houses of the two Convocations— assemblies in which only beneficed clergy are represented and greatly overweighted by a large official element. As to the Lay House, though I cannot say much for the method in which it is elected, its members are for the most part the same men who are to be seen on the platform of every meeting for Church objects, and form the backbone of every Diocesan Committee. To give a body composed of men of this type, in addition to a long list of deans, canons, archdeacons and rectors, the title of *Extremists* is surely a misleading use of the term. Yet this is the body which no longer ago than last May declared for the principle of equality, and that in very unusual circumstances. Sir Alfred Cripps had brought forward a resolution pledging the Council to support a 'just measure to secure in all districts to Nonconformists no less than to Churchmen such religious teaching as they desire for their children.' The Bishop of Wakefield had moved an amendment, the gist of which was well described by the seconder as urging upon Churchmen the duty of first paying 'for sound Christian teaching in schools' out of the rates, and then paying out of their own pockets any extra money required for Denominational teaching. The plain issue thus raised was excellently argued, and when the Archbishop of Canterbury rose to put the question he took the unusual course of himself winding up the debate and imploring the Council to vote with the Bishop of Wakefield. A more impressive speech I have seldom listened to, and I remember thinking at the time that, unless the opponents of the amendment were very resolute, it must inevitably be carried. But they were resolute. When the votes were taken the amendment was defeated by 77 votes to 59 in the Clerical House and 103 to 80 in the Lay House. Even among the bishops five were found faithful to the principle of equality, though I am sorry to say that the most conspicuous name in this minority now heads the list of the supporters of Mr. Runciman's Bill.

All this, it is true, happened seven months ago, but the Archbishop, though he must have known that his negotiations with the Government would reach their final stage about the time that the Licensing Bill left the Commons, has taken no steps to get this vote reversed. The Council, indeed, is his own creation, but when a great artist is no longer pleased with his work he prefers to keep it with its face to the wall. It is a main feature in the new Episcopal policy that the opinions of Churchmen should be taken for granted, and this may help to explain the indignation of some of their number at the attempt made by Lord Hugh Cecil, the Dean of Canterbury and Lord Halifax to obtain information for the Archbishop as to the mind of Churchmen 'in reference to the negotiations now in progress.' I do not wonder that they are angry. No one can be expected to like seeing his own proper work done for him because he has neglected to do it

for himself. But had I been in their counsels I should, I think, have advised silence as the wiser course. They thought it better that his Grace should conduct these negotiations without any further information as to the mind of Churchmen in regard to them. Better, it may have been, from the point of view of their immediate success, but hardly better as regards the permanent acceptance of the measure that is to be founded on them.

In this pre-arranged uncertainty as to what Churchmen think of the compromise we are reduced to inquiring what they ought to think of it. Now any useful effort to get at the meaning and value of the third Education Bill must begin with the recognition that it involves a very real sacrifice on the part of Nonconformists. They have come forward with a large concession. They have consented to the admission of Denominational teaching into all Council schools. Now, for the first time, these schools are to be profaned by the intrusion of catechisms and formularies distinctive of particular denominations. The sacrifice is all the more bitter that it carries with it a slight to their favourite method of administration. Just when local option is on the eve of being applied to the licensing of public-houses, it is to be denied any share in the admission of Denominational teaching into Council schools. It is important to bear all this in mind because I have little doubt that it weighed greatly with the Archbishop. He did not wish to be behind the Nonconformists in generosity. But a concession which has cost the makers of it a great deal may be quite worthless to those to whom it is offered. So far as it is so in the present instance it makes the compromise mischievous as well as worthless. Churchmen get something which they do not value, while Nonconformists see their gift rejected as altogether inadequate to the situation.

But why is this compromise worthless to Churchmen? It would be enough to say, by way of answer, that it sets up in every elementary school included under the Bill one particular form of religious teaching and invests it with all the sanctions that can be conferred by State provision and State payment. Whatever else this may be, it is not equality, and in the absence of stronger evidence I submit that it is still unproved that one section of Churchmen is prepared to accept anything less. That section asks nothing which it is not willing that others should have also. It wants nothing for the Church of England which it is not prepared to share with all other Churches. It has no objection to simple Bible teaching being given to all children whose parents desire it. It only insists that every other form of religion which is desired by parents shall be given on the same conditions. My Nonconformist friends think my attitude towards Undenominational teaching unreasonable; I think their attitude towards Denominational teaching unreasonable. Both feelings are now of long standing and neither of them seems likely to undergo any change. Why then should we go on striving after an unattainable agreement,

or, what is worse, make believe that a settlement which only pleases one of us, if that, is likely to make the situation better? If they will not pay for religious teaching which I like and they dislike, I have no wish to make them do it. Is it fair or reasonable in them to insist on my paying for religious teaching which I dislike and they like? I am told on all sides that those who value simple Bible teaching are an immense majority of my countrymen. In that case, they cannot, surely, find much difficulty in paying out of their own pockets for the religion they so much love.

I pass on from the principle of the proposed compromise to its probable results. We are asked to give up all but a very few Church schools, to see our religious teaching admitted to a back seat in the Council schools, and to find in this last provision an equivalent for what we have surrendered. To my mind the permission to come into the Council schools is worse than exclusion from them. I will leave on one side the questions likely to arise out of the provision that limits us, when we have got inside a Council school, to such accommodation as can 'reasonably be made available.' I will assume that every local Education Authority will do their best to make the task of the Denominational teacher easy, that they will take trouble in distributing the existing class-rooms, that if need be they will build new class-rooms for the purpose. I confine myself to the effect on the parents of this ostentatious inequality between Denominational and Undenominational teaching. They have been accustomed in a Council school to receive the latter kind. If the two now started on an equal footing—both given at the same time and on the same days, and paid for out of the same pockets—the newly introduced teaching would still have an initial disadvantage. Of this, however, Churchmen would have no right to complain. It is the drawback incident to a new arrangement. But when the new teaching is allowed on sufferance on two days in the week, and has to be paid for by whatever voluntary agency that has undertaken to keep the hat in circulation, what chance is there that the average parent will go out of his way to choose it in preference to the familiar teaching which he sees given every day in the week, and paid for out of rates levied on the whole community? In these days the State could not more clearly proclaim that it thinks this particular kind of teaching the best. Give Churchmen a fair field, and I do not doubt that they will hold their own in it. It does not follow that they will be able to hold their own against all the prestige conferred by exclusive State patronage and State payment.

This then is the settlement which the Archbishop of Canterbury asks us to welcome. After years of conflict Churchmen are called upon to see their religion, and every other religion that possesses a definite creed, taught on sufferance and with special marks of inferiority attached to it. I do not wish to use hard words. As regards the Archbishop I believe that this compromise appeals to him on its

merits, and it is only just to say that his speech at the Representative Church Council on the 7th of May made this clear. Some of his supporters in the Episcopate are more recent converts to the preferential treatment of Undenominational teaching, but even of them I will not say that they have betrayed the great cause entrusted to them. Before a man can be a traitor he must know what he is doing, and I do not think that this is true in their case. But I do say that the bishops have allowed themselves to go astray after the mirage of a National Church and a National Creed, and that in doing this they have forgotten that they are officers not of the people of England but of the Church of England. This, however, is not an explanation that can give us much comfort. Errors that are not intentional may be just as disastrous as if they were, and the consent of the Episcopal majority—happily it is only a majority—to Mr. Runciman's proposals is a conspicuous example of the class. Whether it will be possible to defeat these proposals in Parliament it is too early to say. But at least we can do our utmost towards this end. We have leaders already—better we could not desire—and before long it may appear that they will have no lack of followers. But even if the Bill be passed it will only be the beginning of a fiercer fight than any of which this ill-starred question has yet been the cause. In proportion as the Archbishopal compromise makes its way it will be found to have brought into the educational controversy not peace but a sword.

D. C. LATHBURY.

DANGER IN INDIA

It is always advisable to look facts in the face. To cry peace when there is no peace may be easy ; but to do so is as futile as to plough the sand of the seashore. India is seething with sedition. That, in plain English, is the gist of the matter. In Indian phraseology the voice of patriotism is abroad. Whatever there may be in a name, the facts in their rock-bed are identical. Indians (we may no longer speak of them as natives of India), so far as they possess an articulate voice, are tired of us, and desire to be done with us once for all. Minor grievances, be their sum and substance what they may, go for nothing ; they merely fringe on this one and only cry, India for the Indians. Mr. Tilak, the spokesman of Western India, whose sympathy with bombs has led to his involuntary journey to the salubrious climate of Burmah, has stated in his writings and public speeches over and over again that nothing but complete independence will satisfy the aspirations of his countrymen. Self-government in the sense in which it is possessed by Australia, Canada, and South Africa is a step which would meet with his august approval, always provided that it is recognised as a step and nothing more. And the fact must be admitted and grasped that this is the keynote of the situation. To the educated and patriotic Indian it is a matter of supreme indifference whether British administration in India is good, bad, or indifferent. It is sufficient to him that it is foreign, and, in logical conclusion, must be got rid of. If bombs can hasten the process, by all means use bombs.

But let it not be supposed that the Indian to whom we refer will admit that there is anything good in British rule. If we are to believe all that he will tell us, the tyranny perpetrated from day to day by the Government and its servants exceeds anything that can be conceived of as existing in Russia. As compared with a Lieutenant-Governor or a Chief Commissioner of to-day, Jenghiz Khan and Nadir Shah were ministering angels. Through the medium of the native Press, the speeches of itinerant political agitators who traverse the length and breadth of the land, the circulation of leaflets, public and private meetings, and private correspondence from one end of the country to the other, it is impressed upon all concerned, or not

concerned, that the British Government of India consists of men devoid of human feelings, destitute of conscience, honour, or morality, whose sole object is to wring the uttermost farthing from the most oppressed and miserable people in the world. It matters not what the Government does. Whatever it does, or, for the matter of that, leaves undone, it is always imbued with the most sinister of motives; and the cloven hoof is invariably discernible, be the action or inaction ostensibly ever so innocent. Provided sufficient mud is thrown, a certain percentage is likely to stick; and the mud to which we refer is peculiarly sticky. Credulous, illogical, suspicious to a degree, the Indian is not unnaturally convinced that if Government seldom, if ever, takes any steps to contradict these statements, to disprove these slanders, they must be true. When the most blatant and inflammatory articles in the newspapers are read out to an ordinary crowd of peasants under the village pipal-tree when the day's work is over, is it wonderful if Rama says to Govind, 'Is this all true?' and Govind replies, 'It is set in print; it must be true'?

And so goes on the work of exciting discontent and raising feelings of disaffection against the Government. It is not a difficult task to persuade a peasantry that Government, who is the landlord, is taking from them three or four times the rent to which it has any just claim. It matters nothing that in point of fact the rent, or land tax, is exceedingly low, much lower than it was under any administration that preceded our own; it matters nothing that now in native States the land is far more highly rented than in British India. Such facts go for nothing. For us the one fact that is patent, indisputable, and must be looked in the face is this, that sedition, discontent, agitation—call it what you will—is not confined to the educated classes, but is surging over the whole of India, from Lahore to Rangoon, and Delhi to Tuticorin.

Accentuated as the revolutionary feeling has been of late years, it is not altogether new. It began to assume prominence during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, when that visionary statesman accorded his recognition to the National Congress. This self-constituted representative assembly has consistently played the part of Iago to the very susceptible Indian Othello. It has usurped the function of the Extreme Left. It is now divided into two parties—the Nationalists or Extremists on the one hand and the Moderates on the other. Their domestic differences may be left to themselves to decide. They are of little import to us. Suffice it to say that the main divergency between Mr. Tweedle-Dum, Nationalist, and Mr. Tweedle-Dee, Moderate, is that the former wants to get rid of us to-day, while the latter is willing to defer the process until to-morrow. '*Bande Matheram!*' (Hail, motherland!) is the cry of both and of every one. 'Who are the English?' 'Why are they here?' 'Why are we enslaved?' 'Remember our glorious past, our heights of

civilisation at a time when the ancestors of these islanders painted themselves with woad or wore the skins of wild beasts !' History is not the strong point of the Indian of to-day. Such are the parrot-cries that echo through city and jungle. Freedom, independence, emancipation, no more foreign rule, are the platform shibboleths.

Is India a nation ? Do its inhabitants constitute a ' people ' ? A vast deal hinges upon this question. English writers on India and its affairs are never tired of impressing upon us that the answer is most assuredly in the negative. What have the Punjabi, the Mahratta, the Madrassi, and Bengali in common ? Just so much, English writers will tell us, as the Scotchman of Sutherlandshire and the Italian of Naples. India, we are almost tired of hearing, is as large as Europe, putting aside Russia and Scandinavia, with as great a population, as many diverse and heterogeneous nationalities, differing from each other in language, in custom, in religion, and in everything that makes for individuality ; and we might as well speak of the Indian nation as the European nation. Except for the comparatively brief period of British rule, India was never under one Government. The Great Moghul failed to achieve what we have done, and was unable to exert his authority over the whole of the sub-continent. Therefore, we are told, the various populations that compose India can never be one.

To this contention Young India opposes the most emphatic contradiction. India is a nation, a people, a country : its interests and aspirations are one and unique. Railways, telegraphs, post-office, the Press, education, knowledge of English, have welded into one harmonious whole all the manifold centrifugal forces of its vast area. Young India will quote Switzerland as an example of a country with several languages and two conflicting religions, and yet undoubtedly constituting a nation. If the only tongue in which the Madrassi and the Bengali can communicate is English, so let it be. It is sufficient that a medium of communication exists. And it does exist. The educated Indian speaks and writes in English as easily as in his own mother-tongue. It is in English that the most vehement tirades against British rule, whether printed, spoken, or dealt with in private correspondence, are hurled across the land. Politically speaking, Lahore is a suburb* of Calcutta.

The fact cannot be gainsaid and must be reckoned with. India as a whole, as a political unit, has found a voice. There is a national India, as there is not a national Europe. India is articulate, and its universal cry is for independence. The demand is fostered in a thousand ways. There are endless societies, open, secret, and semi-secret, all actuated with one aim—national independence. Shivaji clubs, taking rise in Western India, where, two centuries and a half ago, the hero of the cult, the great Mahratta patriot, raised his forces in the wild valleys of the Western Ghauts and expelled the Mogul

power from Maharashtra, have extended to the teeming plains of Bengal, where the name of Shiwaji and his Mahratta horsemen represented nothing but murder, bloodshed, and robbery. What matters this if the weapon is one that can be used against the Government? Shiwaji's birthday is celebrated from one side of India to the other; and the moral pointed out to millions of credulous listeners is that another Shiwaji may at any moment arise to deal with the English as the Mahratta chieftain did with the Emperor of Delhi. Everything is turned and twisted into the same purpose; and the annual Gunpati celebration, which was merely a period of holiday-making and rejoicing, is converted into a political celebration for the dissemination of seditious or patriotic speeches, whichever be the right term to employ.

The native Press, whether issued in English or the vernacular, is filled with the most abominable vituperations against Government and its servants. Is it wonderful that European officials should become exasperated when the most harmless and innocent action is immediately seized upon as a peg on which to suspend endless abuse and obloquy? Nothing is spared; nothing is sacred. Englishwomen (I blush to have to write it) are persistently said to go to dances for the purpose of prostitution. One editor went to gaol for a peculiarly vile article, purporting to caricature an assembly held by Lord Curzon, entitled 'A Durbar in Hell.' Day after day, week after week, the same stream of vilification on Government in general and its servants in particular is issued broadcast. Caliban has been given a tongue wherewith to curse his Prospero. An occasional prosecution serves but to make a martyr and a hero of the patriot who is for a time provided with board and lodging at Government expense. A wise Indian administrator, Mountstuart Elphinstone, emphatically condemned the introduction of a free Press into a country whose liberty was always synonymous with licence.

Of all the departments of the Government of India the one which has most signally failed is the educational. 'Manners makyth man' was the aphorism of William of Wykeham; but Indian schools and colleges have absolutely failed to instil manners or discipline, not to speak of morals, into the students committed to their charge. Lakhs and lakhs of rupees are expended upon Government and aided institutions, with the result that there are annually turned out legions of young men with a smattering and veneer of education, all possessed with the same ambition, to obtain a post in Government service or else take to the law. Needless to say the supply of aspirants for these two professions entirely exceeds the demand. Those who fail to gratify their wishes become the most bitter calumniators of the Government whose bread they hoped to eat; and a considerable moiety falls back for its roti and ghee upon the founding of ever-new virulent anti-Government journals. It might be supposed that an

employment so boomed was not always remunerative ; but, apart from other things, the demand for spicy articles is ever on the increase ; and if this fails it is easy to squeeze money out of a rich fellow-countryman by threatening him, if he does not subscribe liberally to the editorial funds, with undesirable revelations in the pages of the unscrupulous print regarding various unsavoury details of his private life.

The average Indian student from the age of ten to twenty is a fearsome creature, as different from a Rugby or a Harrow boy as can possibly be imagined. He has no respect for his masters, who are for the most part afraid of him ; and it is a long-standing cry of the parents that he has no longer the least regard for their authority. The general effect of English education is to knock on the head the old religious views of collegians without substituting anything in their place. All sense of veneration is lost, and irresponsible independence springs up in the patriotic soul of the young Mukarji or Ramchandra. Admirers of Indian curiosities could collect a fine supply of Indian brass in the educational institutions that a paternal Government has scattered about the land. The importation of a few experienced masters from English public schools might have a very salutary effect upon young India *in statu pupillari*. The idea of the Indian student of the *summum bonum* of a half-holiday is to attend a political meeting and drink in rabid and offensive criticism of the British raj. But if this desirable form of entertainment is only available where there is not a half-holiday, French leave is easily forthcoming. Politics before lessons any day ; and politics have only one meaning—‘agin the Government.’ Nor is this craze limited to the students. Numbers of Indian teachers in vernacular schools have taken prominent parts in political agitation ; and the demoralising effect of this upon young minds cannot be exaggerated. The result of all this is that Indian schools and colleges are neither more nor less than disseminaries of crude and poisonous opinions. In this consideration the course of studies must not be overlooked. While the senior students are saturated with the principles of liberty and self-government, as expounded by Mill, Spencer, Huxley, and so on, the younger ones are, necessarily perhaps, brought up upon English history, which to them presents an attractive spectacle of successful rebellion against established government, from Magna Charta to the expulsion of James the Second. Resistance to the monarchy is impressed upon them as a virtue, and the lesson is taken to heart. One portion of our history that is especially revelled in is the American War of Independence ; and the hearts of the rising generation are stirred by the thought of another Boston tea party in Bombay harbour, or on the Hughli, with a similar happy sequel.

Agitation is in the air. Agitate, agitate, always agitate, has caught on. A thousand causes contribute to this. The success

achieved by Japan against Russia has had an incalculable effect upon India. Hitherto the very word 'Russ' had been a wherewithal to strike terror into the Hindoo and Mahometan. But lo and behold an Asiatic nation dared to oppose this mighty empire of which even the English were supposed to be afraid, and emerged victorious from the life-and-death struggle. Here was an object-lesson. Is the Indian inferior to the Japanese? Is Japan to be independent, glorious, one of the nations of the world, a great power, and the Indian to continue crushed, subdued, bled, a worm that will never turn? *Bande Matheram!* God forbid. What Japan has done India can do. It is only a question of time, so young India thinks, and the same splendid result will be ours.

But the struggle with Japan is not the only lesson that the Russian Empire can provide. Not external only, but internal affairs can point a moral. Was not Russian autocracy much on all fours with British bureaucracy in India? Did not the Russian people stand up and gird themselves hip and thigh to shake off the oppression which coerced them in the name of the Czar of all the Russias? The weapons used were secret societies, anarchism, nihilism, strikes, boycott, bullets, and, above all, bombs. The result, so at all events the Indian thinks, was success; for is there not now a Duma, a parliament which can impose *Magna Charta*, *Habeas Corpus*, and goodness knows what not, upon the oppressors of the poor? Use the same weapons in India, and the same result must be achieved. Such, at all events, is the word that has gone forth from Calcutta, and is published in the streets of Bombay. The same weapons, especially the last, the bomb. That apparently has come to stay. The fact that to no small extent influenced the jury that convicted Mr. Tilak of sedition was that among his papers were found detailed lists of the ingredients necessary for the manufacture of explosives. School boys scheme to obtain substances with which to prepare bombs from hospitals and chemists' shops, and throw the crude articles which they turn out into the streets at night from the top of their houses to see what effect they will produce.

And if Russia has obtained a parliament in one way, other countries have succeeded in arriving at the same panacea for all evils in some fashion or another. A few years ago it took nearly all the resources of Britain to subdue a comparatively insignificant number of Boer farmers who had drawn their swords and rebelled against the Supreme Government. The Boers were conquered, and within an amazingly short period of time they were given that self-government for which Indians are striving in vain. The Transvaal and the Orange River Colony possess parliaments and Home Rule in spite of the fact that they strove to the utmost of their ability to drive out the British flag from South Africa. It must be admitted that this unexampled act of magnanimity is not a little puzzling to Indians, if indeed the bewilderment is limited to them. The bitterness of the comparison is

accentuated by the allegation that while one of the causes of the Boer war was the ill-treatment of Indians by the Government of President Kruger, so far from the slightest relief having been afforded by British rule in the two colonies, our Indian fellow-subjects who were formerly chastised with whips are now chastised with scorpions.

Nor are there wanting other sets of circumstances to adorn the tale. Are Persians to be considered superior to Indians? Are they better educated, more advanced in the arts and sciences, and the learning of the West? Have they grander traditions and a nobler history? Yet Persia has now its parliament; while Indians, who can quote Shakespeare more freely than Englishmen, lecture on metaphysics, and argue a nice point of law to the distraction of a judge or jury, are considered worthy of nothing higher in the way of citizenship than what is to be found in a seat on a municipality or a district local board! Is this contemptuous treatment of a nation, asks the university fledgeling, to be endured? Even Turkey has now its Constitution; and the same arguments and comparisons, always to the detriment of the British Administration, are trotted out over and over again.

Hatred, suspicion, mistrust, these are the feelings which are to-day the most pronounced on the part of Indians towards the ruling race. Unscrupulous agitators scour the country and do their utmost to spread their pestilential opinions. They do not hesitate to tell their credulous listeners that Government deliberately spreads plague in order to bring about a decrease in the population, and that the virus of the fell disease is carefully instilled in the wells for the furtherance of this amiable purpose. Cholera and smallpox are equally employed as vehicles for the same vile end; and in the case of the latter proof is obvious from the operation which Government denominates vaccination! Sugar and flour for sale in the bazaars are impregnated with the blood of bullocks in order that the high-caste vegetarian Hindoos may be defiled. The employment of compressed paper tablets in the shape of coins, wherewith to teach school children to count, is sufficient proof that the powers that be intend to withdraw all metal coin from circulation, and issue tokens of leather and pig-skin in order that the religion of both Mahometans and Hindoos may be destroyed. It is difficult to argue with a people so credulous and childish as this. But it is useless to blink our eyes to the fact that the people at large are saturated with ridiculous ideas of this kind, and that sooner or later the feelings engendered by the dissemination of the vilest misrepresentations must inevitably be represented by characteristic action.

What, it may be asked, does the Indian patriot look forward to, if his *magnum opus* is achieved, and the English turned out of his country? From the present Secretary of State for India downwards we have but one conception of the situation. That, it need hardly

be stated, is that chaos, rapine, and bloodshed would cover the land. A stalwart Sikh chieftain when asked his opinion on this subject replied with a sardonic smile that in three weeks there would not be a virgin or a rupee left in Bengal. The hardy tribes of the north would make their happy hunting grounds in the lower provinces, as in the good old days before the *Pax Britannica* was established. But Young India thinks of none of these things. He attaches untold importance to education and knowledge. He can pass examinations and draft official correspondence, he thinks, as well as we can. He is not only as good as we are, but immeasurably superior. He is entirely capable of self-government, and the management of his own national affairs. Let him somehow get Swaraj, and everything will be for the best in the best of all possible countries. As to any details he is an absolute Gallic. Whether Mr. Tilak is to be the President of the future Indian Republic, or whether some other arrangement be devised; whether the country is to be administered as one Government, or to consist of the United States of India; whether he would retain the British Army, under his own orders of course, like the Scottish guard of the old French kings, to stiffen his battalions against a Russian or German invading army—these and all cognate questions can be deferred until the hated foreign administration ceases to trouble his beloved country. That is the point that requires to be grasped. The articulate voice of India speaks with no uncertain sound. Swaraj, and an end of foreign rule. Their own rule, they insist, could not be worse than ours—would assuredly be better. Even if it were less efficient it would be preferable. Would Englishmen, it has been asked, like to be ruled by Chinamen, even if the administration by Celestials were more admirable than that of the English themselves? And Young India holds that we English to his countrymen represent the barbarism that the Anglo-Saxon attaches to the idea of the Chinese. In such circumstances it is singularly undesirable to emulate the proverbial ostrich, and hide our faces from disagreeable facts.

II

Young India is a singularly bad student of Indian history. In the jaundiced view of the 'failed B.A.,' prior to the advent of British rule there existed throughout his country a golden age in which happiness and prosperity were universally enjoyed. The everlasting wars in which from time immemorial the whole land was plunged are all forgotten by this budding ruler of India. No famines, he seriously believes, ever troubled his fortunate progenitors in the palmy days when the children of Bhawani and Indra were undisturbed in their dominions. This notwithstanding that Indian records tell us of famines beyond comparison more devastating than those within our own experience, and in which the absence of communications

prevented the application of any remedial measures. Plague, he thinks, came only with the English, forgetful of its awful ravages in bygone days; forgetful that vast cities like old Goa and Bijapore were depopulated by it, and that the wife of the emperor Aurunzebe was one of its victims. That under Moghul viceroys and deputies human heads were accepted in lieu of land revenue has passed out of remembrance. The endless internecine contests, the frightful religious intolerance, the hopeless insecurity which compelled the peasant to plough his field with his matchlock by his side, and left him no assurance whatever that he would be allowed to reap what he had sown; the ravages of Pindharies, whose playful way of inducing the village banker to hand over his wealth was to insert his head into a bag of red-hot ashes; the systematised murder by Thugs, the corruption and venality of the so-called courts of justice—all these things, so far as Young India is concerned, might never have existed.

But even admitting that he will acknowledge the existence of some few grains of wheat in what he would designate this vast granary of chaff, he has one invariable reply. At all events the money did not go out of the country. Next in order to the main fact that we are in India at all, this is his stock grievance—that the money now goes out of the country, while it formerly did not. Facts are the last thing that the Indian cares to assimilate, and that in actuality the case is that under British rule money comes into the country is one that never occurs to him. Certainly he is doing his best at the present time to interrupt this process by inducing an atmosphere of political insecurity which makes the capitalist hesitate to invest his money in a country whose inhabitants appear intent upon driving out the only settled government which they ever possessed. Railways, coasting steamers, roads, vast systems of canals and irrigation which have turned the wilderness into fertile land, telegraphs, post office, tramways, factories, mills—all these blessings of civilisation are due to the British capital which has been poured into India. If the Government can borrow in London for reproductive public works at less than four per cent. and make a profit of six or more per cent. upon its outlay, the gain to the country needs no demonstration; but the payment of the four per cent. to the London capitalist is stigmatised as robbery, and the ceaseless cry goes forth that the wealth of the country is being drained away. Australia, Canada, the Argentine, not to speak of other countries, are only too glad to borrow money from England for the development of their territories; and when the capital thus obtained pays hand over fist there is no talk of ruination consequent on the necessity of paying the lender his interest. There is plenty of capital available in India; but a paltry three or four per cent. has no temptation to the investor when money-lending at what may come to cent. per cent. before the transaction is terminated is within his capability.

In close relationship to the grievance that the money goes out of the country is the destruction of native industries. Perhaps the most prominent of these is weaving. The village hand-weaver has undoubtedly suffered; though India is not the only country in which the introduction of machinery and manufactures on a large scale has extinguished the humble loom. But if individuals have been driven to seek other occupations the population as a whole has gained. For one man who has lost his employment many have obtained remunerative occupations in the spinning and weaving mills which have sprung up, not only in the Presidency towns, but in numerous mofussil centres, and threaten to compete seriously with Manchester. But there are none so blind as those who refuse to see, and Young India's eyes are persistently closed to patent facts.

To consider all the minor grievances which are constantly set forth in the Press and on the platform would take more space than could here be afforded. A few, however, may be referred to. One of them is the administration of the forests. These are the property of Government, and they constitute domains of immense value. Under previous administrations they received scant attention; and the denudation of vast areas which were once rich reserves of timber, apart from the loss to the resources of the State, exercised a deleterious effect upon the rainfall. The reafforestation of the forest lands has for many years constituted one of the most important points of our administration. The forest department, after many years of struggle, at length pays its way. But the conservation of these invaluable estates is represented as an intolerable grievance. Why not allow anyone who likes to cut down as many trees as he may desire for the building of a house or farmstead? Why not permit the cattle-owner to pasture his cows, buffaloes, and goats in the recesses of the forests, regardless of the injury that they must necessarily do to the young growth? As a matter of fact the utmost concessions compatible with the spread of arboriculture are freely granted, passes for grazing being issued upon the payment of a nominal fee. But nothing less than the right to play havoc with the plantations which are protected in his own interest will satisfy the peasant proprietor. Argument is unavailing in the face of persistent determination to listen to none; and Indian editors write sensational paragraphs on the tyranny of the British raj in connection with forests on behalf of those in whose interests they would not themselves lift a little finger.

The more personal grievances of the educated classes may be briefly considered. The first of these is that youths who wish to compete for the Indian Civil Service are compelled to undertake the expensive journey to England, and undergo the still more expensive training in that country. There should, they insist, be simultaneous examinations in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. That

certain Indian members of the Service have been efficient officers may be frankly admitted. But their success is due to their training at English universities ; and they would certainly not have attained it under other conditions. Kipling's reflection that they know little of England who only England know has its converse : they know little of England who do not know England itself at all. Simultaneous examinations in India would mean that Indians would enter the Service without that social and liberal education and training which only England can afford. Not only this, but with the Indian facility for cramming and passing examinations, the cadre of the Service would soon for the most part be filled by Indians, most of them Hindoos, and most of these Bengalis, to the exclusion of Englishmen. It would be impossible to maintain the high standard of British administration in such circumstances, if, indeed, the administration could continue to exist at all.

But over and above all these and many other cries which are too numerous to capitulate, always excepting the fact that we are there at all and the alleged drain of money, is the vexed social question. Kipling may be again referred to : East is East, and West is West, he tells us ; and never the two shall meet ; and endeavours which have been made over and over again, chiefly by us, to refute this maxim have ended in failure. In every station in India there is a club and a gymkhana, or perhaps one institution combining the two. Practically in one and all of these it is laid down in the rules that no native of India may become a member. If there is occasionally an exception it is only on behalf of some Indian who is a judge or a magistrate. No independent barrister would have the faintest chance of admission, although when reading for the Bar in London he may have been a welcome guest in good houses. A set of tennis in which Europeans and Indians were playing together, especially if any of the former were Englishwomen, would be a thing unheard of. The subject is a thorny one, and there is much to be said on behalf of, as well as against, this cleavage. The French and the Portuguese were hail fellow well met with the Indians, and they failed. We have been exclusive, so to speak, white Brahmins, and we hold the country. There are many Hindoo and Parsee clubs to which no European would be admitted as a member. Perhaps the Indian who is received into London society would hardly have so cordial a welcome if he possessed a wife, or wives, locked up in his house in the suburbs, upon whom he would consider it profanation for his host to cast his eyes. Whatever may be said for and against, the fact remains indisputable that Europeans will not accept Indians on equal terms in society, and equally the fact remains that to the Indians this constitutes an intolerable slur. It is not in the least that the Indian would be happier were the social door opened to him, but he is intensely aggrieved and slighted because it is closed.

Thus for one reason after another the spirit of antagonism is abroad. If there was anything needed to stimulate the dislike, to inflame the suspicion and hatred, with which the Indian regards the ruling race (as if the mere term were not sufficient!), it is the action of certain Englishmen who tell him that the treatment accorded him by their countrymen is intolerable, and that he is intellectually, morally, politically, their superior. In the Napoleonic wars there were always Englishmen who avowedly sympathised with the enemies of their country. In the Transvaal war there were pro-Boers; and now we have the edifying spectacle of itinerant members of Parliament courting popularity with Indians by pandering to their worst prejudices and aiding the cause of sedition. The harm done by Mr. Keir Hardie during his peregrinations in India is incalculable. Allowances may be made for his ignorance, but what allowances can be made for retired members of the Indian Civil Service who on their return to this country devote themselves to the vilification of the Government which they have served, and on whose pension they subsist, and to assuring our Indian fellow-subjects that they are the most persecuted and ill-treated of mankind? To refer to these gentlemen by name would be to advertise them. It is, to say the least, inexplicable how old familiar friends who have done us this dishonour can be allowed to retain their pensions.

Is there no other side to the shield? Let us see. Our reflections have been principally concerned with British India. There are, however, the Native States. That some of the ruling chiefs have no personal predilection for Englishmen is no secret. But it is equally true that they are fully aware that their political existence is inseparably bound up with our own, and their interests are identical with those of the British raj. But consistency and logic are of frugal growth in the East. An agitator against any particular Native State will meet with scant ceremony in the borders of that jurisdiction; nevertheless agitators against British administration find sympathetic audiences in many of the States, nor do they meet with much interference from the State authorities. But, on the whole, it may be anticipated that in the hour of need the resources of native princes would be employed in our behalf.

But in British India? Frankly it must be conceded that there is but little silver lining to the cloud. The Parsees, of course, are on our side, but they constitute a community that is numerically inferior to our own, and they are looked upon as foreigners by Hindoos and Mahometans. It is confidently asserted that Mahometans at all events are for us. Certainly the followers of the Prophet have no wish to be ruled by Hindoos, and that is a not impossible *finale* of the present agitation. Apart from that, why should they be on our side? They are accorded religious freedom, as is everyone else; but they are worsted day by day in the struggle for existence by

the Hindoos. Everything now goes by examination, and Mahometans in intellectual competition are left far behind by the hereditary opponents of their faith. Government may build special colleges for Mahometans and express a desire to give them all encouragement; but the loaves and fishes of Government employment go to the successful passer of examinations, and the Mahometans are left on one side. In the case of district local boards and municipalities the Mahometan minority asks for special representation, but their request is not granted. There is no great reason for Mahometans to enthuse on our administration; and, in fact, what have they, or for the matter of that have such Hindoos as vaunt their loyalty, done for us in the existing stormy period? Except to pass resolutions condemning bombs and asseverating their devotion to the Crown, they have done practically nothing; their professions have not crystallised into facts. In the Bombay riots that were engineered on the occasion of the trial of Mr. Tilak, the Indian justices of the peace did nothing to justify their existence. Those who pose as our friends have to learn that mere protestations do not inspire our confidence in their goodwill and friendship. Our enemies almost excite our admiration by their ceaseless energy, activity, and determination. Our friends expect us to be satisfied with empty words.

But, it will be urged, however gloomy be the picture of Indian society in general, the native army is splendidly loyal and above suspicion, and this is fortunately true. In the last few years overtures have been made to many a regiment by sedition-mongers to rise against their English masters, with the sole result that the advances have been ignominiously rejected. But even here excessive confidence might be misplaced. Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose opinion on a free Press has been quoted, spoke of the native army as a delicate and dangerous machine which a little mismanagement might easily turn against us. As compared with 1857, it has to be remembered that there exists no king of Delhi whose flag might tempt them to swerve from their allegiance to ours. Sepoys are hardly likely to mutiny on behalf of Tilak Maharaj. Nevertheless the army has its grievances. It is not disloyal; but a spirit of discontent is abroad. The work that is expected of officers and men has enormously increased of late years. There used to be the drill season in the cold weather; now it is drill season all the year round, with everlasting manoeuvres and field exercises and insistence on a far higher standard in musketry. Their uniform, they say, is worn out nowadays with deplorable rapidity, and they have for the most part to replace it at their own cost, and no high posts in the Service are available for them. The war-worn Subedar who has fought for the Sirkar in a dozen campaigns, whose breast is covered with medals, is under the orders of the youngest subaltern from Sandhurst; while he learns that in the French army in Algeria and the Russian army

in Khiva a Mahometan, may rise at least to the rank of major, and have officers from Paris or St. Petersburg under his command. The units who compose the native regiments come from the villages and are of the people, and there is no specific reason why their interests should diverge from those of the population at large. Officers and men cannot but be aware of the sedition that is flaunted abroad; and they must ask themselves whether a Government that allows itself to be so consistently vilified is in truth worthy of their support. While at present the behaviour of the army is admirable, it might be rash to expect it to resist indefinitely the temptations to which it is necessarily exposed.

The events of the last few weeks accentuate the gravity of the existing situation. The attempt upon the life of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, an officer whose attitude to the Indian races has been more than sympathetic, demonstrates that the war of assassination accepted by the leaders of sedition is against Englishmen as Englishmen, apart from their personal characteristics. The public demonstration in Calcutta on the occasion of the funeral of Kanai, who was hanged for the murder of the approver Gossain in the Alipore jail, points unmistakably to the opinion of the public regarding sedition and anarchism. There is but scant encouragement to be derived from the Calcutta telegram which informs us that 'the immense majority of Indians are loyal, but are sitting on the fence, because they mistrust British power to protect them.' The murder of approvers and of police officers, coupled with the mutilation of the statue of Queen Victoria at Nagpore, justifies the English newspaper headings, 'Unrest in India, Popular Sympathy with Disloyalty.'

Our enemies in India are many; our real friends on whom we can rely in case of need are not so many. The articulate voice of India that, not without some justice, claims to represent the majority, emphatically records its conviction that we ought to leave the Indians to themselves and depart bag and baggage. Let this fact be recognised; let the converse be also recognised, that our rule, in spite of mistakes, is on the whole a just and beneficent rule, and that its supersession would only result in untold misery to millions and millions of people who live happily under its ægis, and that we have not the slightest intention of repudiating the responsibilities which under Providence constitute our most sacred charge.

EDMUND C. COX.



THE BIBLE AND THE CHURCH

WHENEVER an intellectual question of moment and difficulty comes into vogue, there are apparently two possible ways of deciding it. It may be decided by reason or by authority. The world hardly realises how many of its beliefs it accepts, and must accept, on trust from authority. Not one man in a thousand affects to understand the principles of philosophy or logic or therapeutics or poetry or art. A man believes that there are such principles, and that they demand and deserve his assent; but what they are, or how it is that they are such as they are, or why it is his duty to accept them, he could not satisfactorily explain even to himself. Upon the whole he believes what others who are wiser than he believe; he admires or rejects what others who are wiser than he admire or reject; he follows the experts, and he is justified in following them; or at least his knowledge of their judgments tends unconsciously to colour his own. And where the authority is ancient and venerable and enjoys a traditional repute of many centuries, and appeals to deeply rooted instincts of human nature, it is apt to be respected when it asserts itself, not only within, but actually outside its legitimate province; it is easily obeyed, and it is not resisted without a sense of painful effort. But in the long run it is always authority which rests upon reason, and not reason upon authority. Authority, even when it is most imperious, is obeyed in intellectual questions because it is believed, rightly or wrongly, to have reason behind it.

Thus a parent issues orders to his child, but he does not and cannot always give his reasons for them; he expects them to be obeyed because they are his. But the ultimate justification of the child's obedience is that the orders are reasonable, as issuing from the larger and longer experience of the parent. Similarly a Church may assert her supremacy over faith and morals; she may demand and exact from her members an unquestioning loyalty to her dictates; but she must first show reasonable evidence for a belief in her title to discipline and direct the human conscience. Here, as everywhere, reason is the ultimate base of authority. Indeed it is evident that no exercise of private judgment is so serious as the renunciation of private

judgment for all a lifetime. But authority which is its own final warrant neither possesses nor merits respect.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that authority, although it may be clearly founded upon reason, can claim to cover the whole field of human knowledge. There are questions which no authority can decide; for the decision of them, in their nature, rests elsewhere. No power on earth can convince me that I have seen what I have not seen, or have not seen what I have seen; or that I like what is disagreeable to my taste, or dislike what is agreeable to it. The evidence of my senses, so far as it reaches, unless indeed they are plainly subject to delusion, is final. If this law does not apply to such a doctrine as Transubstantiation, the reason is that the doctrine as held in the Roman Catholic Church, however mysterious in itself, is not properly concerned with phenomena falling under the domain of the senses, but with the substance or essence which lies beyond them. But whether the earth moves round the sun or the sun round the earth, whether Julius Cæsar died by the hands of assassins in the Senate House at Rome on the Ides of March in the year 44 B.C., whether and when Columbus sailed to the West and discovered America, who wrote the *Letters of Junius* or the *Ikon Basilike*—these are typical questions of a kind upon which authority can pronounce no final judgment: they belong to physical, or historical, or literary science. So, too, whether St. Peter visited Rome or not, and, if so, how long he remained there, and what his relation was to the Christian Church at Rome, are questions of history and not of faith; they cannot be decided by authority. All that authority can do—and that only because of the importance of the issue—is to make men hesitate before they accept certain possible or probable results of historical science. But if literary criticism is competent to determine the genuineness and authenticity of the *Letters of Junius* and of the *Ikon Basilike*, there can be no valid *a priori* reason why it should not equally determine the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, or the Psalms, or the Book of Isaiah, or the Gospels, or the Epistles of St. Paul. No question would seem to lie more properly within the sphere of literary criticism than the origin, date, and history of certain books. If authority apart from reason can settle these questions, it can settle any question. But here, too, in proportion as the issue at stake is serious, men will rightly hesitate before assenting to conclusions which are or may be novel and painful in themselves and possibly dangerous to the interests of Christian society. They will hesitate, but they will not refuse in the end to accept whatever conclusions are justified by evidence.

The rival principles of authority and criticism in sacred literature correspond with the two great divisions of Western Christendom. The Church of Rome appeals to authority. The Protestant Churches rely upon criticism. The Church of Rome bases her appeal upon her intrinsic right to determine all questions of faith and morals, and

therefore all questions, such as the inspiration of Holy Scripture, which pertain directly or indirectly to faith and morals. The Protestant Churches rely upon criticism, as believing that an unfettered, unbiassed inquiry into the origin of historical records is the only course which is perfectly loyal to the rights of the human intellect and conscience.

It has sometimes been held, in view of Chillingworth's famous dictum, that the Protestant Churches take, and are bound to take, a stricter view of the Bible than the Roman Catholic Church, as the Scriptures themselves are the title-deeds of Protestantism, and a Protestant cannot afford to let their authority be called in question. But the fact is that Protestantism is, for good or for evil, the home of Biblical scholarship. The strongest guarantee for the free study of the Bible is the value set upon the Bible itself. Where the results of criticism are subject to an official censorship, few results will be attained, and still fewer will be published to the world. Truth demands complete liberty of thought and teaching.

The attitude of the Church of Rome on the one hand and of the Reformed Churches on the other towards Biblical criticism deserves to be historically considered. In view of certain recent Papal utterances, and especially of the Encyclical Letter *Pascendi Gregis*, it is sometimes argued that Pope Pius X. has authoritatively laid a burden, as novel as it is grievous, upon the members of his Church. That he has tightened the fetters in which Biblical criticism or Biblical opinion moves, so far as it moves at all, within the Church of Rome is undoubtedly true. But the fetters were forged before his time, and his predecessor riveted them on the Church in an Encyclical Letter of his own, 'Upon the Study of Holy Scripture'—the letter commonly cited from its initial words as *Providentissimus Deus*. It will be worth while to summarise the conclusions of this remarkable document.

According to the Pope, it would be impious either to regard inspiration as limited to certain portions of the Bible or to admit the possibility of error in the sacred writers. It would be intolerable to concede that Divine inspiration relates to matters of faith and morals and to these alone. For when the truth is at stake, no one is entitled to argue that it is not so important to consider what God said as what was His purpose in saying it. All the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical have been entirely, and in all their parts, composed under the dictation of the Holy Spirit. But Divine inspiration, so far from leaving room for any possibility of error, not only excludes it, but excludes it without any qualification, inasmuch as God, who is the Supreme Truth, cannot in His nature be the Author of any sort of error.¹ The complete immunity of all the Scriptures from error has, the Pope declares, been the most positive belief of all the Fathers and doctors of the Church.² It follows that the idea

¹ *De Studio Scriptura Sacra*, p. 22.

² *Ibid.* p. 24.

of any contradiction between the sacred writers, or of any opposition in any one of them to the doctrine of the Church, must be repudiated as foolish and false.³ It follows too that as God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, is also the Author of the Scriptures, there cannot be, either in the natural universe or in the records of history, anything at variance with the Scriptures.⁴

Upon the character of inspiration the Pope speaks as plainly as upon the fact :

It is idle (he says) to pretend that the Holy Spirit made use of men like instruments for writing, as though a falsehood might have fallen from the lips, not indeed of the original Author, but of the inspired writers. For the Holy Spirit moved and incited them to writing in such a way by His own supernatural virtue, and stood by them, as they wrote, in such a way that they at once and the same time rightly conceived and sought faithfully to record, and did in suitable language and with infallible truthfulness express, all such things and only such things as He commanded. If it were not so, He would not Himself be the Author of Holy Scripture as a whole.⁵

That, although Holy Scripture was composed under immediate Divine inspiration, its true and genuine meaning cannot be ascertained outside the Church⁶ is a doctrine essential to the position of the Church of Rome. But it would seem that the Pope goes so far as to claim for his Church the exclusive power of determining literary questions which affect the nature and history of particular books of the Bible ; for he condemns the pretence 'which passes under the respectable name of the Higher Criticism,' that it is possible or right to pronounce judgment upon the origin, integrity, and authority of any book 'from what are called internal evidences alone.'⁷ But, in fact, if authority of itself can decide any critical question, it can decide the genuineness of such a passage as the famous text relating to the Three Heavenly Witnesses (1 John v. 7) ; and the Pope has not scrupled to decide it. For after much controversy the question was formally submitted to the Congregation of the Inquisition : 'Is it safe to deny or at least to throw doubt upon the authenticity of the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses ?' The reply of the Congregation, given on the 13th of January 1897, was 'No.' Two days later, on the 15th, it was approved and confirmed by the Pope.⁸

³ *De Studiis Scripturæ Sacræ*, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 25.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁸ See *La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au xix^e Siècle*, par Albert Houtin, ch. 14, especially pp. 287-8 (2^e édition, 1902). The following is the official record :

"Feria iv die 18 Ianuarii 1897 In Congregatione Generali S. Rom. et U. Inquisitionis habita coram E^m et Rev^m Cardinalibus contra hæreticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito dubio :

"Utrum tuto negari aut saltem in dubium revocari possit, esse authenticum textum S. Ioannis, in epistula prima cap. v. vers. 7, quod sic se habet: Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt? Omnibus diligentissime examine perpensis, præhabitoque DD. consultorum voto, fidem Eminentissimi Cardinales respondendum mandaverunt :

Pope Leo XIII., indeed, goes far beyond the warrant of the Vatican Council and *a fortiori* of the Council of Trent.

The Vatican Council declared only that the books of the Old and the New Testaments, as wholes and in all their parts, were to be received as sacred and canonical, and were to be so received because they had been composed under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and because God Himself was the Author of them; also that it was the function of the Church to decide upon the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and that whatever the Church had held and holds to be the true meaning was the meaning. By the books of the Old and the New Testaments the Council understood such as were enumerated by the Council of Trent and contained in the Vulgate Translation.⁹

The Council of Trent limited itself in the following way: it defined the Holy Scriptures and the unwritten tradition of the Church as the channels of Divine 'truth and discipline'; it drew up a catalogue (*index* in the Latin) of the Holy Scriptures which included, as is well known, the Apocryphal Books; it declared that the Vulgate translation was to be 'treated as authentic in public readings, discussions, sermons, and expositions'; and it prohibited any such interpretation of the Holy Scriptures as should be 'contrary to the sense which is held, as it has ever been held, by Holy Mother Church, whose office it is to judge the true meaning and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.'¹⁰

This language of the Council of Trent Perrone applies, in a spirit which has been generally accepted among Roman Catholics, to the difficult question of inspiration. He speaks of 'Divine Inspiration' as 'extending at least to the facts and the doctrines involved in them' (*saltem ad res atque sententias in eis contentas*), and as implying

not only that the sacred writers are exempt from any taint of error, however slight, as is the traditional theory of inspiration, but also that it was the one God who moved them to take to writing, and that in all their writing they had a positive assistance (*adiuvantia positiva*) at their side; hence it is God alone who ought in strictness to be regarded and treated as the Author of the sacred books.

He adds:

The reason of the limitation in the words 'at least as regards facts and doctrines' (*saltem quoad res et sententias*) is that, as the Church has refused to define or to decide the question agitated among the schoolmen whether God dictated also the actual words, sentences, and paragraphs, we had no wish to mix up in a lighthearted manner a personal controversy with the doctrine of the

⁹ *Negatives.*

¹⁰ *Feria vero vi die 15 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. assessori S. Officii impertita, facta de superscriptis accusata relatione SS^{mo} D. N. Leoni Papae XIII., Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Eminentissimorum Patrum approbavit et confirmavit.* There is an interesting correspondence upon this decree in the *Guardian* of the 19th and 26th of May and of the 9th and 16th of June.

⁹ *Sessio, iii. cap. 2.*

¹⁰ *Ibid. iv.*

Church, and therefore we confined our proposition to the matter (*ad rei substantiam*) without which a true Divine inspiration cannot exist and is actually inconceivable.

His conclusion is in agreement with the decree of the Council of Trent, that 'one God is the Author of the canonical books of both Testaments (*utriusque fœderis*), in the sense that all the books and every particular book of the canon ought to be treated as sacred and divine, or, if you will, as divinely inspired'; and he bases it upon the authority of the Church, 'who has always so believed and so taught in accordance with the doctrine which she learnt from Christ and the Apostles and delivered by unbroken tradition to all who came after them and imparted to her children as a loving mother and an infallible teacher of truth.'¹¹

Even in Perrone's guarded statement the authority of the Church—i.e. of the Roman Catholic Church—upon such a question as inspiration occupies a place which Protestant theology cannot concede to it. Neither the fact and the nature of inspiration nor indeed the canon of Holy Scripture itself can be accepted at this time of day upon the authority of the Church apart from the reasonable judgment of informed and enlightened religious minds. For upon the historical and literary facts of religion there is not, nor can there be, any other court of final judgment than reason. And if upon the spiritual truths of religion the court is not reason in itself, but the spirit of man enlightening his reason, it is because in religion, when it touches the infinite, there is and must be an element transcending reason; and it is not the reason, but the spiritual faculty of man, which is most nearly akin to the nature of God.

Modern Biblical criticism, then, in its extreme development, if it is dangerous to Protestant, is still more dangerous to Roman Catholic Christianity; to Judaism, I may add, it is practically fatal. For the history of the Jews, as a people chosen by God, is bound up with the authority and authenticity of the Old Testament. And if there is no uniquely divine element in Jewish literature, neither is there any such element in Jewish history.

But to come back to the Papal Letter: Its general effect is to set the Bible, including the Apocrypha, on a pinnacle of absolute perfection beyond and above all discussion or dispute. Perhaps the difference between the modern Roman Catholic and the modern Protestant view of the Bible cannot be more clearly displayed than by the juxtaposition of two characteristic sentences. In the language of Pope Leo XIII. 'the books of the Bible must not be regarded like ordinary books.'¹² Nearly half a century ago, when Biblical criticism, at least in England, was in its infancy, the late Professor Jowett,

¹¹ *Praelectiones Theologicae*, vol. ii., Part II., p. 51 (edit. 1842).

¹² *De Studiis Scripturae Sacrae*, p. 8. 'Neque enim eorum ratio librorum similis atque communium putanda est.'

writing upon the interpretation of Scripture in *Essays and Reviews*, laid down the rule: 'Interpret the Scripture like any other book'; and this rule he elucidated in the words: 'The first thing is to know the meaning, and this can only be done in the same careful and impartial way that we ascertain the meaning of Sophocles and Plato.'¹³ All criticism of the Bible depends upon this rule. For in the critical or scientific point of view inspiration is not, and cannot be, an axiom from which flow special principles of exegesis applicable to the Bible and the Bible alone. If it is anything, it is in itself a conclusion of Biblical study. In other words, the student of the Bible does not start from inspiration; if he believes in inspiration at all, he believes in it as an induction from the facts which he studies.

The Higher Criticism, as it is now generally called, is the application of critical methods, not to the text, but to the matter and style of the sacred writings. Such criticism in the Reformed or Protestant Churches must be held to be legitimate and desirable. For Protestantism, alike in its nature and in its history, welcomes the light. It could not justly violate the unity of the Church on grounds of reason and then repudiate the authority of reason over itself. It could not dethrone the Church to enthrone the Bible as a tyrant over the intellect and conscience of humanity. There are often, or always, germinal principles in a great movement; and even if they are slow in asserting themselves, yet in the long run their triumph is sure. As religious liberty was, so to say, in the blood of Protestantism, and could not but win its way soon or late, so it was certain from the first that the free criticism, like the free reading, of the Bible would one day prevail in the countries of the Reformation. For, however imperfectly some of the founders and leaders of Protestantism or their successors might comprehend the great principle of rational liberty, the Reformation set up sanctified reason, once and for all, as the sole and sovereign authority in historical and literary questions; and if modern theologians of the Reformed Churches were to abrogate the supreme right of reason over such questions, they would abrogate the justification of their own being.

But in fact the Reformers, with Luther at their head, not only accepted the principle, but in some degree adopted the methods, of modern Biblical study. They treated the books of the Bible with a bold freedom which was strongly critical if it was not wholly scientific. They felt no scruple about making a comparison or contrast between two or more books in point of dignity and authority. They could point to differences of character in originality, or morality, or spirituality among the books; they could dispute and decide questions of authorship or leave them undecided; they could set one book or one part of a book above another; they could entertain widely various opinions

¹³ *Essays and Reviews*, 'On the Interpretation of Scripture,' p. 458 (tenth edition).

upon inspiration, whether generally or in reference to particular writings; and all this they could do and freely did without disparagement, as it seems, in their own minds or in the world of theology to the unique position of the sacred literature which had long been collected, as a whole, into the book of books or the Bible.

I do not say that the principles, or methods, or resources of the early Reformers were the same as those of the modern higher critics, but only that their attitude towards the Bible, in its freedom of treatment, was the same. They are as far as the critics themselves from taking all the books of the Bible or all parts of the books to be equally authoritative and valuable.

Let me, then, quote the actual language of the Reformers.

Luther expressed himself in many passages of his writings, and especially in the first part of his *Table Talk* (*Tischreden*), with a vigour and vivacity all his own. He speaks again and again of the Bible and of all its books as 'the Word of God.' He insists upon its 'inexpressible majesty and authority.'¹¹ He sees in it the salvation, not of individuals only, but of States.¹² If he were asked what is the distinction of the Bible as a whole from all other books, he would answer that it consists in the subjects of which the Bible treats and the way in which it treats them—such subjects as Faith, Hope and Charity, Human Sin, Divine Redemption, and the Future Everlasting Life.¹³ That the Son of God became man in order to do away with sin and deliver men from death is what no book teaches but the Bible. So, too, no book teaches the nature of sin, the law, death and the victory over sin, but the Bible alone.¹⁴ Above all, the Bible, and the Bible alone, reveals Jesus Christ. The watchwords of the Bible, in Luther's conception, are Jesus Christ and Justification by Faith. But having arrived at these watchwords by his study of the Bible, he proceeds to apply them, as tests of inspiration, to the several books of the Bible itself, and especially of the New Testament. If a book contains the truth as he conceives the truth it is inspired, canonical, apostolical. If it does not, it is none of these things. To quote some words from his preface to the Epistles of St. James and St. John: 'What does not teach Christ is not apostolical, although it were the teaching of St. Peter or St. Paul. Conversely, what teaches Christ would be apostolical, although it were the work of Judas, Annas, Pilate, and Herod.'¹⁵ Thus Luther's canon of canonicity, as it may be called, is purely subjective. It has nothing to do with the authority of manuscripts, or the testimony of the Fathers, or the estimate traditional in the Church. It depends simply and solely upon his own

¹¹ *Tischreden*, vol. lvii. p. 50. In all references to Luther the volumes and pages are those of his *Sämmtliche Werke*, edited by Plochmann and Irmischer (Erlangen, 1926-1957).

¹² *Ibid.* vol. lvii. p. 8.

¹³ *Ibid.* vol. lvii. p. 4.

¹⁴ *Vermischte Predigten*, vol. xix. p. 165.

¹⁵ *Vorrede auf die Episteln S. Jakobi u. Judä*, vol. lxiii. p. 157.

view of the teaching which it is natural and proper to expect in a Book divinely inspired. And if his canon is not completely and absolutely arbitrary, the reason is only that it is, as he believes, itself determined by the contents, or some of the contents, of the Bible.

There can be no wonder that, when Luther had laid down in this arbitrary manner what an inspired or apostolical book must be, he should treat the books of the Old and the New Testament with singular liberty, extolling some and depreciating others, comparing and contrasting them, speaking of better books and inferior books, thanking God from his heart for some and devoutly wishing that others could be taken out of the Bible.

To the Old Testament he ascribed apparently a sort of secondary inspiration. 'Moses and the prophets,' he says, 'preached; but in them we do not hear God Himself; for Moses received the law from the angels; his authority is therefore different, it is less august; for with his preaching of the Law he urges people only to good works. It follows that, when I hear Moses urging to good works, I feel as though I were hearing one who delivers the order or speech of an emperor or prince. But that is not to hear God Himself.'¹⁹

To speak of particular books: Luther draws a broad line between the Books of Kings and of Chronicles; the former, he says, deserve more credence than the latter.²⁰ The Book of Job is a drama (*argumentum fabulæ*) representing the imaginations of the poet, not the actual words and deeds of an historical character; it may have been written by Solomon.²¹ *Ecclesiastes* is only a fragment, part of a treatise designed to 'frighten kings, princes, and nobles.'²² Like the Proverbs, like the Canticles, it is not a work of Solomon's own composition, but probably a collection of his sayings put together by scholars of a later date.²³ To *Esther*, as to the Second Book of the Maccabees, he is so hostile that he 'could wish they were non-existent,' for they are too Jewish, and there is much that is heathenish and disagreeable in them.²⁴ The *Song of Solomon*, or *Canticles*, too, 'looks like a composite book taken down by others from Solomon's mouth.'²⁵

He thinks that no prophet wrote down his prophecy in its present form, but that the disciples of a prophet would take down the words at different times and eventually gather them into a book.²⁶ The prophecies of Israel, as they stand, are not arranged in chronological order and are frequently confused.²⁷

¹⁹ *Auslegung des 6. 7. u. 8. Kapitels des Evangeliums Johannis*, vol. xv. p. 357.

²⁰ *Tischreden*, vol. lxii. p. 182.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²³ *Vorrede auf den Prediger Solomo* (1524), vol. lxiii. p. 40.

²⁴ *Tischreden*, vol. lxii. p. 131.

²⁵ *Vorrede auf den Prediger Solomo*, vol. lxiii. p. 41.

²⁶ *Tischreden*, vol. lxii. p. 182.

²⁷ *Vorrede auf den Propheten Jesaiam*, vol. lxiii. p. 51.

It seems that Jeremiah did not compose the book of his prophecies in the present form; they were taken down fragmentarily from his lips, and afterwards incorporated, without regard to their chronological sequence, in a book.²⁸

'The story of Jonah,' he says, 'is so gross as to be absolutely incredible: it sounds more like an absurdity than any poet's fable; and did I not find it in the Bible I should laugh at it as a lying tale.'²⁹

Luther's judgment upon the Apocryphal Books I may pass over as being alien from the purpose which I have in view. But his criticism as applied to the New Testament is sufficiently outspoken.

Thus he freely discusses which are the best books of the New Testament, and his conclusion is as follows:

The Gospel of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul, especially the Epistle to the Romans, and the first Epistle of St. Peter are the true kernel and marrow of all the books; they may fairly be regarded as the principal books, and a Christian in the present day should be advised to read them first of all and most of all, and by daily reading to make himself as familiar with them as with his daily bread.³⁰ Then he gives his reason for this preference:

'For in these there are not many works and miracles of Christ described; but you find a masterly exposition of the way that faith in Christ conquers sin, death, and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and felicity, and that is the true sort of Gospel, as you have heard.'

Luther deliberately sets the preaching of Christ above His works; 'for the works do not help me, but His words give life, as He Himself says, John v. 51.' It is on this principle that he prefers the Gospel of St. John as well as the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. He concludes:

In short, the Gospel of St. John and his first Epistle,³¹ the Epistles of St. Paul, especially the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, and the first Epistle of St. Peter are the books which set Christ before your eyes and teach everything that you need to know for your soul's health, even if you should never see and hear any other book or any other teaching. It follows that the Epistle of St. James is a regular epistle of straw in comparison with these books; for there is nothing of the Gospel about it.

It will be worth while to illustrate Luther's treatment of the New Testament by reference to his actual language about the books which he esteemed most highly or disparaged most gravely. The language will show how wide a difference he made between them. And his censure or depreciation of certain books will be even more significant than his praise of others.

²⁸ *Vorrede über den Propheten Jeremia*, vol. lxiii. p. 61.

²⁹ *Tischreden*, vol. lxi. p. 148. Cp. *Der Prophet Jona ausgelegt*, vol. xli. p. 371.

³⁰ *Vorrede auf das Neue Testament* (1522). *Welchs die rechten und edligsten Bücher des Neuen Testaments sind*, vol. lxiii. p. 114.

³¹ Of the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of St. John Luther says only that 'they too have a true apostolical spirit.' *Vorrede auf die drei Episteln S. Johannis*, vol. lxiii. p. 154.

Of the Gospel of St. John he says that it is 'the principal Gospel' (Haupt-Evangelion), 'far, far above the other three Gospels.'³² Of the Epistle to the Romans :

This is the true masterpiece of the New Testament : it is the purest of all Gospels. It deserves that not only should a Christian learn it by heart—every word of it—but that he should occupy himself with it every day of his life as with the daily bread of his soul. It is impossible to read the Epistle or to study it too often. The more familiar it is, the more exquisite and more delightful it becomes.³³

And again : 'It seems that St. Paul in this Epistle designs to give a summary expression of the whole Christian and Evangelical doctrine.'³⁴ Of the First Epistle of St. Peter : 'It is a truly Christian lesson or sermon,' and then, as showing why he valued it and did not value the Epistle of St. James, he adds :

If a man wishes to preach the Gospel, it must be in brief the Gospel of the resurrection of Christ. Whoever does not preach that, is no Apostle, for that is the supreme article of our faith ; and the genuine books—the noblest books—are such as most clearly teach and impress the truth of the resurrection. It is a natural inference that the Epistle of St. James is not a true apostolical Epistle, for it does not contain a single syllable relating to these things.³⁵

The Epistle of St. James, as has already been seen, incurred from Luther much disparaging criticism. It was in his eyes not the work of St. James ; it was not the work of an Apostle ; it did not exhibit the characteristics of an apostolical writing ; it did not represent the true apostolical doctrine.³⁶ Elsewhere he explicitly rejects the apostolical authorship of the Epistle on the grounds (1) that its teaching upon the relation of faith and works is opposed to the teaching of St. Paul ; (2) that it makes no mention of Christ's passion, or His resurrection, or His Spirit ; (3) that it contradicts St. Paul's view of the law ; (4) that its author quotes St. Peter and St. Paul, and speaks of himself, not as an Apostle, but as a pupil of the Apostles, although St. James was an Apostle, and although he was put to death by King Herod in the early days of the apostolical history.³⁷

The Epistle of St. Jude, according to Luther, is not the work of an Apostle. It was written by someone who speaks of himself not as an Apostle but as a disciple of the Apostles.³⁸ It is evidently an abstract, if not a copy, of the Second Epistle of St. Peter. It may have well been the work of some pious man, who had read the Second Epistle

³² *Vorrede auf das Neue Testament* (1522). *Welche die rechten und edligsten Bücher des Neuen Testaments sind*, vol. lxiii. p. 115.

³³ *Vorrede auf die Epistel S. Paul an die Römer*, vol. lxiii. p. 119.

³⁴ *Ibid.* vol. lxiii. p. 187.

³⁵ *Episteln S. Petri gepredigt und ausgelegt*, vol. li. p. 337.

³⁶ *Predigten über die Episteln am vierten Sonntage nach Ostern*, vol. viii. p. 268. *Op. Predigten über die Evangelien am Tage der heiligen drei Könige*, vol. x. p. 366.

³⁷ *Vorrede auf die Episteln S. Jakobi und Judä*, vol. lxiii. p. 156.

³⁸ *Ibid.* vol. lxiii. p. 158. *Op. Die Epistel S. Judas*, vol. lii. pp. 273, 284.

of St. Peter and had borrowed his language from it. It is not without its value; but it cannot be reckoned as one of the principal books which lay the foundation of the faith.³⁹

There still remain the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse.

The Epistle to the Hebrews Luther approves, as it accords with his theological system. He calls it a 'strong, mighty, and elevated Epistle.' He values it for exalting 'the lofty article of faith in the Godhead of Christ.'⁴⁰ In particular he dwells with satisfaction upon the doctrine of the eternal priesthood of Christ as set forth in Hebrews vii.⁴¹ But he does not believe the Epistle to be the work of St. Paul or of any Apostle.⁴² Who the author was is a matter of dispute, but it is not important. Some persons think he was St. Mark, others St. Luke. Luther himself suggests Apollos, not indeed as though the suggestion were his own original idea, but it commends itself to his judgment.⁴³

He deals with the Apocalypse as with the Epistle to the Hebrews. Its authority is an open question. In 1522 he could write 'As to the Apocalypse of John; I would let everybody think as he will. I would have nobody bound to agree with me in my fancy or judgment. I speak as I feel. What I miss in this book is not simply that I do not regard it as apostolical or prophetical. It is, first and foremost, that the Apostles do not concern themselves with visions, but prophesy in clear, dry language; and so do Peter, Paul, and Christ Himself in the Gospel; in fact it is the function of the apostolical office to speak of Christ and of His actions in clear terms and without any figure or vision.'⁴⁴

He gives a curious reason for disbelieving the apostolicity of the Apocalypse. It is that the writer of it recommends his own book in a manner to which the other books of the New Testament afford no parallel, and threatens the vengeance of God upon anyone who should be guilty of adding to it or taking aught away from it (Apoc. xxii. 18, 19). Then he comes back to his old standard of authenticity in the words:

It is in my eyes reason enough for not holding the Apocalypse in high esteem that Christ is neither taught nor recognised in it. Yet this is the primary duty of an Apostle, according to His own words in Acts i.: 'Ye shall be My witnesses.' I stick, then, to the books which give me the pure, unclouded picture of Christ.⁴⁵

³⁹ *Vorrede auf die Episteln S. Jakobi und Judd*, vol. lxiii. pp. 156-8.

⁴⁰ *Predigten über die Episteln am III. Christtage*, vol. vii. p. 161.

⁴¹ *Der 110 Psalm gepredigt und ausgelegt*, vol. xl. p. 139.

⁴² *Vorrede auf die Epistel an die Ebräer*, vol. lxiii. p. 154.

⁴³ *Eilige (meinen) St. Apollo*, vol. vii. p. 161. 'Dieser Apollo ist ein oehrverständiger Mann gewest; die Epistel Hebräorum ist freilich sein' (*Vermischte redigten*, vol. xviii. p. 88).

⁴⁴ *Vorrede sur Offenbarung S. Johannis*, vol. lxiii. p. 169. (This *Vorrede*, which appeared in 1522, was omitted by Luther in the later editions of his New Testament.)

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 170.

Twenty-three years later, in 1545, he wrote :

It is the opinion of some ancient Fathers that the Apocalypse is not the work of the Apostle John, as appears in book iii. of the *Eccelesiastical History*, ch. 25. We must let the authorship remain in that uncertainty. But we would not prevent anyone from believing it to be the work of the Apostle John or anybody else, as he chooses.⁴⁵

The following, then, may be said to be the principal conclusions of Luther's criticism as applying to the Bible and particularly to the New Testament : that the history of books may be uncertain, that the authenticity of books may be uncertain ; that books are to be received or not as canonical, not upon external evidence, but according as they do or do not correspond in matter and manner with the Gospel ; and, finally, that it is in the power of the Christian conscience to determine what the Gospel is.⁴⁷

Luther's arbitrary treatment of the Bible has often been used, as a weapon of offence, alike by sceptical critics⁴⁸ who have denied the reality of inspiration, and by Roman Catholic divines⁴⁹ in their controversy with Protestantism. Nor is it possible to avoid the feeling that a critic who might choose some other test of apostolicity or authenticity than Luther's would be justified upon the strength of his example in recognising some books of the Bible and not others as inspired, and in neither recognising nor rejecting the same books as Luther himself. But all that it is necessary for me now to urge is that, if Luther was an unsound and unsatisfactory critic of the Bible, at least he was a critic.

Erasmus was not less liberal than Luther in his Biblical criticism. In his commentary on St. Matthew ii. 6 he writes :

As the Divine Spirit, who governed the minds of the Apostles, suffered them to live in ignorance of certain things, and sometimes to fall into errors of judgment or disposition, not only without any injury to the Gospel, but so as to convert their error itself into a support of the faith, He may have so modulated the instrument of the Apostles' memory that, even if, as being human, they forgot something, so far from diminishing the faith in Holy Scripture, it should actually enhance the faith in the eyes of persons who might otherwise have disparaged it as a forgery. . . . That Heavenly Spirit ordered this whole mystery of our salvation by secret counsels and methods hidden from human intelligence. It is not in our power, nor would it be in accordance with Christian modesty, to lay down by what means He regulated His business. Christ alone is called the Truth ; He and He only was free from all error. . . . It is true that the highest authority is due to the Apostles, and Evangelists ; but it may be that Christ had some secret purpose in allowing a human element to reside even in them, as He saw that this element itself was conducive to the restitution of mankind. He might have delivered His disciples from all ignorance and error,

⁴⁵ *Vorrede auf die Offenbarung S. Johannis*, vol. lxiii. p. 159.

⁴⁷ Upon the whole subject of Luther's attitude towards the Bible see Schenkel, *Wesen des Protestantismus*, vol. i. § 6 ; Hagenbach, *Textbook of the History of Doctrines*, vol. ii. § 245.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., Bertschneider, *Luther an unsere Zeit*, ch. 13, especially §§ 86, 87.

⁴⁹ See Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants*, ch. 2.

but, as Augustine says: 'Peter fell away after he had received the Holy Spirit, and his fall was such as merited Paul's stern rebuke. Paul and Barnabas quarrelled; yet how could they have quarrelled unless one or other of them was in error? But do we really suppose that the authority of all Scripture is shaken, if it contains anywhere the very slightest error? Surely it is probable that in all the manuscripts upon which the Catholic Church now depends there is not one so accurate as to be wholly and absolutely free from defects caused either by accident or by design.'⁵⁰

Similarly, in his Commentary on Acts x. 38, he says:

It is not in my opinion necessary to ascribe every characteristic of the Apostles at once to a miracle. They were men—they were sometimes ignorant, sometimes mistaken. Even after receiving the Holy Spirit Peter is rebuked and instructed by Paul, Paul and Barnabas disagree, and the disagreement goes so far that they part company. It may well have been more suitable to the Gospel of Christ that it should be published in a simple, inartistic style, and that the language of the Apostles should correspond with their dress, their food, their general life, except indeed in respect of their devotional spirit; for so it would be impossible for the pride of human eloquence to arrogate to itself any part in this matter.⁵¹

Melanchthon did not occupy himself much with theories of inspiration; there is no clear estimate of them, I think, in any one of the various editions of his *Loci Theologici*. But it is evident that he held no strict view of apostolical inspiration, if only from the following passage:

The Apostles do not err, that is to say, in doctrine, but they do sometimes err in the application of doctrine. . . . Paul and Barnabas disagreed, but there was no error of doctrine. Peter was censured by Paul; there was no error of doctrine, but there was an infirmity or whatever it is to be called; Peter was right in his doctrine and sentiment; at the same time there was infirmity in his practice.⁵²

For the difference between doctrine and the application of doctrine is so shadowy that it lends itself to almost any theory, however lax, of the authority proper to apostolical utterances. 'There is no trace in Melanchthon,' says Heppe,⁵³ 'of a proper theory of inspiration.'

Zwingli again generally avoids questions of Biblical criticism. He propounds no theory of inspiration. But in his sermon 'On the Clearness and Certainty of Infallibility of the Word of God'⁵⁴ he seems to

⁵⁰ *Critica Sacra*, tom. vi. p. 61.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* tom. vii. p. 2249.

⁵² *Postilla*, part ii. p. 950 (in *Corpus Reformatorum*, edit. Bretschneider).

⁵³ *Die Dogmatik des Deutschen Protestantismus*, p. 223.

⁵⁴ *Werke*, i. pp. 53 sqq. (edit. Schuler & Schultless, Zürich, 1828). The following passage may be quoted in his own words: 'Nimm ein güten starken wyn! der schmeckt dem geunden wol, macht in frölich, stärkt in, erwärmt im alles blüt; der aber an einer sucht oder fieber krank lit mag in nit schmecken, will geschwygen frinken, wunderet sich dass in die geunden trinken mögend. Das bechicht nit us branten des wyns aber us breuten der krankheit. Also ist das Gotteswort ganz gerecht an im selbs und zu gütem dem menschen geoffnet; wess aber nit erlyden mag, nit versten, nit annemen will, ist krank.'

rest the divinity and authenticity of Holy Scripture upon the moral and spiritual effects which it produces in healthy souls. In fact he takes inspiration for granted; he observes and welcomes the effects of a belief in it, but he does not trouble himself to inquire what it is or in what it consists.

There is no need to multiply quotations as showing the general spirit of the Reformers in reference to the criticism of Holy Scripture. I will add only a quotation from the great publicist Grotius. He says with evident reference to Luther, 'They who rejected the Epistle of James, and in some instances rejected it in a controversial spirit, had reasons for so doing, but not honourable reasons; they saw that the Epistle was an obstacle to their theories.' Then he adds:

It is true, as I said, that the books contained in the Hebrew Canon were not all dictated by the Holy Spirit. That they were written with a pious intention (*cum pio animi motu*) I do not deny; this was the judgment of the great Synagogue, and by that judgment the Hebrews stand in this matter. But there was no need that the Holy Spirit should dictate history; it was enough that the writer should depend upon his memory in regard to events of which he had been an eye-witness or upon his accuracy in copying the historical records. It is not clear, too, what is meant by 'The Holy Spirit,' for it may be taken to mean either, as I have taken it, the Divine Inspiration (*afflatum*) such as was enjoyed by the regular prophets and intermittently by David and Daniel, or the pious intention, or the faculty which prompted them to utter salutary precepts of life or political and civil truths, according to the interpretation of 'the Holy Spirit' given by Maimonides in his discussion of those historical or moral writings. If St. Luke's writings had been dictated by the Divine Inspiration (*afflatu*) he would sooner have appealed to it for his authority, as the prophets do, than to the witnesses upon whom he relied.⁵⁶ So, too, where he was an eye-witness of Paul's actions he had no need of inspiration (*afflatu*) to dictate them. Why is it, then, that Luke's books are canonical? It is because the early Church pronounced them to be written in a pious and faithful spirit and upon matters of the highest moment to salvation.⁵⁶

But to this consensus of opinion among the Reformers there is one notorious exception. It was not Luther but Calvin who inculcated upon the Reformed Churches a narrow and rigid theory of inspiration. What his theory was the following passages of his *Institutio*⁵⁷ may show:

Inasmuch as oracles are not given from Heaven every day, and there are extant only the Scriptures in which God has been pleased to consecrate His truth to continual remembrance, their only title to full authority among the faithful is that they are believed to have issued from Heaven, and that to listen to them is, as it were, to listen to the actual living voice of God Himself.

Faith in the doctrine (of the Scriptures) is not established until we are convinced beyond the possibility of doubt that its Author is God.

There are in the Scriptures many visible signs that it is God who speaks in them, and these signs prove that their doctrine is heavenly.

⁵⁶ St. Luke, i. 1-4.

⁵⁷ *Votum pro Fide Eccllesiastica. De Canonicis Scripturis* (Opera Theologica vol. iv. p. 672. Edit. 1782).

⁵⁸ *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, lib. i. cap. 7 (edit. 1559).

The witness to the inspiration of Holy Scripture, according to Calvin, is the Holy Spirit in ourselves.

Under the illumination of His virtue or power we believe no longer by our own judgment alone or the judgment of others that the Scripture is from God ; but we go beyond all human judgment and determine with a certainty beyond certainty, even as if we beheld in them the Divinity of God Himself, that they have descended to us by the agency of men from the very lips of God.

Calvin takes a certain pleasure in dwelling upon the literary crudeness or rudeness of the sacred writings, as though it were the will of God that they should derive their power, not from the graces of style, like classical Greek and Roman books, but from the sublime mysteries of the kingdom of heaven which they revealed.⁵⁸ But he speaks with evident horror of the sceptics who would deny that there ever was such a person as Moses, or that he was the author of the books which bear his name ; it would be as reasonable, he says, to dispute the existence of Aristotle or Cicero as the existence of Moses. A single quotation will show the vehemence of Calvin's dogmatism : ' Quid ergo aliud quam proterviam suam plus quam caninam produnt isti blaterones dum supposititios libros esse mentiantur, quorum sacra vetustas historiarum omnium consensu approbatur ? ' Calvin may have been the best commentator upon Holy Scripture in the first generation of the Reformers, but he was certainly not the best critic.

As regards the inspiration of Holy Scripture then there is in general such a difference of attitude or temper between the Roman Catholic Church and the Churches of the Reformation as corresponds with their several and frequently opposite principles ; and this difference, so far from lessening, has become deeper and wider in the centuries since the Reformation. It could hardly have been otherwise, since the discipline of thought has grown ever laxer without, and more stringent within, the Church of Rome. The gain has not been all on one side. Liberty in religious matters is always the condition of progress, as progress is of truth. But that a Church should teach with authority upon the highest subjects of human interest would be a good thing if only it could be shown that the Church teaches what is right or at least does not teach what is wrong. The Church of England possesses no such authoritative voice as the Church of Rome ; it is not from Bulls and Encyclical Letters, but from the writings of her great divines that her mind on matters of theology must be learnt ; and in regard to inspiration these divines take their stand decidedly and decisively with the Reformers. Some⁵⁹ among them there may be who for themselves have held a rigid mechanical theory of inspira-

⁵⁸ *Institutio Christiana Religionis*, lib. I. cap. 8.

⁵⁹ E.g. apparently Archbishop Bramhall, Sermon upon His Majesty's Restoration (*Works*, vol. v. p. 115, Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology), and Bishop Wilson, Sermon xxv. (*Works*, vol. II. p. 282, *ibid.*)

tion, but even they have not pretended that such a theory was binding upon Churchmen or had received the formal sanction of the Church ; and the greater number have boldly declared for intellectual and spiritual freedom in their estimate of Scriptural inspiration.

It will be enough to cite as witnesses six of the most eminent apologists for Christianity or for the Church of England—Hooker, Tillotson, Berkeley, Butler, Horsley, and Paley.

Of Hooker I may remark that his liberal attitude towards Holy Scripture is more easily inferred from his whole conception of ecclesiastical politics than proved by particular passages of his writings. But his argument in the first book of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* for reason as an authority correlative with Holy Scripture, and in the second book against Holy Scripture as the sole sufficient rule of human conduct, is in effect a plea for such use of the Bible as would at once become impossible if the Bible were held to be mechanically inspired. Two sentences of his are especially luminous in this regard :

Albeit Scripture do profess to contain in it all things that are necessary unto salvation ; yet the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessary, but all things which are necessary in some certain kind or form ; as all things which are known by the light of natural discourse ; all things which are necessary to be known that we may be saved, but known with presupposal of knowledge concerning certain principles whereof it receiveth us already persuaded, and then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary.⁶⁰

Again :

‘ Whatsoever is spoken of God or things appertaining to God otherwise than as the truth is, though it seem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praises given unto men do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation ; so we must likewise take great heed, lest in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly to be less reverently esteemed.’⁶¹

Archbishop Tillotson, after asserting the inspiration of ‘ the penmen of the books of Scripture,’ alike of the Old and of the New Testament, goes on to say :⁶²

But if anyone enquire further how far the penmen of Scripture were inspired in the writing of those books, whether only so far as to be secured from mistake in the delivering of any message or doctrine from God, or in the relation of any history or matter of fact, yet so as they were left every man to his own style and manner of expression ; or that everything they wrote was immediately dictated to them, and that not only the sense of it, but the very words and phrases by which they express things, and that they were merely instruments or penmen, I shall not take upon me to determine ; I shall only say this in general, that considering the end of their inspiration, which was to inform the world certainly of the mind and will of God, it is necessary for every man to believe that the inspired penmen of Scripture were so far assisted as was necessary to this end ; and he that thinks upon good ground that this end cannot be secured unless every

⁶⁰ Book i. ch. 14, p. 1.

⁶¹ Book ii. ch. 8, p. 7.

⁶² Sermon clxviii., *Of the Faith and Persuasion of a Divine Revelation*.

word and syllable were immediately dictated, he hath reason to believe it was so ; but if any man upon good grounds thinks the end of writing the Scripture may be sufficiently secured without that, he hath no reason to conclude that God, who is not wanting in what is necessary, is guilty of doing what is superfluous. And if any man is of opinion that he might write the history of those actions which he himself did or was present at, without the immediate revelation of them, or that Solomon by his natural or acquired wisdom might speak those wise sayings which are in his *Proverbs* ; or the Evangelists might write what they heard and saw, or what they had good assurance of from others, as *St. Luke* tells he did ; or that *St. Paul* might write for his cloak and parchments at Troas, and salute by name his friends and brethren, or that he might advise *Timothy* to drink a little wine, &c., without the immediate dictate of the Spirit of God, he seems to have reason on his side. For that men may, without an immediate revelation, write these things which they think without a revelation, seems very plain. And that they did so, there is this probable argument for it, because we find that the Evangelists in relating the discourses of Christ are very far from agreeing in the particular expressions and words, though they do agree in the substance of the discourses ; but if the words had been dictated by the Spirit of God, they might have agreed in them. For when *St. Luke* differs from *St. Matthew* in relating what our Saviour said, it is impossible that they should both relate it right as to the very words and forms of expression ; but they both relate the substance of what He said. And if it had been of concernment that everything which they wrote should be dictated to a tittle by the Spirit of God, it is of the same concernment still that the providence of God should have secured the Scriptures since to a tittle from the least alteration ; which that it is not done, appears by the curious readings both of the Old and New Testament, concerning which no man can infallibly say, that this is right and not the other. It seems sufficient in this matter to assert that the Spirit of God did reveal to the penmen of the Scriptures what was necessary to be revealed ; and as to all other things, that he did superintend them in the writing of it so far as to secure them from any material error or mistake in what they have delivered.

Bishop Berkeley, in the Sixth Dialogue of his *Alciphron* on the *Minute Philosopher*, discusses with admirable wisdom the character of Holy Scripture. In it he makes Euphranor say : ⁶³

That some few passages are cited by the writers of the New Testament out of the Old, and by the Fathers out of the New, which are not in so many words to be found in them, is no new discovery of minute philosophers, but was known and observed long before by Christian writers, who have made no scruple to grant that some things might have been inserted by careless and mistaken translators into the text from the margin, others left out, and others altered ; whence so many various readings. But these are things of small moment, and which all other ancient writers have been subject to ; and upon which no point of doctrine depends which may not be proved without them. . . . But to make the most of these concessions, what can you infer from them, more than that the design of the Holy Scriptures was not to make us exactly knowing in circumstantialia, and that the Spirit did not dictate every particle and syllable, or preserve them from every minute alteration by miracle ? which to believe would look like Rabbinical superstition. . . . I never thought or expected that the Holy Scripture should show itself Divine by a circumstantial accuracy of narration, by exactness of method, by strictly observing the rules of rhetoric, grammar and criticism, in harmonious periods, in elegant and choice expressions, or in technical definitions and partitions. These things would look too like a human

⁶³ *Works*, vol. ii. p. 284 (edit. 1871).

composition. Methinks there is in that simple, unaffected, artless, unequal, bold, figurative style of the Holy Scripture a character singularly great and majestic, and that looks more like Divine inspiration than any other composition that I know.

Bishop Butler, in the chapter of his *Analogy*⁶⁴ entitled 'Of our incapacity of judging what were to be expected in a Revelation; and the credibility, from analogy, that it must contain things appearing liable to objection,' argues as follows:

As we are in no sort judges beforehand, by what laws or rules, in what degree, or by what means, it were to have been expected that God would naturally instruct us; so upon the supposition of His affording us light and instruction by revelation, additional to what He has afforded us by reason and experience, we are in no sort judges, by what methods and in what proportion it were to be expected that this supernatural light and instruction would be afforded us. . . .

In like manner we are wholly ignorant what degree of new knowledge it were to be expected God would give mankind by revelation, upon supposition of His affording one, or how far, or in what way, He would interpose miraculously, to qualify them, to whom He should originally make the revelation, for communicating the knowledge given by it and to secure their doing it to the age in which they should live, and to secure its being transmitted to posterity. . . . Thus we see that the only question concerning the truth of Christianity is whether it be a real revelation, not whether it be attended with every circumstance which we should have looked for; and concerning the authority of Scripture, whether it be what it claims to be, not whether it be a book of such sort and so promulged as weak men are apt to fancy a book containing a divine revelation should. And therefore, neither obscurity, nor seeming inaccuracy of style, nor various readings, nor early disputes about the authors of particular parts, nor any other things of the like kind, though they had been much more considerable in degree than they are, could overthrow the authority of the Scripture, unless the Prophets, Apostles, or our Lord had promised that the book containing the divine revelation should be secure from those things.

Bishop Horsley, whose celebrated controversy with Dr. Priestley lends to his words a peculiar weight, says:⁶⁵

It is most certain, that a Divine revelation if any be extant in the world . . . must be perfectly free from all mixture of human ignorance and error in the particular subject in which the discovery is made. . . . In whatever relates therefore to religion, either in theory or practice, the knowledge of the sacred writers was infallible, as far as it extended, or their inspiration had been a mere pretence. . . . But in other subjects not immediately connected with theology or morals, it is by no means certain that their minds were equally enlightened, or that they are even preserved from gross errors. . . . Want of information and error of opinion in the profane sciences may, for anything that appears to the contrary, be perfectly consistent with the plenary inspiration of a religious teacher, since it is not all knowledge, but religious knowledge only, that such a teacher is sent to propagate and improve. In subjects unconnected therefore with religion, no implicit regard is due to the opinion which an inspired writer may seem to have entertained in preference to the clear evidence of experiment and observation, or to the necessary deduction of scientific reasoning from first principles intuitively perceived. Nor, on the other hand, is the

⁶⁴ Part ii. ch. 2.

⁶⁵ Sermon xxxix.—a sermon preached, curiously enough, for the Humane Society.

authority of the inspired teacher lessened, in his proper province, by any symptoms that may appear in his writings or error or imperfect information upon other subjects.

Bishop Horsley's strong advocacy of freedom in judging the Holy Scriptures cannot fairly be said to be compromised by the personal sentiment which induces him to add :

Though I admit the possibility of an inspired teacher's error of opinion in subjects that he is not sent to teach (because inspiration is not omniscience, and some things there must be which it will leave untaught)—though I stand in this point for my own and every man's liberty, and protest against any obligation on the believer's conscience to assent to a philosophical opinion incidentally expressed by Moses, by David, or by St. Paul, upon the authority of their infallibility in divine knowledge—though I think it highly for the honour and the interest of religion that this liberty of philosophising, except upon religious subjects, should be openly asserted and most pertinaciously maintained—yet I confess it appears to me no very probable supposition . . . that an inspired writer should be permitted in his religious discourses to affirm a false proposition in *any* subject or in *any* history to misrepresent a fact, so that I would not easily, nor indeed without the conviction of the most cogent proof, embrace any notion or philosophy, nor attend to any historical relation, which should be evidently and in itself repugnant to an explicit assertion of any of the sacred writers.

Paley, discussing the connexion of Christianity with Jewish history, says :

In reading the apostolic writings we distinguish between their doctrines and their arguments. Their doctrines came to them by revelation properly so called, yet in propounding those doctrines in their writings or discourses they were wont to illustrate, support and enforce them by such analyses, arguments and considerations as their own thoughts suggested."

And, again :

Undoubtedly our Saviour assumes the divine origin of the Mosaic institution. . . . Undoubtedly also our Saviour recognises the prophetic character of many of their ancient writers. So far, therefore, we are bound as Christians to go. But to make Christianity answerable with its life for the circumstantial truth of each separate passage of the Old Testament, the genuineness of every book, the information, fidelity, and judgment of every writer in it, is to bring, I will not say great, but unnecessary difficulties into the whole system. These books were universally read and received by the Jews of our Saviour's time. He and His Apostles, in common with all other Jews, referred to them, alluded to them, used them. Yet, except where He expressly ascribes a divine authority to particular predictions, I do not know that we can strictly draw any construction from the books being so used and applied, beside the proof, which it unquestionably is, of their notoriety and reception at that time."

And, again :

I have thought it necessary to state this point explicitly, because a fashion revived by Voltaire, and pursued by the disciples of his School, seems to have much prevailed of late, of attacking Christianity through the side of Judaism. Some objections of this class are founded on misconstruction, some on exag-

" *Evidences of Christianity*, Part III. ch. 2.

" *Ibid.* Part III. ch. 3.

geration ; but all proceed upon a supposition, which has not been made out by argument, viz. that the attestation, which the Author and first teachers of Christianity gave to the divine mission of Moses and the prophets, extends to every point and portion of the Jewish history ; and so extends as to make Christianity responsible in its own credibility for the circumstantial truth (I had almost said for the critical exactness) of every narrative contained in the Old Testament.

Such are the facts, and it is impossible to dwell upon them or to think of them at all without a feeling of devout thankfulness that, while so many truths and theories of truths have been defined in Christian history, there is not, nor has ever been, an authoritative definition of inspiration. Nowhere, as it seems, might the Church have fallen more easily into error ; nowhere has she been more happily saved from falling. Upon one who holds as I do that not a little of the higher Biblical criticism of the present day is so arbitrary and precarious as to be in grave danger of incurring the scholarly contempt of after-ages, it seems to rest as a special obligation that he should profess his complete allegiance to the principle of free, unbiassed research in the study of the Bible. Ecclesiastical history is often a warning against definitions. For there are truths which are best understood, when least formulated ; they cannot flourish or live within barriers. But inspiration is not defined in any decree of any Ecumenical Council or in any article or formulary of the Church of England. Now and again there has been an attempt made to define it, but without the sanction of antiquity or catholicity, in some confession or catechism of some of the Reformed Churches. And if it seems to be defined in the Church of Rome by the Encyclical Letter *Providentissimus Deus*, the definition is recent and unscholarly, and it places the Church of Rome on a lower level than the Reformed Churches in respect to the scientific criticism of the Bible. That the Church should for so many centuries have uniformly exhibited such reticence upon a grave issue, where it was so natural a temptation to define what was universally regarded as a vital matter, cannot but seem to Christian minds an instance of the Divine Providence guarding the corporate life and energy and faith of Christendom. For, whatever may be the conclusions of honest, reverent scholarship as to the fact or the nature of inspiration, they cannot in themselves be justly assailed as being either un-Christian or anti-Catholic.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

SANE TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION IN ROUMANIA

THE Roumanian Government has recently introduced laws endeavouring to abate the growth of alcoholism throughout the country, which cannot but be interesting to this country in view of the licensing legislation lately discussed at Westminster.

It may be said at once that, although the Roumanian Government has not hesitated to take the most extreme measures against the public-house keepers in the country districts, including summary closing within a period of a few months, it was never actuated by rabid temperance motives, nor did it seek by its legislation to prevent altogether the drinking of alcohol. In fact, it was clearly recognised that whether there were prohibition or not there would still be drinking, and the object of the Roumanian legislation was therefore directed more towards the encouragement of the drinking of beverages with a lesser percentage of alcohol and the instituting of regulations against drunkenness. To quote the words of the Minister of Finance, when the wine-growers reproached him for destroying their livelihood by his law: 'As far as the viticulturists are concerned there has never been a law conceived which is more favourable to them. Its object is not the suppression of the drinking of spirituous beverages, but the regulation of the drinking so as to make alcoholism disappear.'

It would be a great benefit to the country if each Roumanian were able to drink a little *tzouica* (plum brandy) and a glass of wine at each meal, instead of only drinking water during the week and becoming drunk on Sunday by drinking all sorts of strong drinks. Recognising that limiting the number of public-houses does not in any way mean limiting the amount of drink consumed, the Roumanian Minister of Finance wisely decided to remove as many as possible of the evil consequences of drink, and by education and encouragement to promote that side of the sale of alcohol which might even be beneficial to the population, instead of gradually bringing Roumania under the sway of alcoholism.

Prohibition in America had shown that the legal decision that it should be impossible to obtain alcohol stimulated rather than discouraged the craving for drink. It must be remembered, however, that in encouraging the drinking of wine and beer in Roumania, the law encourages as a beverage a wine which is much less potent than those of Italy, Spain, or Portugal, the Roumanian wine containing from 6 to 8 per cent. of alcohol as compared with 15 or 20 per cent. in other countries. The law visits with severe punishments all public-houses which do not sell wine and beer but confine themselves to *tzonica* and other strong spirits. There is no regulation limiting the number of public-houses which deal only in wine and beer and do not sell strong spirits. The only regulation restricting freedom of sale of wine is that imposing heavy penalties upon the sale and especially upon the manufacture of artificial wine. While the law is essentially a law against the spread of alcoholism, it works out in practice as a measure to encourage the replacing of brandy by wine as a beverage. A close study of the question of limitation of licences in all countries convinced the Roumanian Government that while such limitation alone does not limit the amount of drink consumed, it does undoubtedly render more easy the supervision and enforcement of the regulations both against alcoholism and drunkenness.

It must not be imagined, however, that Roumania is a drunken country. What the Government has decided to do is to prevent such a state of things coming to pass by taking measures betimes to limit and control the worst elements of the sale of alcohol. It may even be affirmed that Roumania is one of the European countries where alcoholism is the least widely spread. It was felt to be urgently necessary to take such measures as would prevent it increasing unduly, and to ensure that the drinking of alcoholic beverages should only serve to strengthen the worker when engaged in the hardest tasks, instead of brutalising him and rendering him incapable of work during one or two days each week. The Roumanian population is, if anything, too temperate in eating and is not unduly addicted to drinking; but there exist certain regions in which brandy has already produced deplorable results, and where the effects of alcoholism are already to be observed. This is sufficient proof that if the future generations are not to bear the curse of alcoholism, steps must be taken to limit its force. In order that the impression may not be spread in foreign countries that the enactment of such law indicates a too rapid development of alcoholism in Roumania, it is interesting to glance at the statistics of the Swedish expert, Sundborg. The consumption of alcohol, in its different forms as wine, beer, brandy, has been calculated by the Swedish statistician in its equivalent of absolute alcohol:

	In Pints		In Pints
In France	27-77	In Servia	14-80
„ Belgium	23-01	„ England	14-29
„ Spain	21-08	„ Austria-Hungary	13-08
„ Denmark	19-08	„ Holland	11-02
„ Switzerland	18-77	„ Russia	9-11
„ Italy	18-02	„ Sweden	7-75
„ Portugal	17-67	„ Norway	4-65
„ Germany	17-93	„ Finland	3-20

The figures given for Roumania show 17-04 pints of absolute alcohol per head, but this quantity is obviously incorrect, owing, in the first place, to the impossibility of obtaining exact statistics of the Roumanian population, and, in the second place, because the percentage of alcohol in wine and brandy has been regarded as the same as in other European countries, whereas it is very considerably less—Roumanian wine containing 8 per cent. as against 10 per cent. of absolute alcohol in ordinary wine, and *tsouica* containing 20 per cent. of absolute alcohol instead of 50 per cent. elsewhere. The Roumanian State, however, is in a position to control absolutely the figures as to population and as to the quantity of alcohol sold in the country, and its constituents. For the last three years the total amount of absolute alcohol consumed was 5,873,720 gallons, which, divided amongst a population of 6,700,000, gives an annual consumption of 7-04 pints per inhabitant, which is approximately the average consumption in Sweden.

It must not, however, be imagined that drunkenness is more prevalent in a country where the consumption of alcohol per head during a year is high, than in a country such as Sweden or Roumania, where a comparatively small amount is consumed each year. In a prosperous country a greater quantity of alcohol may be consumed without producing so much drunkenness as would be the case with a smaller consumption in a poor country. For instance, in France the consumption per head is nearly twenty-eight pints, whereas in Russia the consumption is nine pints. This would seem to prove that drunkenness should be three times as bad in France as in Russia. As a matter of fact the opposite is the case. The French workman, who earns much and who is accustomed to live well, takes a small quantity of brandy and wine, or two glasses of wine, at each meal without it affecting him. The Russian, like the Roumanian workman, works six days each week, only drinking water with his meals, but on a Sunday he drinks at a sitting as much as the French workman in two or three days. Not only that, but he drinks without eating at the same time, and becoming drunk, remains unfit for work for two days, and then resumes his *régime* of water. It is evident that a man who is working may drink a litre of wine at his three meals without ever being drunk, and this with impunity, besides his seven litres of wine a week. On the other hand, a man who would drink on

Sunday at a sitting two litres of wine or their equivalent in brandy, or both, would inevitably become drunk, although his weekly total of alcohol is only a third of that of the other man. It must also not be imagined that because the amount of alcohol consumed per head in Roumania in statistics is the same as in Sweden there is the same amount of drunkenness. Sweden, although not a rich country, is more developed in civilisation, and, although it is not long ago that drunkenness was regarded as a national curse, the temperance societies and wise laws have worked such a miracle that to-day the Scandinavian population is considered rightly as the most sober in Europe as far as regards drink. The absence of prosperity in the Roumanian country communes and the lack of intelligently methodical drinking bring about a greater extent of drunkenness than in Sweden. In passing, it may be mentioned also that absolute statistics, such as those given by Sundbarg are purely theoretical, depending upon the social conditions in the country. Thus, in a country where the population increases enormously, as in Roumania with its additional 100,000 persons yearly, a greater proportion of the population is composed of children who do not drink; and thus it may be reckoned that in Roumania one person in every four drinks alcohol, while in France the proportion is one in two. This is another reason why France figures with such a large consumption of wine per head. The Roumanian Government is prepared to witness with equanimity an increase of the total amount of alcohol consumed, since this would prove an increase of prosperity; and if the increase were accompanied by more sane and methodical habits of drinking, would consider that, instead of becoming a curse, the drinking of alcohol might become a benefit to the population at large.

The two principal reasons given by the Roumanian Government for the introduction of this law are set forth in the following statement of the Minister of Finance :

The repression of drunkenness by the regulation of the conditions under which the public-houses may be held, making the tenant dependent upon the authorities, instituting a wide and continual supervision of a special character over this trade, and by enacting punishments of immediate application both against the public-house keeper who encourages too heavy drinking and against the consumer who becomes drunk. Being unable seriously to admit that the repression of drunkenness can be reached while continuing the liberty of trade in spirituous drinks, the idea of its monopolisation followed naturally. But it is not for the profit of the State that we found this monopoly; it is for the profit of the rural communes, with a view to afford them new means for material and moral progress, of which means they have so urgent a need at present.

One objection which they raised against this law was that the Roumanian Government would have arrived at the same result had stricter police measures been enacted against the public-houses and against drunkenness such as exist in France and England. The Government, however, did not hesitate to regard this objection as

coming from those whose interest was all in the extended development of alcoholism. These persons knew well that even the existing police regulations remained too frequently unavailing as long as they remained the masters of the public-houses and of the sale of strong drink. Even in countries where the police are more efficiently organised than in Roumania the results prove that laws and regulations against excessive drinking are of little avail. In France, for instance, where there are 435,000 public-houses, there exist countless laws and regulations against drunkenness. These, however, are powerless against the influence of the public-house keepers. In France there are pronounced each year from 65,000 to 98,000 sentences against drunkenness, but the public-house continues perfectly freely to manufacture for the courts the annual contingent of criminals. In England also, where there are 156,000 public-house keepers, and where there are more than 250,000 sentences against drunkenness each year, the drink evil does not show any signs of diminishing.

Indeed, so far from the example of England and France encouraging Roumania to adopt the measures existing in those countries, it has rather inspired the Roumanian Government with a very wholesome fear that, unless measures be taken at once, Roumania may fall as effectually into the hands of the public-house keepers and brewers as have two great civilised countries of the west. In France it is no exaggeration to call the public-house keeper the Grand Elector; and Dr. Bertillon was right when he wrote, 'Electoral reasons much more than fiscal are leading the French people to brutalisation by alcohol.' In England the Roumanians saw whither Free Trading, applied to the public-house, would lead a country. They saw that the public-house keepers and the manufacturers of beer and alcohol, representing a capital of about 200,000,000*l.*, aspired to direct the policy of the nation to suit their own ends. The Roumanian Minister of Finance thus summed up the English situation :

By their great number, and by the enormous capital which they possess, they defy both public morality and the noble efforts of the temperance societies. Their ends are vice and the alcoholisation more and more undisputed of the nation. This is where England has come with freedom in the drink trade. We Roumanians are not yet there, but we must admit frankly that the last moment has come in which it is possible to take such measures to prevent us from arriving at that deplorable state.

The Minister also recalled the words of Lord Rosebery in 1895, when he said :

I am not a fanatic on the subject of temperance, but I say that the free condition of our dealings in alcoholic drinks is a serious danger, and for two reasons : first, because the consumption of alcohol is too high ; and secondly, because this trade acquires too great power in the State. If the State does not hasten to become the master of the drink trade, it is the drink trade which will become the master of the State.

It was because the Roumanian Government became convinced that as long as the trade in drink remained free every effort would be useless, as the public-house keeper would dispose of both money and drink, the most powerful means of stifling all attack, that it determined to boldly take those measures which would prevent the drink trade from becoming the master of the country.

The Roumanian Government decided to confine the application of the monopoly law to the public-houses in the rural districts, and by placing them under the most stringent control of the State officers to defend the country sufficiently from the evils of alcoholism. The answer to those who wondered that the public-houses of the towns were not also included in the working of this law, lies in the fact that the great majority of the population of Roumania live by agriculture, and are therefore to be found in the country districts. The 9268 villages of Roumania are peopled by 1,073,930 Roumanian families, which, with an average of five members to each family, gives a total of 5,370,000 souls. The population of the towns only amounts to about 1,330,000 persons, or one-fifth of the whole population, and in the towns there is a very considerable proportion of foreigners. To-day there exist 7000 public-houses in all the towns of Roumania, and measures will be taken that this number shall not increase, but on the contrary shall automatically diminish as the existing public-houses are closed for one reason or another. It is foreseen that within a comparatively short time the number will be so much reduced as no longer to constitute a political or social danger. In the country districts, however, the possibility of adequate police supervision is enormously increased with a decreased number of public-houses, and owing to the many attendant evils combined with the sale of drink in the country, and taking into consideration the fact that the country population is less highly educated than that of the towns, it is of the first importance to rescue the peasants from this danger. The following description given by Mr. Bertillon of the Russian rural public-house keeper describes very accurately the same individual in Roumania:

The public-house keeper is a scourge, he is an infamous usurer lending upon every article belonging to the peasants, on his house, on his cattle, on his clothing, including even those actually being worn. Naturally all these objects have to be redeemed at ridiculous prices. The peasant, finding himself most frequently quite beyond the possibility of paying back the amount advanced when it falls due, is totally ruined, together with his family. Even after this the money-lender public-house keeper finds the means of exploiting him and of brutalising him: he will sell him alcohol on credit, to be paid for by a certain amount of work to be done at a future date. He speculates upon this imprudent undertaking and sells it to the landed proprietors.

There can be no doubt that the agrarian risings of 1907 were largely caused by the exactions of these publican usurers, who worked

hand in hand with the land trusts. It was, in fact, these agrarian risings which demonstrated clearly to the Government the immediate necessity of taking steps to improve the situation. There were many examples before the Roumanian Government, but many of these were unacceptable owing to the fact that they placed as the first reason for repressive action a moral object that was the defence of the nation against moral and physical decay, brought about by the abuse of alcoholic drinks. Any possible fiscal side which the reform might entail was given a very secondary place, and in fact the State relinquishes all profit in favour of the rural districts. It was finally decided that the moral object desired could not be obtained, and had never been obtained elsewhere, save by means of the monopolisation of the retail sale—that is to say, by means of the monopolisation of public-houses. This is the system adopted in Norway and Sweden and in Finland with the most excellent results. This decision does not in any way prevent the Roumanian Government from also taking adequate precautions for the rectification of all alcohol produced. Such rectification ensures that the drinking of alcohol is attended with less evil results, and it is interesting to remark that the purer the alcohol the less pleasant the taste to the consumer. All manufacture of alcohol from grain and from potatoes is prohibited unless such alcohol be rectified: only such distilleries are allowed to work which possess the most perfect apparatus for distillation and rectification and are provided with a Government tell-tale through which every drop of alcohol must pass. This control also permits of very adequate taxation, and actually the revenues from this source are 500,000*l*. The monopolisation of the manufacture of alcohol could have no financial interest save an adverse one after the action of the monopolisation of the public-houses, since the diminution of drinking must necessarily be in direct opposition to the financial interests of the producer.

In Russia, in order to combat alcoholism, recourse was had also to the monopolisation of retail sale, but in quite another way. In Russia the State neither manufactures nor rectifies alcohol, nor does it sell wholesale. The Government simply suppressed the public-house without any consideration for the public-house keeper, and opened in its place a certain number of shops. A State employé without any interest in the sale sells the alcohol in bottles of the monopoly. Anybody can buy alcohol in these shops in any quantity and take it anywhere he wishes. The Russian idea was that the public-houses with the system of mutual trading encouraged drinking, and that if these meeting-places were suppressed there would be less temptation to the population to drink. This proved a mistaken idea, since the peasants simply appointed certain houses in each village as *impromptu* public-houses where they meet and drink without any control whatever. The only benefit from the Russian system

is that the alcohol is rectified, and that the results of drinking it are therefore less harmful. It is very interesting to note that the Russian province where the consumption of alcohol shows the greatest decrease since the institution of the Russian monopoly is in Bessarabia, which is peopled by Roumanians. In Norway, Sweden, and Finland, a monopoly of the retail sale was instituted, but at the same time the public-houses were preserved without any reduced number. These public-houses were made cleaner and more comfortable, so that the clients preferred to drink there, and are thus more easily controlled and prevented from becoming drunk, and punished if they do become drunk. In Bessarabia, in Switzerland, as well as in Norway and Sweden, the reduction in the consumption of alcohol has resulted in an increased consumption of wine and beer, both of which are drinks much less harmful than brandy.

The Roumanian Government came finally to a conclusion which may be summed up as follows: 'The monopoly of the retail sale together with the public-house placed under the supervision of the commune and of the State.' The list of European States showing the amount of alcohol consumed per head finishes with Norway, Sweden, and Finland, the three countries in which this system of control has been put into force. In Roumania, where there were no such temperance societies as produced the legislation in Sweden and Norway against alcoholism, there remained only the initiative of the State itself to institute reform. It was felt that even the constituted authorities already existing are not too perfect to supervise the fight against alcoholism adequately, and it was found necessary to devise the system of supervision and re-supervision to ensure success. Thus the communal authorities are confided with the working of the monopoly of the public-houses in the villages; but, because there would be a fear lest the public-house should not show any marked improvement as to morality and hygiene, the communal authorities have been placed under the most severe supervision of the higher State authorities in order to force them to do their duty with regard to the supervision of the public-houses and the repression of vice.

The principal points of the law may be resumed as follows: in every village the number of public-houses is limited in the proportion of one public-house to one hundred families; but in villages containing less than 150, but above a minimum of fifty families, a public-house can be opened if the village be situated more than five kilometres from a village possessing a public-house. In no case can a new public-house be established at a less distance than a hundred yards from the church or school of the village. The right to sell alcoholic drinks in retail and to keep public-houses in the country districts is exclusively reserved to the commune. The municipal councils decide the opening or the suppression of the public-houses, and exercise

supervision over all such. The revenues from the public-houses are never to be added to the ordinary revenues of the commune, nor does the State have any interest whatever in these revenues. The public-house revenue is to constitute the special fund, which in no circumstance may be used for ordinary expenses or for the payment of the staff. This fund will be employed exclusively for objects tending to the amelioration of the condition of the inhabitants of the villages. The law defines these as the improvement of churches and schools or of communal infirmaries, the founding of any institution destined to spread education amongst the peasants, the creation of popular libraries, the creation of lecture and reading rooms, the organisation of popular amusements for the young, the opening of shops for manual work, the construction of bridges and culverts, the planting of plantations, the draining of marshes, the regulating of torrents, and the purchase of bulls, stallions, rams, or boars for reproductive purposes. Beyond these objects every other outlay from the special fund is formally forbidden by the law. The communal public-houses will be let by public tender for a period of three years at a time, or else will be handed over by agreement to temperance societies. It is worthy of note that the law is extremely favourable to temperance societies on the model of those existing in Norway and Sweden—*Samslag* and *Bolag*. In fact, such societies are the only bodies possessing the right to own more than one public-house. It is further decreed that wherever temperance societies with limited benefits are formed in the commune, the communal authorities shall have the right to enter into negotiations with such societies with a view to the handing over to them of the public-houses. The profits of public-houses handed over in this way shall be devoted in the first place to the payment of the interest upon the capital of the society (with a maximum of six per cent.), and the remainder will be placed in the special public-house fund.

Large employers of labour, such as owners of factories or works, have the right under certain conditions to establish a public-house; but should their workmen form themselves into a co-operative society with the object of possessing their public-house, the employer is obliged to close his public-house and the Minister of Finance will withdraw his licence.

The direct measures taken by the Government against alcoholism are based upon a careful study of the evil habits rooted in the country which it is necessary to destroy. The original idea of the Government was to include in the law a provision that the public-house keeper should be a State official deriving no benefit from the sale of alcohol. This ideal publican was, in fact, to be encouraged rather to sell other drinks than alcoholic ones, since he would have received a percentage upon the sales of all non-alcoholic drinks and edibles. This system would have made the official publican much more anxious

to sell the goods belonging to the commune than the communal alcohol. This original proposal met with a storm of objections, but the only objection which induced the Government to abandon it was that such official publicans would become political instruments in the hands of whatever Government might be in power. In Roumania the mayor is really the instrument of the prefect, who himself is that of the Government of the day. Thus a change of Government would bring about a change of official publicans. The abandonment of this ideal publican was largely the cause of the increased facilities and advantages offered to temperance societies, who would naturally have every interest in preventing excessive drinking. The law actually contains the following provisions with regard to the public-house keeper: He must be a Roumanian citizen, knowing how to read and write, at least twenty-five years of age, and married at the time of the conclusion of the contract; he must be known as a man of good behaviour, without vices, and have never incurred a penal sentence for crimes mentioned in the law of licences. The assistant of the public-house keeper must fulfil the same conditions, and all the servants of the public-house or of the public-house keeper must be Roumanians. Nobody except the public-house keeper, his family, his servants, or *bona fide* travellers, may sleep on the premises. Any public-house keeper who breaks these regulations will be liable to a fine of from 8*l.* to 40*l.*, and for a second offence to a penalty of from three months' to a year's imprisonment and the cancelling of his lease. Any public-house keeper possessing more than one public-house, or endeavouring to do so through an agent, is liable, together with this agent, to a fine of from 20*l.* to 40*l.* and imprisonment of from three to twelve months, together with the loss of his lease. With regard to the amusements allowed in the public-houses, it was rightly considered that to transform the public-houses simply into shops without meetings, family gatherings, dances, music, would have been to violate the traditions of the country, and to show at the same time real cruelty towards a population which has much more suffering than pleasure in life. Thus the law, while forbidding all games of cards or other games of chance, allows games of skill such as skittles and billiards, and all amusements such as dancing are allowed in accordance with ancient customs. It is absolutely forbidden to public-house keepers to supply drinks or any goods on credit. Each sale must be made against cash paid at the moment of sale. It is also forbidden to barter drink or any goods for grain, eggs, poultry, or other products of agricultural or domestic economy (domestic economy was added owing to the tendency of public-house keepers to endeavour to induce the peasants to pledge the results of the home work of their women, such as embroidery, &c.). Neither public-house keepers nor their wives can, in any case, either directly or through agents, farm land belonging to peasants. Public-house keepers cannot bring actions for debts

incurred for the supply of drink, nor other sums of money paid by them in connexion with agricultural work or the farming of lands belonging to peasants. For every sale on credit the innkeeper will be punished by a fine of five times the value of the drink or of the goods. Should a public-house keeper farm land belonging to peasants he will be punished by a fine equal to the value of the farm for five years, and the contract will be cancelled. Communal public-houses will remain closed until eleven o'clock in the morning on Sundays and recognised religious holidays. From the 1st of April to the 30th of September they will close at nine in the evening, and for the other six months at eight. On all election days, parliamentary and communal, all the public-houses in the country districts will be closed; in the town districts only those will be closed which are within the district affected by the election. Infringements of these regulations are punished severely by fines ranging from 20s. to 80*l.* Innkeepers are forbidden to serve drink in public-houses to children aged less than sixteen. Neither may they serve under any pretext, or under any pressure or threat, people already drunk, or such as are included in the public list of drunkards, nor shall they allow to enter the public-house drunken people or women of notoriously evil character. Public-house keepers and their employes are expected to prevent any disorder in their houses: to this end they have the right to call in policemen or gendarmes to restore order. No excuse for having broken the law owing to threats or violence shall be allowed to protect the public-house keeper. Any public-house keeper who does not keep wine on his premises will be punished by a fine of from 4*l.* to 12*l.*

Keeping artificial brandy or wine on the premises is punishable by a fine of from 8*l.* to 20*l.*; but if such artificial liquor be manufactured by the public-house keeper himself, or if he shall have tampered with any alcoholic drinks, the fine shall amount to from 40*l.* to 400*l.* A second offence will be punished by a double fine and loss of the contract. Any public-house keeper whose contract has been cancelled for any infringement of the law will no longer have the right to lease a public-house or to be associated with another in such enterprise, or to be in any way connected with a public-house under any condition whatever. In order to render difficult any infringement of the regulations with regard to artificial brandy or wine, the law enacts that whoever shall give information of such infringements shall receive 50 per cent. of the fine inflicted.

With regard to the supervision and control of country public-houses, the Roumanian Government has multiplied as much as possible the bodies charged with these duties; and this because of the unfortunate lack of confidence, not without foundation, of the rural mayor. Thus the supervision of the public-houses will be exercised equally by the communal authorities and by the following officials: the prefect, the financial administrator, the administrative inspector,

the agricultural inspector, the financial inspector, and the doctor of the district. The municipal authority represented by the mayor or his representative, as well as by the officials mentioned above, have the right of taking notice of infringements of the law committed by the innkeeper or by his customers, and the right of inflicting such penalties as are within their competence, or of handing over to the district judge cases the penalties for which exceed their powers. The prefect and the above-mentioned officials have also the duty of controlling the mayors and their representatives and noting any infringements which these may commit or any negligences of which they may be guilty, and have the right of demanding of the district judge their punishment. Should these officials prove that the mayor has not exercised his right of punishing infringements of the law on the part of the public-house keeper or his clients, they have the right of condemning immediately the guilty persons to the prescribed punishments, and the mayor to a fine of from 20 to 60 francs; this fine must be paid at once, the punishment of the mayor being without appeal or defence.

With regard to the measures taken against drunkenness and drunkards, great care has been shown to prevent any abuse of power, so dear to all those who possess a small amount of authority. Thus in the towns all offences of drunkenness are judged by a justice of the peace, whereas in other countries light punishments may be awarded by the police. In the villages all punishments involving imprisonment, even for only twenty-four hours, may be awarded by the district judges alone. Only fines are imposed by the administrative officials whose duty it is to supervise the public-houses. In other cases the proceedings must not be delayed, and the judge must give the sentence within three days at most. Care is also taken that persons shall not be arrested for drunkenness unless there is no doubt possible, as shown by definite actions, that they are drunk. Thus the law provides that the drunkard is one who, being in a state of drunkenness, shall seek a quarrel, provoke disorders, or fall down in the street. Such drunkards are punished by a fine of from 2 to 20 francs. In the case of a second offence in the same year, imprisonment for twenty-four hours will be added to the fine; while a third offence within twelve months from the first entails three days' imprisonment. After this third sentence the district judge will inscribe the name of the offender on a drunkards' list similar to the Black List in England. The great difference, however, is that this list in Roumania is posted up publicly in all the town halls and in all the communal public-houses. Persons inscribed on this list may no longer enter any public-house, either in their own commune or in any other commune to which the list has been officially communicated. If for three successive years a person inscribed upon this list has undergone no sentence for drunkenness, his name may be removed by the district

judge. If, however, at any future time he undergoes a sentence for drunkenness, his name will remain upon the list for the rest of his life, and any other further crimes of drunkenness which he may commit will be punished by fines and imprisonment. These are the main points of the law as far as the country public-houses are concerned.

With regard to the town public-houses, the law does not provide against them directly, and, indeed, benefits them indirectly. The Government has decided that so long as the number of public-houses in the towns does not increase, the regulations against drunkenness and the possibility of efficient police supervision are sufficient to prevent serious danger to the country. The number of public-houses existing at the time of the enactment of this law, either in the town communes, communes or in a zone of one kilometre around these may not be increased in any case. Public-houses which close may not be replaced in any circumstances, or reopened, and it is hoped that a continuance of these measures will result in there remaining but one public-house to every hundred families. Only the legitimate or legitimatised descendants of the public-house keeper will have the right to continue the business, on condition that these descendants, or at least one of them, exercises in person the profession of public-house keeper in his father's house. In the case where the heirs are minors, the public-house may be kept by the guardian until their majority. Public-houses are closed either voluntarily or by the neglect of payments, or by the closing of the establishment in consequence of the law for licences of alcoholic drinks, and cannot be again reopened.

With reference to the question of confiscation or compulsory closing of public-houses in Roumania, the Government possesses under the laws most enviable powers. In virtue of the law on licences, the Minister of Finance has the right to withdraw the licence and to close any public-house or drinking-shop which does not conform with the law of the monopoly of retail sale. Besides this, the Minister of the Interior can request that the licence shall be withdrawn from any public-house or drink-shop for an infraction of the law, and the Minister of Finance is bound to conform to this demand. The actual public-house keepers possess no hereditary right, and only exploit their public-house in virtue of a licence given them by the Government. In the towns the public-houses are more firmly established, and there may be found some which are relatively old and which have been in one spot and run by the same family for two generations. There is, however, no instance of three successive generations running a public-house. In the country districts the case is not similar, because up to 1864 the public-house as a rule belonged to the large proprietor, it being his exclusive right. This right the proprietor generally disposed of by letting it; and those who rented public-houses were principally Jews in Moldavia and Greeks in Wallachia.

After the right of keeping public-houses became free, the temporary character of these holdings was preserved amongst foreign public-house keepers. Later, when it was forbidden to strangers to have public-houses in the country districts, this continued still indirectly through agents, the public-house belonging in name to a Roumanian, but *de facto* to a stranger. Recently steps have been taken to prevent this, but so recently that the Roumanian public-house keepers have not had time to obtain vested interests.

The number of public-houses in the country fluctuates enormously. When the agricultural year is good, public-houses sprout up like mushrooms after rain; but when the year has been bad, public-houses close in great numbers. It is very rare to see the same public-house keeper possessing the same public-house during all his life and leaving it afterwards as an inheritance to his children. The new law leaves in existence 9000 public-houses and provides for the extinction of the licences of about 4000. This number is not much more than the difference between the number of public-houses in a good year and in a bad one. Much criticism was directed against the Government, with the cry of what will become of the unfortunate public-house keepers whose houses are closed. The reply was that this criticism would be as much justified in any year of agricultural depression, and that the public-house keepers as a rule in Roumania carry on at the same time other occupations. The closing of the public-house, therefore, will only necessitate their adopting the same course that they would have done had the harvests been bad. There is, for instance, no comparison between the misfortune for these relatively few individuals possessing other trades, and many of whom are not Roumanians, and that which befell hundreds of thousands of men engaged in the transport of goods by waggons at the advent of the railway, or the tens of thousands of independent dealers in tobacco at the advent of the State monopoly. Under the new law, actually the public-house keeper was placed in a much better position, having several months allowed him in which to find other employment; whereas, when the Minister exercises his right to withdraw the licence for whatever cause, the public-house is closed on the spot.

This, then, is the practical application on the part of the Roumanian Government to achieve sane temperance legislation, neither led away by rabid teetotalism nor dominated by the interests of the producers of alcohol. It is twenty-six years since the idea was first mooted, and it is greatly to the credit of the actual Government that it has at last succeeded in overcoming the many political interests leagued against such legislation, and that it has been able to take effective measures to save the country from the curse of alcoholism.

THE RULE OF THE EMPRESS DOWAGER

THE death of the Empress Dowager of China recalls some incidents in the romantic and eventful life of one whose subtle powers raised her from the crowded ranks of the Imperial harem to the ancient throne whence, for over a quarter of a century, she has ruled over the destinies of the oldest empire in the world with an ability that places her among the most striking characters in the records of history. Yehonala was the youngest daughter of a Tartar general who died at his post on the Yangtze, leaving his widow with a family of two sons and two daughters in straitened circumstances. The first duty of the widow was to take the remains of her dead husband for burial at his ancestral home in Peking, so, preparing a mourning boat, with its blue and white lanterns and other insignia of woe, she embarked on it with her children, and in the course of her journey arrived at the beautifully situated and picturesque town of Chinkiang, whence the boat would probably have proceeded by the Grand Canal to Peking. There arrived at the same time a prefect travelling by water to a new station on promotion. Wu-tu-fu, the prefect of Chinkiang, hearing that an official had arrived by boat, sent, after the Chinese custom, his card and a complimentary gift of food, with two hundred taels which the messenger by mistake conveyed to the mourning boat. The widow returned her most grateful thanks, assuming that the prefect was a friend of her late husband's. Wu-tu-fu, seeing the mistake that had been made and understanding that the lady was in straitened circumstances, chivalrously determined to spare her from the awkwardness of an explanation, so sending her three hundred taels in addition, he waited upon her, assuming the position of a friend of her husband's, before whose coffin he performed the ceremony of Kowtow. The mother again and again expressed her gratitude and taking her youngest daughter by the hand, offered her to him for adoption, a not unusual mark of friendship in China, an offer which he accepted, as the child was very attractive.

Under his guardianship Yehonala remained until, at the age of sixteen, in the triennial review by the Emperor at Peking of the daughters of Manchu officers for the selection of young ladies for the Imperial household, she was among those whose fortune it was to be chosen.

In the Imperial household, or harem as it is colloquially termed, there are many grades; some of the maidens perform the duties of ladies-in-waiting, some the more humble services of ladies' maids, &c. The ladies' apartments are rigorously guarded by eunuchs from all male visitors except the Emperor, and the inmates occupy themselves in various ways, especially in the work of embroidery, in which almost all Chinese ladies are proficient. All these young ladies are supposed to be under the direction of the Empress. From time to time the Emperor visits the apartment and selects some one or other for his attentions, some being advanced to the position of Imperial concubine. To this position Yehonala, whose name was now changed to Tze Hsi, was promoted, and in due course presented the Emperor with a son. As the Empress was childless, Tze Hsi became at once of great importance, increasing her influence rapidly, until at length she shared with the Empress the full dignity of the Dragon Throne with all its gorgeous ceremonials.

Some years later Wu-tu-fu was reported by his superior, who recommended his punishment. Tze Hsi was by this time Empress Dowager, and, recognising the name, instead of punishing she promoted him. The superior protested, whereupon she again promoted him. The overjoyed Wu-tu-fu proceeded to Peking to return thanks, which he did in the usual fashion, kneeling before the throne with downcast eyes, and his official hat placed at his right side with the peacock plume towards the Empress. After he had spoken, the Empress Dowager said, 'Do you not know me: look up, I was your daughter.' His joy may be imagined. The Empress Dowager ultimately conferred upon him the Governorship of Szechuen.

Much has been written of her malign influence during the half-century of her predominance, both behind the throne and as its apparently all-powerful occupant, but who can tell the real moving power amid the kaleidoscopic intrigues of the Imperial city? We forget how short a time has elapsed since China was practically as isolated from all Western influence as in the days of Marco Polo—indeed more so—for after Ghengis Khan had swept over Northern Asia and South-Eastern Europe until the wave of conquest broke against the walls of Buda-Pest princes and ambassadors from the West visited him in his Chinese capital.

The opium war from 1840 to 1843 left China simmering until the breaking out of the Taiping rebellion in 1850, and for seventeen years the Southern Provinces were devastated by a rebellion that cost the lives of twenty-two and a half millions of people before it was finally extinguished at Suchow by the military capacity of Gordon, ably seconded by Li Hung Chang. In the meantime the repulse of our forces in the attack upon the Taku forts in 1859 was followed by their subsequent capture by the allied forces of France and England, and the advance upon Peking and burning of the Summer Palace in the

following year. The Emperor with the Imperial Court had fled to Jeh-lo, where the Emperor died, when, on his death, a Nominal Government of eight was formed, who forthwith entered into a conspiracy to make away in secret with the Empress Dowager and the young Emperor's mother, to arrest and destroy the late Emperor's three brothers, and establish a regency in which they would be supreme. Fortunately Prince Kung frustrated their machinations and brought the two Empresses with the young Emperor safe to Peking. The conspirators were arrested; two princes engaged in the plot were allowed to commit suicide and the others were executed. Prince Kung and the two Empresses then constituted a regency during the minority.

In 1870 occurred the massacre of Tientain, and from 1870 to 1872 the Empire was in the throes of a Mahomedan insurrection. In 1894 China was again at war with the Japanese, with disastrous results, and from that time to the breaking out of the Boxer uprising she has never been free from strained anxiety from her Northern neighbour. Surely no woman has ever lived a life of more sustained anxiety than Tze Hsi, and in remembering her misdeeds we ought not to forget her difficulties and her surroundings, that called for all her woman's wiles and evoked at times a ruthlessness not unknown in our own history.

That she possessed a magnetic charm is acknowledged by those who have been admitted to her presence, and glimpses of her life within the veil show that she had her moments of merriment and enjoyment. The cloud that has rested upon her name of late has been the feeling that her treatment of the young Emperor was as cruel as it was unjust.

It is by no means certain that the young Emperor was satisfied with his elevation to the throne, which was undoubtedly in the light of ancient custom a usurpation brought about by the dominant influence of his aunt. He had read and had heard of other nations, and probably regretted the real liberty that he had lost in being placed in a position of splendid isolation and practical captivity. He turned eagerly to those who spoke of progress, and jumped to the conclusion that the supreme and godlike power of which he was assured in every action of his ceremonious Court was able to effect at once changes that can only be hoped for after long evolution. After the death of Marquess Tseng he sent for Kang yu Wei, an advanced thinker whose literary fame was at its zenith, and at once adopted his views that China could be regenerated by edicts from the throne that would in a trice change the customs of centuries. At first his enthusiasm for Western methods was received by the Empress Dowager with apparently good-humoured amusement. It is said that on one occasion he ordered some thousands of European costumes, and, donning one, appeared before the Dowager Empress and asked her how she liked it. She answered: 'Very nice indeed,

but, having admired yourself in the glass, I advise you to go to your ancestral hall and there regard the portraits of your ancestors in their proper costume and judge which is more befitting for an emperor.' It is hard to say what credence can be safely given to these snatches of palace gossip, but the incident was widely accepted in well-informed Chinese circles.

At length matters became serious. There were murmurs of an anti-dynastic movement in the ever-restless South, and the time seemed inopportune to court the opposition of the most conservative people on the face of the globe. Under the influence of Kang yu Wei six edicts were prepared of an almost revolutionary character. The Chinese were to adopt Western attire and to cut off the queue, which was the badge of submission if not of loyalty to the Manchu dynasty, and other edicts were also prepared effecting changes in the entire system of administration. The Emperor had appointed four young men to act as assistants, or advisers, to the Tsung li Yamen in matters of reform. One of these young men was sent by the Emperor to Yuan Shi Kai, who then commanded a camp about twenty miles from Peking, with orders to Yuan to bring his troops to the capital, and an edict was written by the Emperor decreeing that henceforth the Empress Dowager should take no part in official matters, and that Jung Lu was to be beheaded. The more experienced officials were alarmed by the youthful enthusiasm of the Emperor. Such edicts might possibly be issued and enforced by a conqueror at the head of a great army, but with China torn by internal dissensions the result might mean an upheaval the consequences of which no man could foresee. The young messenger presented the edict to Yuan Shi Kai, who, instead of proceeding as ordered, informed Prince Tuan, who went hot haste to the Summer Palace, from whence the Empress Dowager returned at once to Peking, first sending to Jung Lu a revocation of the edict ordering his execution. After considerable delay Yuan Shi Kai went with the messenger to Jung Lu's yamen. The young man was left outside. Yuan went in to Jung Lu and the two stood in silence for a while. Then Jung Lu said, 'You have a message for me?' 'Yes,' replied Yuan, 'but I cannot deliver it.' Then he took out the triangular symbol that is always sent with such an order for execution and laid it on the table saying, 'I cannot deliver my message from the Emperor to you, my master (he had been a pupil of Jung Lu's), and I want to ask your advice.' By this time Jung Lu had in his possession the revocation of the edict by the Empress Dowager and had made his preparation to march his own troops to Peking. This was done, and the *coup d'état* followed. The Emperor managed to send an urgent message to Kang yu Wei to fly, but the other reformers were seized and executed.

Kang yu Wei is a graceful writer and most ardent reformer. There is a literary magnetism about his style that has appealed to

the young literati who have accepted him as their leader. He desired to have changed at a flash the crystallised customs of all the centuries and to have adopted Western costumes, Western habits and modes of thought, while at the same time, as shown by his book on reform, he was violently anti-foreign. China for the Chinese was his shibboleth, and one at which no fair-minded man could cavil; but he ignored the danger of pouring new wine into old bottles. Had the edicts inspired by him and his co-reformers been promulgated the convulsion of China was inevitable. In his flight his lucky star was in the ascendant. On receiving the Emperor's warning, Kang yu Wei went at once to Tientsin and proceeded straight on board a steamer that was about to leave, but as he had no luggage he was refused permission to proceed, so he landed and waited for the next steamer, which was bound for Shanghai. After he had sailed his description was telegraphed from Peking, and on the arrival of the first steamer she was searched. The description was also received at Shanghai with orders to arrest him, and a photograph procured; but a gentleman who saw the communication went out in a launch and met the ship at Woosung, where steamers for Shanghai usually anchor. He found Kang yu Wei and took him on board a British steamer. H.M.S. *Esk* was ordered to accompany the steamer, but not to take Kang yu Wei on board. She lumbered after the vessel until the *Pygmy* was met, which took up the escort until the *Bonaventure* was sighted. In the meantime, on the return of the *Esk*, a Chinese warship pursued the steamer, but only to find that she was under the wing of the *Bonaventure*. Had Kang yu Wei not been turned off the first ship boarded by him he would doubtless have been arrested and beheaded.

Though Kang yu Wei is in exile he is still in intimate communication with China, where he has many thousands of ardent admirers, and his influence is a distinct factor in the movement of Chinese thought, which may be divided in three main directions. First, of those who are satisfied with old conditions, shrink from relations with foreigners, and recognise no improvement in the conveniences of Western progress; second, those who desire reform but without foreign interference; third, those who are prepared to welcome foreign intercourse and ready to adopt any means by which moral and material progress may be assured. The first represents inert China; the third the reformers whose views are mainly those held by Chinese students from foreign countries, and which are largely accepted by the Chinese Christians; while the second embraces all the spirits of unrest. That Kang yu Wei, ardent reformer as he is, could have been disloyal to the Emperor or the dynasty is hardly conceivable. His hatred of the Empress Dowager was unbounded, but he could have had no feeling but loyal affection for the Emperor, who so completely abandoned himself to his guidance. His demand was reform of China from within, but in the South the feeling went farther. The Triad Society.

the most dangerous secret society in the Empire, might be ready for reform from within, but the first reform demanded by them was the driving out of the Manchus and the restoration of the Ming dynasty.

This was the state of feeling in the early part of 1900, when the Boxer movement first declared itself.

There were mutterings of this movement for some time before the actual outbreak. In the Central Provinces it was known as the Big Knife Society, but whether it was anti-foreign or anti-dynastic was not known. Its origin is somewhat obscure, but the original members practised boxing, and taught the Chinese view of that science to the neophytes ostensibly to enable them to protect their homes. Mesmerism was also practised, and adherents were assured that by the operation of certain motions and incantations they would become invulnerable. There is no evidence that at the beginning the Government was not opposed to the disturbance, but as it increased in volume it became plain that it might develop into a dangerous anti-dynastic power. Before any decision could be arrived at it was necessary to investigate the claims set up of invulnerability. Prince Tuan, who was anti-foreign to the core, was entirely in the hands of the Boxer leaders, and at his instigation two persons were sent by the Empress Dowager as a commission to report upon the movement. On their return they brought with them a Boxer, who was received in audience with the commissioners—a most unusual proceeding, as not more than two persons are under ordinary circumstances received at the same time. Whether the commissioners were influenced by Prince Tuan or were genuinely deceived, they reported in favour of the Boxer pretensions to occult power. Whether the Empress Dowager was convinced or doubted her power to suppress the uprising, she took the line of least resistance and approved of the anti-foreign attack. That the ministers were divided on the subject is well known, and the singular intermittence in the attacks upon the Legations afforded evidence of divided counsels. If that breach of international honour showed a treachery unthinkable among European nations, it also gave occasion in the inner circles of the Government for a tragic proof that China possessed among her statesmen examples of heroic independence and devotion to principle. When the attack was made Hsu Tsin Hun and Yuan Chang, both members of the Tsung li Yamen, memorialised the Empress Dowager that the attack upon the Legations was a fatal crime, and strongly urged that the Boxers should be suppressed at all hazards. A council was summoned at which they urged their views, and suggested that some members should be sent to consult with the ministers. Then Li Shan, the President of the Board of Revenue, said: ‘Your Majesty and Members of Council, this attack upon the Legations of friendly nations is a foolish and criminal act. You remember how China suffered from a war with

Japan, and you now want to war with all the Powers of Europe as well. If you want money for such a purpose there are no funds in my Treasury.' Prince Tuan answered that Li Shan feared for his property and ought to be beheaded. Within a few days these three men were arrested and executed. This episode showed the character of the Empress Dowager in its darkest side, for Li Shan had been her special *protégé*; but at the moment the influence of Prince Tuan was in the ascendant, and when such influence is brought to bear upon a masterful and despotic woman beset with difficulties and conscious of grave political and personal danger, restraint is apt to disappear.

The true story of her death may never be known, but it ends with dramatic completeness the life of one of the most remarkable women of history—indomitable, resourceful, ruthless, and tender by turns, but always masterful; around whom love, pity, fear, and hatred have hovered with their lights and shadows for well nigh half a century.

HENRY A. BLAKE.

CHARLOTTE-JEANNE

A FORGOTTEN EPISODE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

To many people, English people especially, France begins and ends in Paris—and the history of the capital is the history of the country. In thinking of the horrors of 1793 we invariably picture Paris to ourselves, Paris and her howling mob of *sans-culottes*, her relentless guillotine, and her sad processions of white-faced aristocrats being dragged through her streets in tumbrils to their death. Few reflect that in reality every town had its victims, every countryside its tragedies, very real to the sufferers and very grave in their results, though sinking into insignificance before the tyranny and wholesale carnage of the capital—Marat-Manger at Nancy, Lebon at Arras, Fouché at Lyons, Schneider at Strasbourg, and Carrier at Nantes, to name only a few, inaugurated in their respective districts such excessive measures of brutality as to equal if not exceed the horrors of Paris. Nevertheless they have found but few historians.

Recently there has been some attempt to remedy this state of things and occasional monographs have appeared, the best perhaps being M. Barbeau's work, *The History of Troyes during the Revolution*. In *Les Vosges pendant la Révolution* M. Bouvier also endeavours to throw light on the situation, but he apparently holds a brief for the criminal tribunals and shows himself very lenient to their cruelties and even complimentary to their government.

For some idea of the state of things in Nancy at this date, we have to depend on a few scattered documents, some of them relating mainly to ecclesiastical matters; and a book or so that are extremely inaccurate. Therefore, apparently, people have supposed that Nancy escaped more or less completely the worst phases of the Reign of Terror and that the department of the Meurthe, like so many others of the remote provinces, remained in comparative peace. If this is true of the others it is not of Nancy. The following description of the arrest and trial of Charlotte-Jeanne de Rutant, taken partly from Cardinal Mathieu's researches into the National Archives¹ and partly

¹ The writer is indebted to the late Cardinal Mathieu for his permission to utilise the result of these researches in the present article.

from family papers, gives an example of the obscure tragedies, of constant occurrence during the Revolution, of which all traces were for a long period lost and forgotten for want of an historian.

The de Rutants were a family of good extraction ennobled by Charles the Fourth of Lorraine, and several of its members had at different times distinguished themselves in the service of the State. On the outbreak of the Revolution many emigrated, but Count Louis Pierre, the head of the family, remained on at Saulxures, the old family château. He trusted to the seclusion in which they lived, and to the affection and respect of their peasantry, to enable them to pass through the troublous times unscathed. Charlotte and Augustine de Rutant lived with their father, and André, the only son, was aide-de-camp to General Biron. He had distinguished himself in the Army of the Rhine, and is mentioned very flatteringly in memoirs of the time.

Charlotte, the younger of the two sisters, was at this time a girl of twenty-two, noted for her intelligence and charm and the firmness of her character. There is a miniature in the possession of Augustine's descendants which shows her with a pointed face, dark eyes, arched eyebrows, a pile of powdered hair, and an expression at once mischievous and sweet.

The fancied security of the de Rutant family was, however, rudely destroyed by an unfortunate accident. A letter whose authorship was after some doubt ascribed to Charlotte was intercepted. It was opened at Metz, deciphered and forwarded without delay to the Comité de surveillance at Nancy as a very suspicious document, probably part of a treasonable correspondence with the *émigrés*. The envelope bore this address: 'Monsieur de Vigne, Marchand Epicier, Rue St. Pierre à Aix la Chapelle.' On the enclosed letter there was a second address: 'For the Mistress of Mdlle. Henriette,' and finally on the top of the last page a third superscription, probably indicating where the answer was to be sent, 'An citoyen Mathieu, Place de la République.' This is the actual wording of the letter:

My dear friend,—I am so glad to have news of you. Your long silence had alarmed me. Do not talk to me of politics for the news wearies me, and also if your letter were opened and contained any it would never reach me. I am very sad and you cannot be at one with me except in seeing everything at its worst. My father and mother are well and uncles and cousins—they assure you of their respects as also your ladies.

I am in these sentiments,

Your very humble servant and friend,

CHARLOTTE-JEANNE.

I still learn English. [And then added in English] Answer me very soon.

This was apparently all, and was evidently absolutely innocent and harmless. But the committee thought the three blank pages also enclosed must signify something, and if quite innocent why such

mystery over the addresses? After much deliberation it occurred to them that it might be written with invisible ink—sympathetic ink—they called it then, it was much in vogue and the sort of thing conspirators would use. Accordingly they held it to the fire, when the heat brought out more writing and the mysterious letter lay before them—none too easy to decipher even then:

At last my dear friend I can again have news of you but I fear this pleasure will not be left us long, for our compatriots are very uneasy and terrified. Therefore they do everything they can to annoy us—I shall not be surprised if they shortly arrest us all.

They have already disarmed all the *ci-dessus* nobility and suspected people. The troubles in the départements continue always, so it appears, but we know nothing of them except from the gazettes that are all false. However, they cannot hide everything, and it is easy to see that everywhere there is an encounter the patriots are beaten. They have been terrified of Dumouriez, who, having still at least ten thousand Frenchmen under his standards, causes them perpetual scares. We have a revolutionary committee at Nancy that arrests and wishes to guillotine all suspected persons. Happily this instrument has not been used as yet; for once it starts 'Ware the aristocrats.' Metz is putting it to cruel use. That town will suffer from the revenge of many. Whilst letters are still allowed to pass, send me all you learn and if it is known what army is destined for us and if M. d'Autichamps is always in command. There is a restlessness in Paris and all over France. But I fear there will be the usual lack of prudence; the royalists ought not to show themselves until our avengers can support them, otherwise they will make but a useless splash. I am corresponding with your dear friend de Fribourg. She sent me yesterday the *Passage of the Rhine at Spire* by General Wurms. May God watch over all these heroes and confound all . . . who oblige them to expose their lives. [This phrase is not in the family copy but in the act of accusation.] The Regent has sent a manifesto to Santerre, but it will not be made public by the Government of Paris. Give me your news at once. Address your letter to Charlotte and put on the envelope the address I give you below. My parents embrace you, so do I with all my heart. The arrival of your letter was a *jeûne* for the whole house. Oh, mon Dieu! When shall we meet! Tell me much of yourself and of our dear *émigrés*. They are very dear to us.

The original of this is to be found in the Archives of the Revolutionary Tribunal. A copy is among the family papers, and I have another in the handwriting of her sister Augustine.

It is easy to imagine the combined excitement and vindictive triumph the discovery of this letter caused the members of the Comité de surveillance at Nancy. It was probably read out at the Club that evening, and discussed from various points of view. It was not the only suspicious circumstance that had come to their notice lately. Other letters, not so incriminating it is true, had been discovered; a mutiny had suddenly broken out in the regiment of scouts quartered at Nancy; in fact, everything to their mind pointed to an organised plot with the *émigrés* to cause an anti-revolutionary movement.

The soldiers had been arrested, the writers of previous letters interrogated, it remained only to discover and punish the author

of this treasonable correspondence. The only direct indication of identity was the signature 'Charlotte-Jeanne.' No one could identify the mysterious lady who wrote thus to a pretended grocer at Aix-la-Chapelle. Poor Citoyen Mathieu, whose name appeared on the incriminating document, was at once arrested. Naturally, the poor man in extreme terror denied all knowledge of the affair, but was finally frightened into the admission that he received and forwarded the correspondence of the de Rutant family, his predecessors had done the same, and he had never imagined any harm. Also that, though the de Rutants lived mostly at Saulxures, they had a house next door to his in the Place de la République, and finally he acknowledged that one of the young ladies was called Charlotte. This was enough. The trembling apothecary was allowed to go free for the moment, and an expedition was immediately organised to seize the offender before she could receive warning and escape from the country. Accordingly at eleven o'clock at night, on the 24th of April, the Mayor of Saulxures was dragged from his bed and requisitioned to conduct the patrol to the château, to put seals on the possessions, and to preside at the arrest, of the unfortunate *ci-devant* seigneur and his daughter. The mayor, in common with the rest of the commune of Saulxures, was devoted to the de Rutants, and it is certain that he must have undertaken his unpleasant task with great unwillingness and have made it as easy as he could for the prisoners. It is more than probable that he warned them of the impending trouble, as no incriminating papers were found, no letters from *émigrés*, nothing; and yet with all their friends and relations scattered in England, Belgium, Italy, they must have kept up a frequent correspondence with them through Mathieu or other means. Their protestations of innocence, however, availed them nothing, and father and daughter were incarcerated in the prison of the 'Précheresses,' once an old Dominican convent, in the street now known as the Rue Lafayette.

Next day, however, the mayor and municipality unanimously decided on a petition requesting the liberty of their *ci-devant* seigneur. Such a sign of respect and affection was rare enough in those days and deserved more recognition than it received. This was the declaration :

The Municipality of Saulxures hearing that their late seigneur the Citizen Rutant and his youngest daughter were arrested last night, have met to deliberate on this unforeseen occurrence. The procureur syndic considers that the Municipality should not endeavour to penetrate the motives that have caused this arrest, but at least they must bear witness to the private life of Citizen Rutant and his family. So the members of the Municipality declare with as much truth as satisfaction that Citizen Rutant has always given an example of submission to the decrees of the National Assembly, that no one can reproach him with an unpatriotic act, that on the contrary he has always exhorted his fellow citizens of Saulxures to peace : in fact he cannot be suspected of want of patriotism, as his only son is even now distinguishing himself with the army ; as we in common with all the public have learnt through the newspapers.

Here follow forty-four signatures, headed by those of the mayor and municipal authorities. Pulnoy, the neighbouring hamlet, rendered another testimony to the character of the de Rutants, one that was all the more touching for its uneducated style and spelling :

La communauté réunit en corps pour résoudre plusieurs affaires et sur tout à l'égard du Citoyen Rutant cy-devant seigneur du lieu ; pour rendre justice à son civisme apres avoir entendu qu'il est détenu à Nancy sans que la Commune en sache les causes, la ditte commune peut dire avec toutes vérité que le dit Citoyen Pierre Rutant ne sa jamais écarté des lois et qu'au contraire dans le moment qu'il falait des assemblées à Saulxures il a été nommé président par le peuple ce que les citoyens de Pulnoy peuvent certifier. En outre il peuvent dire que le citoyen Rutant n'a jamais fait aucun semblant de quitter son chateau pour s'emigrer, qu'au contraire il y a resté assidue pour faire battres les tresseaus de grain de toute espèce, pour en fournir aux indigents au prix de 37 à 28 (livres) tandis qu'on le vendait déja aux halle à Nancy 36 livre, ce qui prouve véritablement son soivisme, et la commune de Pulnoy ne peut que douter qu'il a été déclaré pour un autre et cy on lui accorde cette petition favorable celas ne sera que justice en foy de quoy avons signe.

[Here follow nine signatures.]

The brave appeal of the people of Saulxures and Pulnoy had no success. A few days after, on the 30th of April, two emissaries of the Convention, recently arrived at Nancy with unlimited authority, took up the affair, and issued the following warrant :

We Antoine Louis Levasseur and Francis Paul Nicholas Antoine deputed envoys of the National Convention to the department of the Meurthe and the Moselle sent by decrees dated last 9th of March, having examined two letters, one addressed to Aix-la-Chapelle and attributed to the girl Rutant ordinarily resident at Saulxures, and containing the most atrocious and anti-revolutionary sentiments traced in invisible ink, rendered visible by art, and forwarded to the Comité de surveillance of Nancy by that of Metz, the other attributed to the woman Guillaume addressed to her husband whose ordinary habitation is Nancy . . . thus after having deliberated and empowered by Article 8 of our code we command that the originals of the letters in question be given to the Justice of the Peace Dufresne, who will thereupon go to the village of Saulxures and take off the seals that have been placed on the papers belonging to the said Pierre Louis Rutant and his daughter Rutant now in prison in this town. The Justice will verify those papers that can be compared with the original letters, will hear the case, and such persons as he shall deem suitable, particularly Mathieu, apothecary of the Place de la Carrière, with regard to the girl Rutant. The said Charlotte Rutant is to be immediately taken under safe guard to the Paris revolutionary tribunal whither Dufresne will forward his proofs of conviction. Should the verification of the papers produce proofs or indications of a criminal correspondence on the part of Rutant père, we order that he shall be also conducted before this same tribunal, otherwise said Rutant will remain under arrest at Nancy until the National Convention orders otherwise.

Given and adjudged at Nancy,
April 30, 1793.

On the 2nd of May, Dufresne, taking with him Bertinet, the mayor, arrived at Saulxures to make an exhaustive search. He describes

* As this would lose by translation I give it in the original.

how he saw that the seals placed on the prisoner's effects were intact, and how he failed to find any documents of an incriminating nature in the room of Pierre Louis de Rutant 'looking on the garden.' The writing-table belonging to Charlotte should also have been searched, but she had taken away the key. Rather curiously, Dufresne, instead of breaking open the lock as might have been expected, waited till he could get the key from the prisoner.

He states that he thoroughly examined the effects of Charlotte Rutant in 'her room looking on the Avenue' and found nothing but some eighty pages of translation of the *Letters of Junius* and a washing bill signed 'Charlotte.' This he took away for the purpose of comparing the writing with that of the intercepted letter; the resemblance was striking, and Dufresne proceeded to further interrogate the accused. She denied absolutely all knowledge of the affair, and declared she had no correspondence with any *émigrés*. This is on the face of it unlikely. There were a few discrepancies; for instance, in the letter the author mentions her mother as living, whereas Madame de Rutant had been dead some years. Then the extremely faded state of the writing would make any unbiassed person hesitate before deciding that they were in the same hand as the *Letters of Junius*. But still the similarity is there and family tradition permits no doubt on the subject.

According to M. de Dumast, Charlotte was engaged at the beginning of the Revolution to a young officer in the King's Regiment at Nancy who emigrated in 1792. If this is true, her affectionate messages assume a different meaning, and she was one of the most innocent and touching victims of the Revolution. Family tradition, however, differs and states that she was engaged to the young Irishman in the 1st Footguards, Major George Bryan, who afterwards married her sister Augustine. Count Pierre de Rutant easily proved his innocence of all complicity in any plot, but was detained indefinitely in prison. Augustine in the meanwhile had not been idle, and besieged the authorities with petitions; her object being at least to defer, if she could not prevent, her sister's departure for Paris. She knew that once there, she would be taken before the dreadful tribunal established by the National Convention and already known as the Tribunal of Blood; and her chances of release would then be very slight. Augustine had an address printed in her father's name, of which the following are extracts:

Citizens! An unhappy father reduced to despair by the violation of those laws in which he trusted; in his sorrow appeals to the authorities charged with their execution. He implores them to use the constitutional power with which they are invested for the re-establishment of legal order.

Citizens, my daughter is accused! at least I must suppose so from her detention and the interrogation she has been made to undergo.

I do not propose to discuss the accusation in itself nor to inquire how an unsigned letter, without any precise indication to show that the author is the

person accused and who disowns it, a letter seized in violation of public trust, by a breach of confidence that the law declares infamous, and criminal and liable to severe punishment, can serve as a basis for a judicial inquiry—nor how, supposing the authorship verified, a personal sentiment expressed privately and surprised so to speak in the secrecy of the mind, could possibly form an object worthy of the censure of the law. But I understand (and this is the reason of my appeal) that my daughter is to be taken from the jurisdiction of her natural judges in order to be transferred to Paris and there taken before the revolutionary tribunal. The removal of even a single citizen from the jurisdiction of his natural judges is a violation of the rights of the people and a design against the power and functions of local authority. Citizens! to you therefore it belongs to oppose this violation.

It is not sufficient that my daughter should be removed from the jurisdiction of the local authorities, if I am to believe the rumour they wish to tear her from my care and affection. This blow is a very heavy one. Citizens! either I am suspected of complicity in the plot imputed to my daughter, in which case I should according to the law continue to share her captivity; or my examination must have proved me blameless and in that case I should be set at liberty, and allowed to travel freely whither my affection calls me.

What can be the object of my detention? Is it to deprive my young daughter, hardly more than a child, of the consolation and counsels of paternal love?

Cruelty such as this, equally barbarous as useless, cannot be in the spirit of the constitution, nor in the meaning of the law, nor in the heart of any individual in whom there remains one trace of humanity and justice.

I beg therefore that my daughter be left to the jurisdiction of her natural judges, and if against all expectation she is to be transferred, I ask that I may be permitted to follow her, either as a fellow prisoner, or at liberty as her natural defender, counsellor, and father—who signs in prison.

RUTANT.

This address met with no more success than its predecessors; in fact, the local authorities were powerless, and intimidated by the presence of envoys from the Convention in Paris invested with absolute power. These latter ordered Charlotte's instant removal to Paris if her state of health permitted. Grief and confinement had already affected a constitution none too robust, and Augustine easily persuaded the doctors consulted to report her sister's condition as serious. They must have guessed the young girl's life was at stake more than her health, and they appear to have risen to the occasion. The medical opinions on the case, of Drs. Lafitte, Gormand, Antoine, and Lafize, are entered in the dossier.

After having examined her [they report] we find the liver much congested, the pulse nervous, the chest very delicate, palpitations of the heart very frequent and brought on by the slightest movement. We do not think that she can travel without the greatest danger, and she ought to live in a healthy climate and follow a suitable treatment prescribed by her doctor.

There is something pathetic and ironical in the suggestion of her place of residence. They must have perfectly known the futility of such prescriptions to an aristocrat in the prisons of the Revolution. However, for the moment their verdict was accepted and Charlotte was left in oblivion, to linger in the prison of the Prêcheresses. Probably the Revolutionary Committee was occupied with more

important cases at the moment, and Augustine, nursing her sister back to health, hoped once more.

But an unfortunate incident brought their name again to notice and all hope was at an end. The gaoler, Laplaigné, was a horrible wretch, who spied on the prisoners and blackmailed and exploited them in every way. He probably had some private spite against the de Rutants. These latter, like many of their fellow-prisoners, had their meals brought in from outside by a servant. On one occasion M. de Rutant gave this man a roll of silk, requesting him to bring back another like it. Laplaigné noticed the silk was rolled round a piece of paper. This he removed and substituted the following document, which he then unfolded with great apparent excitement :

He is here for five or six days. He will return again to Metz until March, when he thinks that town will be no longer bearable. He tells us that in Luxembourg they are arranging for the division of France and that they are certain that Lorraine, the Trois Evêchés, and Alsace will belong to the Emperor. God wills it and we shall no longer have to suffer from these patriots. Those monsters of commissioners had not yet left yesterday. They spend their days here doing all the harm they possibly can.

No date and no signature.

Laplaigné boasted much of his find, but, though it was sent to Dufresne and added to the evidences for the prosecution, it was not thought worthy of much consideration.

But it had the undesirable result of drawing the attention of the paternal Government to the unfortunate prisoners of 'les Prêcheresses.' Marat-Manger was now in full power, ruling with a heavy hand. He had quickly disposed of all men of moderate tendencies, and the Club demanded the long-deferred execution of the orders of Antoine and Levasseur.

Accordingly, on the 7th of September 1793, the Captain Rampont and Gendarme Leprot received the order to 'withdraw the citoyenne Charlotte Rutant from the prison of the *ci-devant* Prêcheresses and to conduct her to Paris with the least possible delay.'

Augustine's grief was great, and after much pleading she was allowed to accompany her sister to Paris; but the poor father was detained at Nancy a prisoner, to suffer alone agonies of doubt and fear for the fate of his best-loved daughter. What poor Charlotte felt, who shall say? The letters must be left to speak for themselves, these faded letters that still show traces of the many tears that fell on them :

Paris: 12 Sept.

For my dear Father,—We arrived here yesterday, dear Papa, all safely and in good health. I expect I shall be taken this morning or at latest this afternoon to my destination, of which I am not yet positively certain. We were not able to see André and M. Perregaux before yesterday, and the latter I even did not see at all, but my sister has been to his house. These gentlemen think it not at all impossible that you will soon be set at liberty, I wish for this with all my

heart. Whatever comfort you may find in the society of our dear companions in misfortune I would much rather know you at Saulxures where your country surroundings would bring you peaceful and soothing distraction, and I feel there is more comfort there for the sorrows of the soul than can be found in the pleasantest society. I am resolved whilst in prison to see as few people as possible. I count on you, dear father, to excuse me to all our friends of whom I could not take leave before starting, but I had need of all my courage and was afraid of breaking down. Remember me above all to Mesdames Bryan and Masson and to our particular friends and to my poor Mignon whose interest in this affair has made my sorrows easier to bear. I recommend you above all to him and to Mesdames de Lathier et Coster. Oh, my father, how sad I was to leave you and to leave you in prison, Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! I am very grateful to my gaoler, he has carried out his orders with all possible humanity and goodness.

André's General is at St. Pélagie, where one is quite comfortable. My dear sister has taken near here a small lodging, close to the house of your unfortunate friend, who could not take her in, having hardly a room to herself in her own house. In any case prudence would have prevented my sister establishing herself there. At any rate, *mon ami*, all is for the best with the exception of this journey which separates me perhaps for long from you and all my friends. Dear Papa, Adieu! Ah! how hard it is to write that word! I embrace you with all my heart, but that is very heavy.

André, who has just arrived, tells us that I am to go at once to the Conciergerie. This is a blessing, as the affair will go more quickly.

CHARLOTTE.

From her original prison at St. Pélagie Charlotte was transferred to the Conciergerie, but she remained without news of her trial till the beginning of October, seeing her brother and sister frequently, and they in the intervals between their visits multiplied their attempts in her favour and paid short and distracted visits to the sights and monuments of the capital.

The report has not yet been made [wrote Augustine to her father on the 24th of September] because there has been a little holiday. We have reason to hope that it will be given soon and be favourable to us. If by any chance it turns out otherwise do not be disturbed, the one drawback will be the prolongation of our separation. I have just come from the Invalides, where everything is in perfect preservation and I saw every detail. To-morrow, or the day after, I go to see the King's Garden. As for the theatre I have been pressed to go there, but nothing will make me enjoy any of these things till my sister is in a state to accompany me. Till then it would seem to me horrible.

On the 25th, Charlotte tried, like her sister, to reassure her poor father by redoubling her tenderness as the decisive moment approached:

I cannot resist the lively desire I have to write to my excellent friend whose dear letter of the 21st I read with delight this morning. It pleased me for a hundred thousand reasons. To begin with it is very kind and shows me that he is in better health than I dared to hope for at the moment, and then it proves to me that I was not mistaken in counting on the affectionate zeal that our dear companions in misfortune have shown in their endeavours to soften the sorrow that our cruel separation causes my dear friend and over which I grieve always. I dare not tell Augustine I am writing, she would scold me since she has forbidden me to do so, but reflecting that you suffer as much as I do from this

privation, I have hastened to my horrible prison bureau for fear someone might come and prevent me! They encourage me to hope that soon I shall enjoy the happiness of embracing you. O mon Dieu! How distant is that moment! I beg you will scold your daughter when you write to her, as she will see nothing and do nothing while I am here. It's a great pity, as once this affair is settled I shall certainly not stay in this country longer than is absolutely necessary for my portrait to be done, and I wish I had already had a sitting that it might be finished the sooner. My stay in this town has greatly increased my liking for the country and even for solitude. I think with joy of our lovely woods, our little sitting-room! All the same if you must continue to dwell in the town I hope that even as a special favour I shall obtain permission to re-occupy my little room near yours. I long for that place, and I should find it very sweet to be reunited to you, *cher bon ami*, and to all the people I have left with so much regret. I had long hoped that the three strangers would obtain their freedom, but your last letter to our friend has proved the contrary. I pity with all my heart that interesting Mrs. Bryan for whom I have a real affection. Tell her so, I beg of you. Were I only happy enough to be of some use to her here, I should not so much regret this odious journey. When you write to *ma bonne amie*, ask her what has become of the young flute-player. I am very glad he is not here with me. Adieu, *mon excellent ami*, if I see you soon I shall no longer believe that happiness is a myth. I embrace you with all my heart and I entreat you to take care of your precious health. I see André every day and sometimes he shares my breakfast. He does his utmost for me and he is more generous than I could have been. I am very grateful to him.

CHARLOTTE.

Meantime the end was approaching. The delays there had been up to now in judging the prisoner were caused by the Revolutionary Tribunal being absorbed by two other affairs which excited public enthusiasm and in the echoes of which hers was overlooked. In the Conciergerie, Charlotte de Rutant found herself the neighbour of the Queen of France and the Girondins whose cases were proceeding at the same time as hers and were to be judged shortly after. Nevertheless she was not forgotten. On the 13th of September she underwent a preliminary examination before the Judge Dobsent, as a sequel to which the suspicious writings were put in the hands of two experts, Joseph Harget and Nicholas Blin. On the 29th of September the experts published their report, where they stated that the incriminating letter had been written by the same hand as the washing-bill and the translation of the *Letters of Junius*. Thereupon Fouquier-Tinville drew up his act of accusation which was communicated to Charlotte the 2nd of October, as she tells us herself:

October 2nd.

I have received my act of accusation this morning. Very soon I shall be judged, and the knowledge I have of these judges, the examples I have before my eyes every day, do not leave me much reason to hope. I think they would have had no pretext to accuse me, had they been just; but they are far from deserving this title and I expect the worst. I have long desired exile in the hopes of living in a country where they know how to obey the laws and where they have some sort of courage in which the whole of France is lacking. Now that I know that I may have to stay in prison, in this most dreadful town, until the time of exile, I feel I should prefer a more speedy death; which would afflict

you but would at least not cause you the terrible fears that you cannot help having, knowing me here or at the Salpêtrière. All the same you must get used to this idea, as I shall not have the choice of punishment. Whatever my sentence may be, I shall hear it without fear or shrinking and undergo it in a way that will be worthy of my unfortunate father and myself. Neither you, *mon ami*, or any of our friends who have shown me so much affection shall have reason to blush for me, I swear it! Do not give way to too much grief, remember that you have still two children who deserve, more than you can possibly think, all your tenderness. Ah! *mon Dieu*! how dear they both are to me. Tell them so, my father, and the three of you console each other. If I die (which they do not yet think to be the case) I only regret life because I should leave behind me relations and friends who will still suffer many evils, it is all I see! If I am only exiled I have heard this evening that the prison in which I am most likely to be detained until the peace is not even as severe as this one." One of my companions was sent there yesterday and is very pleased. That is a ray of hope for you, *mon bon, mon excellent Père*. As for me, deprived of the happiness of seeing you, it matters little where I live. If I only had the prospect of sharing your solitude, until the time they wish to send me further, I should be too happy. *Bonsoir, mon cher bon Ami*, until the decisive moment I shall write to you every day. I met here the citizens Dupret and Mainviel who have shown me much kindly interest. They are Girondins. They maintain my courage by praising it more than it deserves, and I love them for it.

October 8rd.

I have seen my counsel this morning, *mon tendre Père*, he thinks your daughter will be spared. I do not dare adopt this idea, it is too consoling, but whatever the fate in store for me, if I could but see you again, and if but once again I could feel myself clasped in your arms it would be more than joy. My two good friends, Augustine and André, work and agitate for me with all their hearts and I feel deeply all they do for me. In this case gratitude is so sweet that I hope all my life never to discharge my debt to them. I entreat you to be brave, *O mon meilleur Ami*, who is there who does not need to be so in these times? There are some who have no single consolation left to help them bear their life, you have still two. *Adieu, Mon Ami*.

On this same 8rd of October, the Minister of Justice, Gohier, incited without doubt by some denunciation, wrote to Fouquier-Tinville to ask for news of the prisoner from Nancy. 'Citizen! Charlotte de Rutant has been convicted of correspondence with the enemy, I do not know where she is, but I demand if she is not in Paris she should be taken there at once.' Gohier's letter bears the following endorsement: 'Answered the 4th, that the evidence has been received and that the girl Rutant shall be judged on Saturday, 5th.'

Augustine and André redoubled their efforts, multiplied their applications, prodigal with money at this critical moment. In a short and convincing pamphlet, entitled *Observations rapides d'après lesquelles il ne peut y avoir lieu à accusation contre Charlotte Rutant*, the untiring sister made the remarks I have already quoted on the writing and composition of the intercepted letter, adding another very truthful one on the character of Charlotte herself. 'The *Letters of Junius*,' she says, 'speak in her favour. One must love liberty very much and very honestly to find pleasure in the perusal of the writings of one who denounced so vigorously the excess and abuse

of power.' Charlotte let them do their best and thanked them, receiving with sweetness the words of hope and marks of sympathy showered on her by the witnesses of her courage and misfortune, particularly by the daughter of the concierge Richard and by the two Girondins, with whom she conversed every day through the grating that at the Conciergerie separated the men and the women. But she had little hope, and thought only of meeting the supreme trial with courage :

Oct. 4th. Après-midi.

To-morrow, without fail, my fate will be decided, *mon excellent Père*, and as I require all my courage to stand and face a crowd of people mostly more disposed to severity than mercy, I will not write to you to-morrow morning. This is very likely the last letter I shall ever write to you, for if they condemn me to perpetual imprisonment I shall be deprived of this one consolation. If this letter reaches you and if you cannot look forward to the happiness of embracing your poor Charlotte, rest assured that at least faith and honour, which she will never lose sight of, will sustain her in any case. Courage ! and still more courage and resignation ! and God, to whom I pray without ceasing for my Father and my friends, will not abandon us ! Say Farewell to all for me, *mon Ami*. If it is beyond my power to see them again, let them know at least that I always think of them and shall never forget them. I trust to your goodness to execute the wishes of your unhappy daughter, with the exception of that concerning Augustine. As my property will be confiscated, it is no longer possible. Console my sister, my dearly-loved sister, whose grief tortures me. You must yet be happy, *mon meilleur Ami*, in making the happiness of your two devoted children. If you deserve to be their Father, they are also worthy of being your children.

This letter, interrupted by Augustine's advent, was finished in the evening :

Friday night.

I have just spent a little more time with my dear sister, *mon cher Papa* ; she has told me nothing. She spoke to me only from the fulness of her heart. *Adieu / mon Père, mon Ami, Adieu pour jamais, Adieu !* I have so much trust in God that I am quite calm and quite resigned. Remember me and say Farewell to all those who have had the goodness to be interested in my misfortunes. It is to them and to their loving care I leave you.

CHARLOTTE DE RUTANT.

These are the last words of Charlotte de Rutant that ever reached Lorraine. They are written with as firm a hand as the *Letters of Junius*, but another trembling hand has written on top of the first page 'The two last letters of my dear Charlotte.' The paper is all stained. It is a relic that has been cherished with many prayers and many tears.

Many writers have described the hall where the Revolutionary Tribunal sat in judgment and the proceedings of the Court, but of personal description of the trial of Charlotte de Rutant there is but little to be found. Her relations' letters were very guarded and reticent, possibly from motives of prudence. From the official report of the case we learn that she appeared before the tribunal the 5th of October 1793. Dobsent presided, but the real power lay in the hands of Fouquier-Tinville, the Public Prosecutor. She was

immediately preceded by two cattle drivers, the brothers Bellenger, who returning to their country after taking cattle to Metz for provisioning the army had passed through Paris. Lost in the city they had inquired for an inn and were taken to one by the citizen Jean Denis, called 'Sans-Chagrin,' with whom they drank freely and whose drinks they paid for. After which Sans-Chagrin denounced them as having said that they would avenge the death of the King, and place the Dauphin on the throne, and that Charlotte Corday was a good woman who had done well to slay a blackguard. The two unfortunates condemned to death protested that they were not Royalists but good Republicans. All the way to the scaffold they never stopped shouting *Vive la République*.

This shows how much the citizen Sans-Chagrin was to be believed and also the tendency of the tribunal that was to judge Charlotte de Rutant. This is the *résumé* of her examination :

To the questions asking her name, country, family, &c., she answered that she was called Charlotte-Jeanne de Rutant, that she was twenty-two years old, that she lived with her father, a *ci-devant* noble at Saulxures, that she had a brother and sister both unmarried, that her brother was aged twenty-four, and in Paris as aide-de-camp to General Biron and on leave because of wounds. She again denied any knowledge of the intercepted letter and the paper seized by Laplaigné.

Charlotte said she had no correspondence with the *émigrés* since May 1792, that before that she wrote to Mme. d'Absac at Luxembourg.

On being asked her opinion and her father's on the French Revolution, she replied that her father and she desired only their own tranquillity and the peace and happiness of France. Asked if they received much company, replied, 'Very little, more women than men.' Asked if she knew that at Luxembourg they were working for the dismemberment of France, answered that no one had told her so. Asked if she had spoken ill of the patriots, replied that the patriots had done her no harm, that before her arrest the commissioners had not hurt her, and that she never called them monsters.

No other witnesses were examined and no evidence was required beyond the papers covered with pale writing, that had become almost invisible since the month of May, and the note found in the ball of silk. The charge, which a clerk read out, was short and limited to the discovery of the two documents, especially the first and most incriminating.

'What can still be read,' said Fouquier-Tinville, 'proves easily enough the tendency of the author. It appears this letter was addressed by the said Charlotte Rutant to one of her exiled relations and that they plotted together for means to destroy the Republic, which is sufficiently proved by contents of aforesaid letter, &c.'

After some remarks of the defendant's counsel, Chaveau-Lagarde, the two following questions were put to the jury :

(1) Is it certain that in the department of the Meurthe it has been customary to keep up a system of information and plotting with the enemies of France with a view of favouring the success of their arms on Republican territory?

(2) Is Charlotte-Jeanne Rutant convicted of having taken part in this understanding, in having kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic?

The reply consists of a short sentence, signed Dobsent: 'The jury declares in the affirmative on the above questions, the 5th of October 1793.'

Sentence was immediately passed. What it was and how it was executed the official report of the officer Turrart leaves us, alas, in no possible doubt:

I, Turrart, the usher of the Criminal Tribunal, was present in the Court of Justice of said Tribunal to witness the execution of the sentence passed by the Tribunal yesterday, the 5th, against the prisoner Charlotte-Jeanne Rutant that condemned her to death, whereupon we delivered her to the executioner of capital sentences and to the gendarmerie, who led her to the 'Place de la Révolution' of this city, where on a scaffold erected in the said 'place,' the said Charlotte-Jeanne de Rutant in our presence suffered the penalty of death.

TURRART (Signed).

This was entered under the heading 'Official report on execution of death sentence—1793, 2^e year of the République.'

In the original French many curious mistakes are to be noticed. There is no month given and Charlotte-Jeanne is mentioned twice over as 'he.' The guillotine and its agents were as yet only accustomed to masculine victims. Charlotte was the fifth woman condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal, the second since Charlotte Corday and the immediate predecessor of Marie-Antoinette, who followed her to the scaffold after an interval of ten days, as though Fouquier-Tinville wished to strengthen his hand with practice before striking his greatest victim.

The years have passed away. The generation that remembered the Revolution no longer exists, old memories, old traditions, all have faded, and now in her beloved Saulxures only a few very old people recall the stories they have heard of 'Mademoiselle Charlotte,' and tell with reverence the tales of the goodness and bravery of the family of the *ci-devant* lords of the soil. For now, alas, strangers live at the old château and the family of de Rutant is extinct. But Charlotte deserves to be not quite forgotten, at least in her native land; so long as there are any left who can feel pity for such tragic destinies or admiration for the high courage that could enable a mere girl to meet a shameful death with as much bravery as any of the heroes of Lorraine who fell facing the foe on the field of battle—and whose fame will live in prose and verse for ever.

GWENDOLINE BELLW.

THE AMATEUR ARTIST

'THEY viewed the country with the eyes of persons accustomed to drawing, and decided on its capability of being formed into pictures with all the eagerness of real taste. A lecture on the picturesque followed, and he talked of foregrounds, distances and second distances, side screens and perspectives.'

Mr. Tilney was the 'he,' and he was talking to Catherine Morland. How intelligent and interesting their conversation sounds! Does the young lady of to-day hear the like observations from her partners? Does she even know the exact meaning of 'side screens' and 'second distances' herself?

The period of Mr. Tilney is more than a hundred years ago, but it is bridged over for us; we can still meet with those who were the young ladies of the sixties and fifties, and who retained in some measure the Tilney tradition. We can still see their water-colour sketches and, by looking at these products of the Victorian era, we become more conscious of the decay of amateur art in our own.

It is evident that in Mr. Tilney's eyes the choice of a suitable subject and the making of a picture, not a study, were the principal points of importance to the artist. This tradition continued for another fifty years or so; and if the amateurs of the later date did not set themselves to work with quite the same cold-blooded paraphernalia of second distances, side screens, and perspectives, still they looked for a subject that would make a picture. Ruins had an almost fatal attraction for them; rustic bridges, groups of forest trees with glimpses of historic mansions, rocky dells (happily not quite so frequent), lakes romantically surrounded by hills—such were the subjects that appealed to them. The chosen subjects of to-day are only too well known; the wide stretch of sea and sand, the solitary haystack, the marshland with the horizon lying very high up, and the bit of road leading from nowhere to nowhere.

From a recent study of an amateur exhibition I find that the attitude towards the picture which has a definitely composed subject

is not only one of distaste but of strong moral condemnation, because a definitely composed subject is not a humble and reverent study of nature. But to my mind the old-fashioned amateur water-colour sketches showed in some respects a more genuine observation of nature than do those of the present day. In spite of their disregard of tone, these early water colours breathe a real sense of beauty, a feeling not only for a pleasing composition, but for harmonious colouring and delicate outline.

Harmonious! delicate! Did ever anyone hear such words at a Government school of art? 'Strong' and 'bold' were the only complimentary adjectives I ever heard applied, and the more muddy the colour and undefined the form, the 'stronger' the picture appeared to become.

Sixty years ago, when the amateur studied art, she began by drawing outlines; later, these outlines were shaded in pencil; then followed studies in sepia; and finally she arrived at water-colour painting. Oils were unsuitable for ladies; there was something professional, almost indecorous, about them. I cannot but feel that the early Victorians showed some of their usual good sense in this opinion.

In the Tilney period there was, I suppose, a traditional standard of elegance and taste; there was a conventional scheme of colouring which the amateur would naturally make use of; no violent colouring was seemly in water colours. Sixty years later you still painted the summer foliage in raw sienna and the grass in yellow ochre, feeling, I believe, as strong a conviction of the accuracy of your representation of nature, as do the students of our day with their unmitigated greens—a conviction, perhaps, not altogether unjustifiable.

We may say roughly that the difference between the old tradition of amateur art and our own is that the past generation aimed at representing beauty, we at representing truth. Needless to say we have none of us attained our ideal, but I think that the ideal they set before themselves was the more suitable one. They very frequently produced something that was pretty. I never can understand why people object to having their pictures called pretty, by which I mean beautiful in a rather limited and conventional sense. It is something definite to have attained even to prettiness, and not many of us get much further. We feel that after thirty years of art schools there should be many thousands of women who know and like what is pretty, or who, at any rate, know and dislike what is flagrantly hideous. How is it, then, that motor caps, the modern artistic photographs, electric light, the fancy department at the Army and Navy Stores (to name at random a few abuses), are still amongst our most popular institutions? It seems as if our art education had done but little to form taste. Have we had a really

artistic and beautiful style of dress since the death of the last crinoline, or a really distinguished style of doing the hair since the days of the chignon? Have we made any protest against the growth of advertisements or the demolition of the remnants of beauty in the suburbs?

I have spoken in this paper of the student as 'she,' because the amateur artist is generally a woman, or perhaps, one might put it, because the women artists are generally amateurs. I have occasionally tried to find out what becomes of the innumerable figures in long pinafores that idle away their time so gaily for a few years in the schools of art. Do they generally become professional artists? No the greater number of them drift into philanthropy, matrimony, or inactivity. Therefore, in considering the art education given to women, we must think of it generally as given to amateurs, and the amateur's art education is to my mind fully as important as the professional's.

There is a tendency nowadays to look down on amateurs and to drive anyone with a little talent into the ranks of unsuccessful professionals. We can imagine that if Jane Eyre had been showing her portfolio, with its curious collection of corpses, cormorants, and heads inclined on icebergs, in the year 1909, Mr. Rochester would have said, 'Oh, but you ought to take it up professionally; you ought to go and study at a school of art,' and we may guess that once at the school of art there would have been no more curious things to show; the masters would have been too puzzled. It took, indeed, much less to puzzle them. The subjects for the Sketch-Club had in my time to be almost exclusively taken from the Old Testament, out of consideration for their limitations. On one occasion *Sintram* was chosen; but the criticism was so ambiguous that it was found necessary to return to *Abraham and Isaac*.

The amateur should learn from her artistic education to find pleasure in natural beauty, in good pictures, and in architecture; she should, in fact, try and recover and transmit to her descendants the elegant tastes of Mr. Tilney. Does the education she receives at the schools of art help her to do this?

The student on first arriving has probably in her head the old-fashioned notion of an outline to be coloured, but this is instantly dispelled; for in as far as the schools have any ruling principle it is that there are no lines anywhere, but only different masses of tone. She is plunged into difficulties of light and shade before her eye has had any training in proportion, and for months she is floundering about trying to acquire two terribly difficult ideas at the same time. Now, as most women are without a natural sense of form, she will probably emerge with some understanding of tone, and none whatever of drawing. I was confronted at the beginning of my studies with

a colossal mouth. Could anything be more unsuitable for the beginner than an object swelled beyond all proportion and taken out from its proper surroundings? After some studies in charcoal of chunks of the human frame, I was set to do charcoal heads from the antique. After all too few of these I was provided with stumps, and then came hours and hours and days and days of work upon one head, of finishing when one had scarcely knowledge enough to begin; and oh! how weary were the five hours at the studio for those whose irrepressible consciences forced them to work. The next stage was to stump the heads of models; the model came for a month, and we stumped his head for sixty hours. Then came drawing from the full-length model. Here all would have been interesting had we been allowed to vary the poses, but the models generally refused to do anything but sit classically or stand heroically with a pointer in the hand, and it was considered rather inhumane to ask them even for a back view. The final stage of the curriculum was of course oil painting from life. There was no attempt at differentiation of the pupils; we were all regarded in the light of embryo portrait painters. 'But,' said the amateur of fifty years ago—now an old lady with an interest in art—'do you want to paint portraits?' 'No,' said I; 'I want to do landscapes.' 'But why don't they teach you that? When I was young we had a master who took us out to paint from nature.'

It is true that one summer we did have some sketching lessons once a week, but they were not considered an important part of our art training, and we had the same harassed master with too many pupils and three minutes to bestow on each. At the first lesson he selected my subject for me, after which I was considered to have received sufficient instruction on this most important point, and henceforth chose for myself, one lank fir-tree emerging from a shrubbery, a sand-pit covered with ragwort, and the like. I was told to put a few dots and dashes to 'place my sketch,' and then to fill my brush chock-full of colour and water, and put in what I saw 'straight away.' But it needs a very skilful water colourist to manipulate a large brush slopping over with wet paint; even if I had had an outline to go by, I should have streamed about all over it. As it was, I put in a general impression, which even to my inexperienced eye was quite unlike what I saw, covered up my paper somehow, and had finished.

Of course the idea of 'putting in' your picture irrevocably right at the first moment is the proper ambition of every painter, but it is quite impossible for the beginner to attempt it, and attempting the impossible makes her perforce content with a lower standard than is necessary..

We remember in Miss Yonge's novels the heroine takes up her

pencil to draw with loving hand the venerable tower of the cathedral. That was the day of the Gothic revival, and no heroine but could tell the differences of Decorated and Perpendicular at a glance. Students of our day do not learn about architecture: it might be the Chinese revival for all they know. A building is for them simply a mass of tone, and any detail would be 'breaking up' and worrying the mass. We were never given any instruction in the history of art, the old masters might have been non-existent for all we heard of them.

The only really delightful and interesting part of the instruction was the design class once a week. It was not compulsory, and we chose our own subjects and worked at them as we liked. The general tendency in subjects in my time was towards the Pied Piper or herds of swine throwing themselves into the sea.

It is always easier to find out the faults of a system than to suggest remedies. But it would be a real improvement, I think, to have more variety in the course; to make studies of flowers, of drapery, of architectural ornaments; to copy drawings of the old masters, to visit the National Gallery in the company of a master and be taught to study the style of different artists; to be made to pose the model, and to learn the composition of groups of figures by the posing of several students together.

But to my mind reform is most needed in the matter of the master's daily visit; the master whose pathetic and imperturbable politeness to all the students was a convincing proof of his lack of interest in any.

At the beginning of her career the student wants someone buzzing at her elbow every five minutes, as her drawing will continually be wrong, and she will have no knowledge of her own to enable her to correct it. In due course a power of self-criticism comes, and she should not need a master to tell her she has made one eye larger than the other; and, as she progresses, she wants more and more time to herself to work out her own style and her own ideas. But at whatever stage she is, the master appears with clockwork regularity to give her a lesson of two minutes. Would not half an hour once a week have been of far more value to her? She could then have shown him work that was really her own; she could have received the entirely individual attention which is felt to be essential in the teaching of the other arts. None of my school of art teachers made me feel that my progress was a thing of supreme importance to them, nor did they make me feel it was of supreme importance to myself. Yet surely the only really essential part of teaching is to fill the student with an overmastering enthusiasm.

The student who has attained an average amount of proficiency at the beneficent institution blessed by our Government may, on leaving, be capable of doing a third-rate portrait under a master's

eye. With this knowledge she begins to paint landscapes from nature with no one to help her. The Victorian amateurs had, as I have said, tradition to help them: they worked with masters who had inherited certain styles of painting from the great landscape painters of former days. The students of to-day have no opportunity of knowing the favourite styles of our school of art masters, because they did not paint before the pupils, and they did not direct us to have any style. I am told that at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* at Paris a rigid conformity of style is insisted on and no individuality is encouraged in the student. It may be thought that this would result in a crushing of all originality; but real originality and character will always come out, and will be strengthened by the student having thoroughly mastered one style of technique.

I see in those old water colours the strong influence of Prout, de Windt, and the charming and much despised Birkett Foster. The towns of the amateur ladies have caught from Prout his romantic spirit; they might be towns of ballads and fairy tales; whereas in our modern sketches of streets one can only feel that if a motor-car came round the corner no one need be surprised. De Windt taught our predecessors the beauty of the heavy richness of August foliage; Birkett Foster, the delight of the multitudes of small leaves casting little spots of shadow on the ground. What a real joy the old artists had in the scenes they painted! I think it must be on that account that they seem so real. When I feel the peace of English villages or the luxuriance of summer leaves I am often reminded of these old water colours. I am never reminded of the modern ones even by nature in her ugliest moods.

Our modern amateurs would despise the idea of this or that subject being suitable for them; they do, indeed, 'rush in where angels fear to tread.' Who has not seen their representations of heather with purple hills in the distance—of June in all its greenness spread out under the most cobalt of skies? In composition they have had practically no training. If you are continually doing a life-size head on a certain sized canvas, all the composition you can get will be the moving of the head half an inch to one side or another. The art of composition, which consists in eliminating certain things from the landscape and adding others, is rejected by this generation as unworthy. Truth, not beauty, is their aim. Truth and beauty may be essentially one, but it would be rash to say that the truth of the modern amateurs has any connection with beauty. It is all very well for established artists like Brangwyn, or Sargent, or Augustus John to make as many experiments in ugliness as may seem good in their eyes, but I am speaking of the ordinary little people who will never be anything better than amateurs. Why should they be making their small efforts to be ugly too? I suppose it would not

be well, even if it were possible, to return to the style and point of view of one hundred or even fifty years ago. Each generation must have its own way of looking at things, and we are told that ours has made some progress. Without, however, entirely imitating our forefathers, I wish we could become imbued with their sense of beauty. If our education would but give us that, I should feel that no more important work was being done in the country than teaching art to the amateur.

A. M. MAYOR.

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A. M. MAYOR.

THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

I. A CONSULTATIVE CHAMBER OF WOMEN

THE establishment of the National Women's Anti-Suffrage League is to many of us an event of great and cheering importance; and there seems much reason to hope that here, as in America, the united efforts of educated and thoughtful women may prove a sufficient barrier in the path of the electoral revolution with which we are threatened. But some of the supporters and well-wishers of the League feel that the question before us is not simply whether women should or should not have votes, but the much larger and more complicated problem of the right division of labour between men and women generally, and of the most effectual and otherwise suitable method by which 'the woman's view' of matters of national importance may be ascertained and a truly feminine influence brought to bear upon the counsels of the nation.

It seems to be often assumed that those who object to votes for women must do so on the ground that women have, and should have, no interest and no voice in affairs of national and political importance—that our objection to 'female suffrage' is, in short, the outcome of a wish that women should confine their attention entirely to domestic matters.

This is an entire misapprehension of the grounds on which many of us are combining to protest against the proposed change. Our opposition is grounded quite as much on the desire to preserve and intensify purely feminine influences on public life as on the fear lest public affairs should draw away the time and attention of women from the yet more profoundly important matters for which they are primarily responsible. True it is that this latter fear is a grave one. In a former article¹ I dwelt on the serious dangers inseparable from the modern desire that women should have careers apart from, and largely incompatible with, the domestic vocation which used to be their supreme ideal. But even in that article I suggested the possibility of some constitutional channel for the expression of women's opinions. While feeling as strongly as ever the dangers before us,

¹ 'Women and Politics,' NINETEENTH CENTURY, February 1907.

my present object is to disentangle, if possible, the element of right and reasonable desire for some truly feminine share in the national counsels from the rash and violent struggle for political power, whose present methods we view with shame and dismay.

All right-minded women would probably wish to occupy, whether in national or domestic affairs, the position of invited and trusted counsellors. To claim as a right an equal share of legislative power is not only a different thing; it is a thing quite incompatible with the occupation of the position of invited counsellors.

I believe that many of the women now supporting the comparatively reasonable forms of agitation for 'female suffrage' are asking for that change chiefly for want of clearly recognising this distinction. They feel, with abundant reason, that it is absurd and mischievous that voting power (which from year to year becomes more and more distinctly political power) should be given to men of no education at all, while women of the highest intelligence and cultivation, and often of large experience in the very matters most urgently requiring legislation, should remain without any recognised channel for the expression of their opinions and wishes as to measures of national importance. But many of them seem never to have separated the idea of co-operation from that of competition in the region of politics, or to have recognised the possibility that a consultative voice might be far more effectual than a mere share in electoral power. In short, I believe that a consultative Chamber of Women, recognised by Parliament, would satisfy many of the women who are now taking it for granted that votes are the only possible channel for the expression of their opinion on legislative questions.

In opposing the cry for 'female suffrage' one is much hampered by the ambiguity of the term. Many of those who discuss it are far from being clear in their own minds, or at least explicit in their language, as to what it amounts to and involves. I have met with women whose enthusiasm for removing a disability grounded on sex was suddenly changed into consternation when it was pointed out to them that the ultimate object of the revolutionaries was to give the vote to all women, whether married or single. It is useless to discuss the probable effect of 'female suffrage' in the abstract and apart from the question how far it is to go, and whether it is ultimately to involve co-representation (if I may coin such a word) in Parliament. For my own part, I should feel less objection to a Parliament composed of men and women, even in joint session, than I do to the thought of women contending with men for the election of one male representative rather than another, neither of whom can possibly be really competent to interpret feminine opinion. Such a plan seems to me to combine the maximum of deterioration with the minimum of effect.

I suppose that no one who has considered the subject very seriously

expects that votes for women householders alone would ever be accepted as a final solution of the problem. 'Adult suffrage' and women in Parliament (as well as everywhere else—in short, the obliteration of all distinctions of sex) must be considered as the goal at which the present agitation is aiming. For reasons given in my former article above referred to, it seems to me of the first importance that the special province of each sex should be clearly defined, and that girls should be trained in the first place to occupy rightly the province which Nature has allotted to them. But is it conceivable that those whose highest ideal for women is the motherly and sisterly office should fail to feel what would be the infinite value of any method by which such influences could, without injury to feminine character, be brought to bear upon legislation?

It seems to me that it could not be beyond the skill of constitutional experts to devise such a method, if three main conditions were kept in view, on each of which I will say a few words. They are as follows:

1. The political office of women should be purely consultative, not legislative.
2. Women should be elected to fill this office by women only.
3. The representatives thus chosen should deliberate in a separate chamber.

1. My dream would be that a certain number of representative women (say two for each county) should meet during the session of Parliament to consider, revise, and suggest amendments to any Bills sent to them by either House, at its own discretion. These would, of course, be chiefly Bills relating to social subjects, and especially those peculiarly affecting women and children, *e.g.* educational, sanitary, and poor-law measures; such Bills to be returned to the House in which they originated, by which the women's suggestions could be either adopted or rejected as the House saw fit. The influence of the deliberately declared (and fully reported) judgment of the Women's Chamber, or Council, could not fail to be very powerful; and if the women did their part with wisdom and prudence, it might be beneficial beyond anything we can at present foresee.

The women would also naturally have power to propose or suggest Bills, as well as to criticise those on which their judgment was desired by either of the present Houses. All details would be easily worked out if once the principle were frankly acknowledged that the office of women in public affairs should be consultative, not legislative.

This principle flows naturally from the inevitable preoccupation of women with domestic matters, and their resulting lack of knowledge and experience in many departments of business and politics. Let the opening of 'careers' to women go as far as is conceivable, it can never alter the fact that the whole burden of domestic life—including the care, whether in their own families or as a profession, of children,

the sick, and the poor—must rest mainly upon women; and however highly we may rate the physical strength and the mental powers of women, they can scarcely be supposed to be so far greater than those of men as to make it possible for them to carry on at the same time the burdens of public and of domestic life. The women who could bring the necessary leisure and experience to the consideration of public affairs would as a rule be past the prime of life; and it would be sheer waste and absurdity for them to attempt to grapple with all the technical business and details with which Parliament has to deal; while on some parts of its work the rapid insight and sympathies of women, as well as their special experience, might qualify them to make most illuminating suggestions.

An avowedly consultative Women's Chamber would involve none of the possibilities of strife and rivalry which are so obviously inseparable from the mere addition of women (in a considerable majority) to the electorate. It would certainly lead to a greatly increased mutual acquaintance and (if the members composing it were tolerably well chosen) to higher mutual esteem between the sexes. It would afford a valuable training for women, and it might set an example, which would not be without its influence on the present Houses of Parliament, of detachment from party spirit, and of an interest concentrated solely on the moral and social effects of the measures under consideration. It would supply in many directions a practical knowledge and appreciation of details which is scarcely possible to men; and while exempt by its very constitution from the temptation to strive for power, and from the practical emergencies of a governing body, it would not the less tend to purify and elevate the tone of Parliamentary debate, by importing into it some reflection of that domestic criticism which goes so far to restrain the haste and to correct the judgment of the masculine mind in private life. We should thus be modelling our national counsels on the pattern of a harmonious home.

The main reason, after all, for giving to the Women's Chamber a consultative character only, and leaving the final responsibility of legislation and executive government with men, is that the old proverb is still true, 'When two ride on one horse, one must ride behind.' The modern impatience of any kind of subordination or discipline, which kicks against this obvious truth, seems to some of us to be sapping the very foundations of morality.

2. The Representative Women should be elected by women alone.

It seems obviously desirable that each sex should elect its own representatives. Whatever else is doubtful as to the relation of the sexes, it is matter of everyday experience that the judgment of either sex about individuals of the other is liable to errors from many causes other than mere lack of information. As long as anything like a division of labour and distinction of provinces is kept up between

the sexes, women will of necessity be unable to judge, except at secondhand, of much of the professional or business character of men; and men will be equally at a loss to estimate for themselves the success or failure of women in the purely feminine occupations in which the majority of them are still engaged. And, in addition to this mutual ignorance, the forces of personal attraction and repulsion tend to disturb and bias the judgment which people of different sexes form of one another.

If the women composing a consultative Chamber were to be elected by what might be called *feminine* suffrage, the vote could be safely given to any number of women, married as well as single. There would be no disturbance of family peace by differences of opinion between husbands and wives when the women's vote was to be given for their own Representative only. And all the arrangements for recording the women's votes could be made with special attention to the proprieties as well as the convenience of those concerned. Meetings to which no men should be admitted, and elections carried on with equal privacy, need have no tendency to lower the dignity or overstrain the physical powers of the electresses.

3. The third condition—that the women elected should meet and deliberate in a separate Chamber of their own—obviously follows from the other two. In such a Chamber alone would the true 'woman's view' be taken, and the true woman's voice heard. In a mixed assembly of men and women, of the size of our present Parliament, no woman would have much chance of making herself heard; and the excitement of debate on contentious matters could not but act disastrously on feminine nerves. We have had but too painful and degrading an exhibition in the last few months of the intoxicating effect of such excitement on women of a certain stamp. The presence of violent and excited women would not raise the tone of either House of Parliament, while they might themselves be irretrievably injured by their exertions.

But the deliberations of a carefully chosen and limited number of Representative Women might be conducted with a high degree of method and calmness. It is, perhaps, not very generally known that such an experiment was actually tried for more than a hundred years by the Society of Friends, whose supreme legislative authority had always been the Yearly Meeting, of which all men Friends were members, though the number attending it has usually not been a tenth part of the actual membership of the Society. Until 1907 there had for more than a century existed, side by side with the Yearly Meeting proper, a Women's Yearly Meeting without legislative power, in which, however, all matters of interest to the Society generally were considered, and whose discussions were fully reported in the Quaker periodicals. There had from the very beginning of the Society been separate Women's monthly and quarterly meetings, in which certain

matters specially belonging to women were considered, especially the care of the poor and of children, and any matters affecting the character or conduct of women members—preliminaries to marriages, etc.

These separate Women's meetings are to a considerable extent being absorbed into joint meetings, in which men and women deliberate together and on equal terms. The change is a matter of regret to many; it has not been fully carried out in the smaller meetings, and in the Yearly Meeting it is too recent for its results to be as yet fully apparent. What is certain is that the old plan of a separate chamber of women was a very valuable part of the Quaker Parliament, and that the women's judgment, though technically inoperative, had very great influence and weight. It had certainly a strongly educative effect on the women themselves, whose proceedings were as orderly and as fully recorded as those of the men.

There was also a curious practice by which it not seldom happened that one or more men Friends would pay a visit to the Women's Meeting, or one or more women to the Men's Meeting. I cannot doubt that these communications had often a special value—partly owing to their being rather infrequent. Even this practice might suggest the possibility of occasional deputations with messages between the Houses of Parliament and a Women's Chamber, in any cases in which the matter in hand could be better explained by word of mouth than in writing.

There are, however, some peculiarities of Friends' meetings which make them by no means a parallel to our Houses of Parliament. The Friends' comparatively modern plan of joint meetings, while it doubles the size of the legislative body and gives women a nominally equal share in its deliberations, could never lead to the disastrous results which such a plan would have in the House of Commons, because in Friends' meetings no question is ever put to the vote. Our principle is not to act except on a 'practical unanimity,' and, where this is not immediately arrived at, to adjourn the matter until the next meeting, when with time and patience the difficulty is generally found to have disappeared. Such a principle could, of course, be acted on only where, the interests at stake being almost exclusively religious, there can never be any hurry in dealing with them; and where for the same reason there is a strong desire for the preservation of harmony.

One great reason for seriously considering the possibility of a Women's Representative Assembly is that it might be tried as a purely temporary and experimental measure. The time might, of course, come when (as has happened to the Women's Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends) the Women's Chamber might in some form or other become absorbed into some joint assembly. No such joint assembly can, however, in the very nature of things, give distinct

utterance to the views and wishes of either sex. My own fear is that more will prove to have been lost than gained by the absorption of the feminine element into the legislative body of the Society of Friends. However this may be, such an absorption, taking place after so long an exercise of deliberative faculties by generation after generation of Quaker women, is a very different thing from the sudden surrender to a clamour for political power with which we are now threatened as regards the electorate, and perhaps eventually the Houses of Parliament.

The need of some constitutional channel for the expression of feminine opinion is strikingly illustrated by the present difficulty of ascertaining what is actually the prevailing wish of British women with regard to the suffrage. I quite agree with the opinion expressed by Mrs. Chapman (*Nineteenth Century*, April 1907) that this wish, if it could be known, ought not to be decisive; yet I cannot think that it ought to be entirely disregarded. The question ought, I think, to be carefully weighed by the whole nation; and though the decision must rest, both technically and in fact, with the actual supreme authority, Parliament, as at present constituted, that body need not act without full consultation with the women so deeply concerned, and so fully acquainted with much of which men can never be altogether aware.

I must believe that such consultation, could it be arranged, would be as welcome to men as to women. They have hitherto championed our cause, and the cause of the children, the sick, and the poor, with an energy and a noble zeal in our service which it would be base in us to forget. If we could be worthily represented in an Assembly with which they could confer, I believe that they would be not only enlightened and helped by our experience, but relieved by a certain lightening of their own responsibility as regards matters bearing specially on the interests of women.

And if for some unforeseen reason the experiment proved unsatisfactory, no lasting harm would have been done. It could at any time be superseded by some other method, whether in the direction of a more or less close association of women in the national counsels. I will not say, for I do not believe, that it could lead to our total exclusion from them; but even that would not cease to be a possibility should experience show us to be unfit for so much trust. My own belief is that a gradual and cautious trial of the experiment of feminine association with the Legislature in the capacity of Counsellors elected by themselves, and voluntarily referred to by Parliament, would open a vein of hitherto unsuspected wisdom and tenderness for the great benefit of all, without risking any lessening of those impulses to protection and reverence for women which lie so near the source of all manly virtue.

CAROLINE E. STEPHEN.

THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

II. A TORY PLEA FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

It is more than likely that the Unionist party will be mainly instrumental in carrying female suffrage. In this, as in so many movements of high import, Lord Beaconsfield pointed the way more than thirty years ago. In a letter to Mr. Gore Langton on the 29th of April, 1873, Mr. Disraeli wrote :

I was much honoured by receiving from your hands the memorial signed by 11,000 women of England, among them some illustrious names, thanking me for my services in attempting to abolish the anomaly that the parliamentary franchise attached to a household or property qualification, when possessed by a woman, should not be exercised, though in all matters of local government, when similarly qualified, she exercises this right. As I believe this anomaly to be injurious to the best interests of the country, I trust to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament.

He repeated this opinion upon other occasions, and more than once voted for female suffrage bills in the House of Commons.

The parliamentary history of the movement certainly suggests that it may expect more favourable consideration from a Conservative than from a Liberal Government. In 1867, although the subject was then unfamiliar to most members, Lord Derby's Government agreed to treat Mr. J. S. Mill's amendment to the Franchise Bill as an open question. On the other hand, when a similar amendment was moved to the Liberal Franchise Bill of 1884, Mr. Gladstone brought such pressure to bear upon his followers that many Liberals voted with the Noes whose sympathies were avowedly with the other side. Sir Stafford Northcote argued at length in favour of the amendment, and the great majority of the Conservative members present followed him into the Lobby. The opinion of the rank and file of the Conservative party has in recent times been expressed at several conferences of the National Union in favour of the women, who had the steady support of the late Lord Salisbury and the equally steady opposition of the late Mr. Gladstone.

It may be true that, as Thackeray, I think, said, every woman is a Tory at heart ; the enfranchisement of women might turn many

elections against the Radicals. But the support of the Tory leaders has been based not upon calculations of party advantage, but upon the broad principles, repeatedly recognised in legislation, which the disability of women contravenes. The franchise is still legally based upon property qualifications; we still profess the doctrine that taxation and representation should go together. Nevertheless, we refuse votes to women who are called upon to obey the law and to pay the taxes the law imposes and who support the same burdens as men, although their capacity to deal with property has been more and more fully established by law. They have been left to share with undergraduates the unenviable distinction of bearing part of the cost of bribery commissions for the investigation of the electoral offences of their enfranchised brothers. The proposal to throw returning officers' expenses upon the rates would impose upon them another and more general hardship of the same kind.

The effect of Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Bill upon the position of women ratepayers was well put by that typical Tory, Lord John Manners, in the debate on the second reading :

Take the case of one large and influential section of the female ratepayers—I mean female farmers. The census shows that in 1881 there were upwards of 20,000 female farmers in England. At the present moment not one of these has the vote for parliamentary purposes. But, then, the labourer whom she pays, whom she maintains, enables to live in his cottage, has no vote now; but pass this Bill, and what happens? Every carter, every ploughman, every hedger and ditcher, every agricultural labourer who receives wages from the female farmer will have the privilege of exercising the vote; but the female farmer who pays the wages, who is so important a factor in the economy of the parish, will remain without the vote.

On another night of the same debate Sir Stafford Northcote said :

If you make a capable elector the test, you will find that you are bound to go very much further and in very different directions in some respects to what you have done in order to complete your definition. I take the case of the female franchise. There cannot be a doubt, if you ask who are capable electors, you would find it very difficult to declare that the females who are in a certain position as taxpayers and ratepayers, and who are electors for municipal purposes, are not capable citizens, and that they should not be included in the franchise.

The law of justice, which bids us not arbitrarily to withhold from one what we give to another, is conspicuously violated by the requirement of the Registration Act of 1885, that the female employer shall under penalty make a return of all her male servants in order that they may obtain the privilege from which she is herself debarred.

The Female Suffrage Bill has long been made a peg for irrelevant disquisitions upon the intellectual development of woman and upon her place in nature. Some have said that women lack the highest mental qualities and are on a lower educational level; others have

pointed to the ability of many women of note and to the improved education of all classes of women. All such considerations may be laid aside. In point of fact, the franchise is based on anything but education. Some of the electors in Ireland, Scotland and Wales cannot, as everyone knows, speak a word of English; many others, in all parts of the United Kingdom, cannot read or write. All that is expected of the average voter is capacity to form an opinion upon plain facts and simple arguments, and women are, as a whole, quite as competent as men to discharge this modest duty.

'Politics,' no doubt, 'are not women's business.' Politics are also not the 'business' of most men, but men are not prevented from attending to their own affairs because they make up their minds how they will vote. Is it contended that women are deteriorated if they take any interest in politics? Members of Parliament will be slow to admit that their own female relatives should be debarred from helping them in their political contests, or from discussing their political interests and prospects. Of late years, too, the importance of the work of women in connection with elections has been enormously increased. In many constituencies women have been elected members of the local Radical caucus. In many others Conservative members have owed their return to the Dames of the Primrose League and the Woman's Tariff Reform Association, whose work the Liberals have been trying to counteract by means of rival organisations. It may be granted that women often hear most of the less desirable side of politics, to wit, its personalities. But this defect might in some measure be cured—it certainly could not be aggravated—if the Female Suffrage Bill became law.

Has there ever been a time in the history of our world when women have not, in one way or another, concerned themselves in political affairs? If their influence has not been always openly acknowledged, has it ever ceased to be great? 'The fate of the child,' said Napoleon the First, 'is always the work of his mother'; the enfranchisement of a number of women may make their work more direct and better instructed, but cannot make the influence always exerted by women more real. The supporters of female suffrage are not less anxious than its opponents that women should consider home life to be 'their proper sphere.' All that is asked is, that women now disqualified only by their sex shall be entitled to go to a polling-booth, to mark a voting-paper, and to hand it to the returning officer. Many of the fears which female suffrage excites must be due to the remembrance of election riots in times past. Elections under present conditions are rarely accompanied by violence; there is generally less trouble in getting in and out of a polling-booth than in leaving a theatre.

It cannot be maintained that marriage is woman's only calling when there is a great numerical disproportion between the sexes,

and many hundreds of thousands of women have to support themselves. The occupations of women are no longer merely domestic; they are often semi-public teachers in our schools, inspectors in our factories, employees in Government offices.

The opponents of female suffrage are fond of asserting that 'women don't want votes,' and at the same time of decrying the women who have come forward to demand the franchise. We are told, almost in the same breath, that if a woman does not ask for a vote, she would rather not have it, and that, if she does ask for it, she is 'unfeminine,' and does not deserve it—that 'those who ask sha'n't have, and those who don't ask don't want.' The politicians who talk thus are chiefly acquainted with woman in fortunate circumstance; they know little or nothing of women operatives to whom the suffrage might be a material boon. In any case, a Female Suffrage Act will not place a woman who does not wish to vote in any harder position than the many thousands of male electors who either do not want their votes, or at least never trouble to use them.

The physical weakness of woman is a wholly irrelevant consideration. Women ought not to be excluded on the ground that they cannot become soldiers and sailors, while we cheerfully enfranchise a blind man or a cripple, and while soldiers and sailors are for the most part deprived of their votes by the mere fact of enlistment. The whole tendency of civilised government has been not to emphasise, but to equalise, physical differences. 'The civilised societies of the West,' says Sir Henry Maine, 'in steadily enlarging the personal and proprietary independence of women, and even in granting to them political privilege, are only following out still further a law of development which they have been obeying for many centuries.'

The opposition to the Female Suffrage Bill is probably mainly due to the belief that it is only 'the thin end of the wedge.' It is argued that before long we may adopt manhood suffrage, and that the enfranchisement of women, if carried to its logical result, would enable them, in virtue of their numerical preponderance, to swamp men and to monopolise power. It may be retorted that (if this fantastical forecast is to be taken seriously) women's suffrage would for this reason present a strong barrier against universal suffrage.

The argument that if women had votes they must also have seats in Parliament is a patent fallacy. The qualifications for membership of an electoral college need by no means be the same as for membership of the elected body. The physical objection, inapplicable to the question of the suffrage, is obviously material to the fitness of women to undertake the arduous duties of representatives. And various classes of electors, such as clergymen and civil servants, are at present excluded from the House of Commons; while there are plenty of local governing bodies in which women cannot sit, though they have votes in the election of the members.

Women have unquestionably some separate interests which are too little considered in Parliament. The Married Women's Property Act of 1882 was a measure of justice far too long delayed; there remain matters, such as the guardianship of children and the distribution of the personality of intestates, with regard to which the law gives them less than fair play. But it is needless to press the argument that women's suffrage is needed to redress women's wrongs. Votes should be given to them less on the ground of their separate interests than in order to enlist more of their influence in regard to questions of general interest. The barren era of destructive legislation is, we may hope, well-nigh at an end, and social questions are coming to the front. The Tory party, which boasts an honourable list of achievements in the constructive work of social housing and sanitary reforms, should be the first to welcome assistance in proceeding further on the same path. Legislation of this kind cannot have full effect unless it has the personal support of the great mass of the community; any measure that will cause women to take a deeper interest in public questions will thus strengthen the hands of social reformers.

All available facts go to show that women will not make less capable electors than men. Every year Parliament delegates more and more powers to local authorities for which women can now vote. There is the experience of some of our great colonies and of some of the American States, and, still nearer home, that of the Isle of Man. Women exercise about a fifth of the lay patronage of the Church. For a century, as members of the East India Company, they helped to elect the directors who controlled our Indian possessions. They vote as proprietors of Bank of England stock, and as shareholders in all sorts of commercial undertakings. In which of all these capacities have they failed to justify confidence? Above all, there is the experience of the Crown. No three male sovereigns can be named who showed greater wisdom than Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria. If women can thus discharge the highest functions of government, why should they be excluded from the most elementary privilege of citizenship?

EDWARD GOULDING.

HOW WE CAME TO BE CENSORED BY THE STATE

I.—THE THIN END OF THE WEDGE

THERE exists in the theatrical profession a law that is sometimes written, but more often unwritten, that players shall not, during the course of a performance, address the audience on their own account apart from the matter set down for them to speak. Under some older-fashioned managements I have seen this law embodied in the printed schedule of rules and regulations at the back of a contract form. More modern managements have dropped this out, together with various other suggestions for good behaviour that are now left to the tact and discretion of the player—in England at least, I will not answer for America, which is a free country, and where republican methods prevail. But the desire to address one's audience is sometimes irresistible, especially when that audience has shown its approval or disapproval very vehemently and unexpectedly. It would make for such a much better understanding, and in these days I may say for such a much more cordial *entente* with the body of spectators if we might come forward and speak to them.

I remember reading an anecdote about a Mrs. Horton, who was playing at Drury Lane in George the First's reign, and appeared in a part that had been originally acted by a great public favourite. Mrs. Horton met with very unkind treatment from the audience on this occasion, according to the evidence of a contemporary. She bore this with patience for some time. At last she advanced to the front of the stage and said to the persons in the pit who were hissing her, 'Gentlemen, what do you mean? What displeases you—my acting or my person?' This proper display of spirit recovered the spectators to good humour, and they cried out with one voice, 'No, no, Mrs. Horton, we are not displeased. Go on, go on!'

We have read a great deal latterly among authors, actors, and playgoers that all is not well with the drama here in England. The author says there are no actors and actresses, a thing I deny; the actor says there are no plays, a second thing I equally deny; the playgoer says there is nothing to go and see; that is a thing I cannot

deny, but if I may be allowed to put my finger on a weak spot I do most certainly believe that there are players, playwrights, playgoers, but that throughout the length and breadth of the country there are very few with a theatrical taste—a *sens du théâtre*, as the French call it—amongst the spectators.

Reviewing in my mind how and why this is, I turn to the history of the British stage, and I find that from the era of the Reformation in England the struggle for existence, or rather for supremacy, between the drama and the public goes on intermittently but continuously down to the Victorian era.

There were halcyon days of drama in which Hart, Betterton, Harris, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mrs. Barry, and Mrs. Oldfield successfully raised its banner. There were glorious eras of the theatre when David Garrick, Barry and Peg Woffington, Mrs. Cibber and Kitty Clive, were the heroes and heroines of the town. There were periods when Edmund Kean and the Kembles and their beautiful sister Siddons lent dignity and majesty to such plays as *The Castle Spectre* and *Pizarro*.

But every decade almost has its set-back when it is locked in a life-and-death encounter with prejudice, an inherited prejudice among the British against the dramatic art; a prejudice that fastens its teeth into the throat of the drama and wrestles to overthrow it. Why, then, has it survived at all? Because the dramatic art is a natural outlet—a Heaven-given instinct of expression in the human mind. It would be of service to know why audiences will accept to-day what they would not tolerate yesterday, and what perhaps they will dislike to-morrow. It would be instructive to understand in how far the public are dictated to by the Press, or in how far the Press are spurred on to their verdict by the public. For this reason the loss of the old-time prologue and epilogue is, in a way, regrettable. Regrettable because, albeit they were often frivolous and unliterary in flavour, they set up a current of comprehension with the spectator. During the Caroline era, it is true, the epilogue and the prologue were full of personal allusions and intimate details about the private life of the actors and authors couched in terms that would certainly upset the gentlemanlike scruples of our present day. I cannot, for instance, picture to myself any actress of our stage starting up from a bier on which she is being carried away as a corpse and crying out, as did Miss Eleanor Gwynne in the year 1665, 'Hold! are you mad, you damned confounded dog? I am to rise and speak the epilogue.' But then 'pretty, witty Nell,' as the appreciative chronicler Samuel Pepys calls her, was not over-squeamish; she was described by Bishop Burnet as the 'indiscreetest and wildest character of her time.' But there is this to be said for the epilogue, that it put the spectator in touch with the player before he went home, 'and so to supper,' as Pepys has it. He went home with something of sympathy with the

hearts that were beating and breathing beneath the gold lace and finery of the costume, carried away something of a human memento, instead of dismissing it as a thing paid for and done with, to be put away in the pigeon-hole and labelled 'amusements' and not to be taken down again while there were more onerous things under consideration. I was going to say to be kept for Sundays and holidays when I remembered that, though Literature and Music are thought fitting accompaniments for the Sabbath, their poor little step-sister Drama is to stay by the fire in her rags and tatters, bereft of her fine feathers of the workaday week, although in England, up to the days of Charles the First, there were stage plays on Sundays. When Gosson wrote his *School of Abuse* in 1579, he said, 'The players, because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make four or five Sundays at least in every week.' That would argue that stage plays were only represented on a Sunday. As late as the third year of King Charles the First a contemporary writes :

And seldom have they leisure for a play
Or masque except upon God's holiday.

According to some authorities such performances were only abolished after a scaffolding had fallen down in the Paris Garden during a performance on Sunday, the 13th of January 1583, by which eight people were killed, which, as William Prynne said in his *Histriomastix*, 'clearly showed the interposition of Heaven.' Let it not be thought that I am desirous of losing my seventh day and day of rest, but I think sometimes with sorrow of the many men and women and even children who toil through the six days without relief or gladness, and to whom a play by William Shakespeare on the seventh day, let us say, would be the means of arriving at the divine through the inspiration of the poet himself, and if I have spoken of the play and Sabbatarian principles it is because I am going to try and show that with the rigid observation of the Sabbath as understood by Puritanism a hatred of the theatre, and everything pertaining to the theatre, was inoculated in the British people; an inoculation that presently is to make them insensible to the love of the drama, a love which I contend to be instinctive in almost every human being.

It follows in logical stages from the destruction of pictures, ikons, figures representing holy characters in the churches, bare places of worship, that from a hatred of make-believe and a detestation of images, there must come a dislike of anything that gives colour, or form, or materialisation to creed or imagination, and from that there is only one step to vehement abhorrence of the stage with its simulated passions and emotions, with its make-believe and travesty, with its many-hued pictures. Respectability in England stands for everything that is unobtrusive and unimpressible. Yes, we have a profound contempt for anything that deals in feeling and personal

experiences and the hundred and one emotions that go to make up the actor's art fall under the lash of an Englishman's contempt and make him apply frivolously, without understanding why he does so, the terms of rogue and vagabond to the actor.

As it has long been the habit for the greater delectation of the anti-theatrite to believe that actors and actresses legally come under the heading of 'rogues and vagabonds,' by the Act passed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, I may here perhaps take up a little time in dwelling upon the origin of that belief and the reasons for that Bill—one that was passed as much for the security of the public as of what we might to-day call the 'legitimate' actor. When Henry the Eighth broke up the monasteries immense masses of vagrants and itinerant paupers of no visible means of subsistence were let loose all over the country that had formerly found food and shelter in the rest-houses of the abbeys, which virtually represented the casual ward of our present day. These, then, had to be legislated for, and we find the first measure for out-door relief or Poor-law Act is passed in 1531. But though we read of provisions inflicting condign punishment on rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars under Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth there is no mention of 'players,' and it is not until we come to Queen Elizabeth's Act of 1572 that we find them included. Now the reason for this is not difficult to understand. In the earlier reigns there was something of chaos all over the country with the breaking up of the old faith with its monkish control and assistance, and in all probability the country was overrun by the shipwrecked mariner pitching his tale of woe, by the man with the dancing bear, the juggler, the rope-dancer, the strolling minstrel, and the sturdy beggar of every description plying his nefarious trade in the same way that we are accosted in the present day by the woman with a baby to move us to pity, or a box of matches to sell, or a tray of shoe-laces to hawk, and the people had neither leisure nor pleasure for a dramatic entertainment. By the time Elizabeth and her great statesmen had brought prosperity and security to England the taste for interludes and plays had awakened, and a new calling or a means of making money had produced a fresh crop of strollers and travelling players of interludes, and they set up their stages in inn-yards, granaries, barns, or whatever building was available for the accommodation of an audience. We can readily imagine the nuisance and commotion this would cause in street of town or village, and when we realise that far into the eighteenth century the spectators even pushed their way on to the stage and mingled with the players, we can also see that they would have thronged into inn-yard or building when there were no three-foot gangway L.C.C. regulations, and, blocking up entrances and exits, would likely have extended far into the open. What more easily roused to excitement and sedition than the adherents of the old faith smouldering with a sense of injury, and the adherents of the new faith ready to tear and trample

on their enemies in the name of authority. It must be remembered, too, that in those days the greater body of the population never journeyed or travelled out of their counties. Moving from place to place, save among the very rich or the highly born, was not customary, and thus to be overrun and have the public peace destroyed by aliens from another county was a serious affair.

In 1572, therefore, an Act is passed which provides thus: Under all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, and minstrels not belonging to any baron of this realm or toward any other honourable personage of greater degree which the said fencers, common players in interludes, and minstrels shall wander abroad, and who have not license of two justices of the peace at the least when and in what shire they shall happen to wander, shall be adjudged and deemed rogues and vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

All would have been well had it remained at that. But doubtless the actor was beginning to feel self-confident and independent of authority. I daresay it was irksome to find two new magistrates on arriving in a new county, and the easiest thing in the world for the actor was to give out that he was the Earl of Essex's servant, or belonged to my Lord of Leicester's company of players, and thus evade the trouble of applying for a new license. Then out comes the amended Act of 1597, in which this clause is added: 'to be authorised to play under the hand and seal of arms of such baron or personage,' and omits the words 'and have not license of two justices of the peace at least.' Henceforth the actor must apply to his patron for a patent allowing him to ply his calling, unless he fears not to be punished under the heading of rogue and vagabond. We can hardly imagine that insult was intended to be conveyed to the actor when we find the graceful words with which Elizabeth grants her first royal patent to players 'as well for the recreation of our loving subjects as for our solace and pleasure when we shall think good to see them,' and when a century later the austere William of Orange admits the actor Betterton to a private audience and grants him a license to erect a theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields: the license is made out to Thomas Betterton, gentleman. One cannot be a gentleman and a rogue and a vagabond at one and the same time.

We have it on record that a taste for stage plays began at a very early date in England, and the curious custom of a company of players being attached to the service of a prince or nobleman was originated by Richard the Third when he was Duke of Gloucester. It throws a curious light on this monarch's character, which we are accustomed to regard as saturnine and treacherous, to think that not only was he a patron of the drama, but actually encouraged the taste for it in others by permitting his retainers to go on a provincial tour under the *egis* of his name at such time as they were not employed or wanted by himself. This custom led in time to the Act of 1572, of which I have

already spoken, by which those actors who were attached to the service of any noble house were allowed to give entertainments when and wherever they pleased, provided they had their employer's leave to do so. The art of acting was not limited to the mere professional, for the amateur actor has existed in all ages of English history. We find records of even members of the Church writing plays that are interpreted by students of the Universities and boys of the public schools, and the gentlemen of the Inns of Court spent much time and thought over their productions, and I am quite sure that they took themselves quite as seriously as the amateur actor of to-day.

When I mentioned previously the element of danger that was to be found in the acting of stage plays I referred to the peril that might arise from the conflict of the old faith and the new in a country in which there had recently been a change of religion, when nothing is more easy than to arouse fanatical sentiments through the medium of the stage play, and at this time—and perhaps from all time, when we remember that the first regular stage play we read of is one on the life of St. Catherine, composed by a monk called Geoffrey—but particularly after the Reformation, doctrinal, and therefore political, allusions are allowed to creep in. It is interesting to find that the spirit of reformation is at its beginning on the actor's side of the curtain, interesting when we take it into consideration that the anti-theatrite is usually to be found in the ranks of Low Church rather than of High Church men.

A condemnation of sacraments and Masses is to be found on the stage of Edward the Sixth's time, and when a solemn dirge and Mass is announced for the soul of Henry the Eighth a 'solemn' play is announced for the same hour by the actors at Southwark, principally out of a mischievous desire to test which has the greater drawing power, the Mass or the play. This, however, gives offence, and the players are requested to confine their energies to performances at home—that is, in the house of their master of Dorset. That the stage was used on both sides for the airing of tenets old and new we have abundant proof. At one moment it is utilised for a Protestant, at another moment for a Romanist propaganda, and in 1556 we are not surprised to find the strolling player forbidden to wander, lest, like the Pied Piper of Hamelin, he pipe seditious tunes on his instrument and draw the people out of their homes to paths of destruction. So anxious is authority regarding the stage, so jealous is it of its influence, that in 1557 we find a play called *A Sackful of News*, apparently founded on a ballad of the period, actually prevented by the Privy Council and the actors sent to prison. The manuscript of this play not being extant we have no means of knowing what offensive matter it contained, but the title *A Sackful of News* is suggestive of topical allusions or of the talk of the town—much like the French *revue*, I should imagine, of the present day.

The actors are released after twenty-four hours, as the play was found to be harmless, in spite of which, however, authority thinks it will be on the safe side by forbidding the actors of the City of London to appear at any other time than between All Saints' Day and Shrove Tuesday, and ordering them to act no play that is not censored by the ordinary.

This is significant. It is the commencement of the struggle. Authority has awakened to the power of the stage.

In 1564 Archbishop Grindal traces the plague of the previous year to the work of the theatre by a wonderful process of reasoning—not on account of a germ theory engendered by a mass of people crowded together, but on some more abstract and religious hypothesis. Later one Gosson, who is afterwards Rector of St. Botolph, produces a book entitled *The School of Abuse*, which is interesting, less for its invective against the theatre than for the description of an audience. He says :

In our assemblies at plays in London you see such heaving and shouting, such pitching and shouldering to sit by woman, such care for their garments that they be not trodden on, such eyes to their laps that no chips light on them, such pillows to their backs that they take no hurt, such masking in their ears : such giving them pippins to pass the time, such playing at footsaunt without cards, such toying, such smiling, such winking and such manning them home when the sports are ended that it is a right comedy to mark their behaviour.

Whether the City voiced the Church or the pulpit voiced the City, certain it is that the City and Middlesex magistrates set their faces sternly against the acting of plays. At this time we find all plays performed must be licensed by the Lord Mayor. Indeed at one moment the Privy Council appears to be ordering the Lord Mayor to forbid plays during Lent, at another we find the player petitioning the Privy Council to be allowed to act 'now that the sickness hath abated,' and the Privy Council praying the Lord Mayor to allow them to act on any day but Sunday. It seems to have been a game of battledore and shuttlecock between the Privy Council and the City magistrates, in which the actor was the unfortunate shuttlecock ; but they certainly were not wanted in the City, and Burbage and his company seek refuge in Blackfriars outside the City walls.

With the accession of James the First we find the Privy Council rebuking the Middlesex justices for permitting too large a number of playhouses, and *forthwith all licensing powers are adopted by the Crown*. From this moment we find the Master of the Revels is being paid the fees for the licensing of playhouses and actors.

We have now arrived at the Stuart period, and the battle begins in good earnest. The London apprentices selected Shrove Tuesday, 1616-17, to lead a raid on the Cockpit or Phoenix Theatre in Drury Lane. Books, properties, and clothing are destroyed, the theatre wrecked, and the Lord Mayor, appealed to, appears to have taken

no steps to punish the ringleaders of this attack, but to have contented himself with waiting until the anniversary to order out the trained band to prevent further mischief. At Lambeth Archbishop Bancroft allows interludes to be enacted before him by his own gentlemen, while in the City an obscure preacher, Sutton by name, stands up and denounces stagecraft in the pulpit of St. Mary's Overy. An actor, Field, writes a spirited reply. One wonders what Shakespeare himself would have thought of all this.

Certainly the poor player can never do right. When rocked in the security of Protestantism he produces a *Game of Chess*, in which the black and white pieces on the board represent the Reformers and the Papists, and the latter party gets the worse of it. The Spanish Ambassador elects to find a political allusion in it and the play is withdrawn—this time literally on account of its unprecedented success and the playwright forthwith committed to prison. A little later the East India Company remonstrates against the drama called *Amboyna*, dealing with a massacre perpetrated by the Dutch, and that production is forbidden.

A pamphlet entitled *A Short Treatise against Stage Plays* appears in 1625, and among other specious arguments against the profession of acting, such as the negative one that there is no authority given for the actor's calling in the Holy Writ, ergo it must be unchristian, the writer says that if going on the stage under false representations of their natural names and persons be not an offence against the Epistle of Timothy he would like to know what is! But the only possible reference that can be converted into an allusion of this kind in Timothy is the following: 'But shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase into more ungodliness.' That is virtually the same phase of mind that I referred to at the beginning of this paper to be found in the subconscious part of every English man and woman's brain. It is antagonistic to their ideas of respectability to put on a disguise and to imitate nature.

Now comes a petition from Blackfriars asking for the removal of the players on a practical and secular ground: the traffic is too great for the convenience of the inhabitants, and interferes with business in the vicinity of the theatre. That looks well for the box-office returns at any rate; but the petitioners artfully throw in a pinch of piety to season the tradesman's lament—christenings and their attendant rejoicing, burials and their attendant sorrows, are intruded upon by the mob thronging to the playhouse.

The French Queen, Henrietta Maria, with her inborn Gallic taste for the drama, steps in and permission is given to the players to continue; but the playhouses are limited to two: one on Bankside, where the Lord Chamberlain's servants may play; another in Middlesex is granted to Alleyn. The name of Alleyn is associated in our mind with the beautiful Dulwich College, built on his estate in Surrey, bought out

of the wealth he made in the Fortune Theatre. Nowadays we should be too superstitious to christen an enterprise 'Fortune' if we expected it to thrive. Dulwich College, endowed for a master, four fellows, twelve aged poor people, and twelve poor boys, is as fine a monument as any to the memory of an actor. Nevertheless indignation and the prejudice against his calling roll on as the years go by, accumulating in wrath, gaining in strength and fury, until it bursts over England in Prynne's *Histriomastix* of 1683, *The Player's Scourge* or *The Actor's Tragedy*, by William Prynne, utter barrister of Lincoln's Inn. A more wholesome indictment of the penning, acting, and frequenting of stage plays as 'infamous, unlawful, and misbecoming Christians' never was assuredly put to paper. But one of the historical facts we are grateful to Prynne for telling us is, that they have now their 'female players in Italy and other foreign parts, and in Michaelmas 1629 they had French women actors in a play presented at Blackfriars, where there was great resort.' That is the first mention of women on the professional stage. According to a letter of Thomas Brande 'they were hissed, hooted, and pippin-pelted from the stage.' Others say they made great profit to themselves. *A propos* of the foreigners 'in a comedy called *The Ball*, by Shirley and Chapman, in 1639 Freshwater says this: 'You must encourage strangers while you live. It is the character of our nation; we are famous for dejecting our own countrymen.' Freshwater might have been speaking of 1908. We are denied the privilege of seeing Granville Barker's *Waste*, but we are treated to physiologic emotions, reminiscent only of the monkey-house, if spoken in a language we do not understand.

To return to Prynne's *Histriomastix*. It had the effect of calling the lovers of the stage to arms. The Inns of Court, always devoted to the pastime of acting, enacted a brilliant masque before Charles the First and his consort. The plays at Court were rehearsed and performed, and Prynne stood in the pillory on a charge of treason in abusing the habits of his Sovereign: he was condemned to lifelong imprisonment, to pay a heavy fine, and to lose both his ears. That the unjustifiable severity of the sentence took its own revenge and had much to do with the eventual suppression of the theatre by the Puritans there can be little doubt. It culminates in the Act of the 11th of February 1647, providing that all stage galleries, seats, and boxes shall be pulled down by warrant of two justices of the peace that all the actors of plays for the time to come being convicted shall be publicly whipped (how relieved Englishmen of all time must be that there were at that period no women players on the stage), and all spectators of plays for every offence shall pay five shillings.

After the Long Parliament the release of Prynne and his apotheosis is significant; it means the degradation of the player, the mortification of the playwright. It is to the satisfaction of my profession that the actors, their occupation gone, took up arms for the Sovereign

who had been their patron and defender, with the exception of three, Lowen, Taylor, and Pollard, who were too advanced in age. Lowen, by the way, will presently convey to Davenant, who transcribes it to Betterton, what Shakespeare had imparted to him about Hamlet and Henry the Eighth. All the others fought in the Civil War. Of importance it is to notice that though Oliver Cromwell refused to allow a single verse of Shakespeare to be recited on the festivities of his daughter's marriage, he hired buffoons to entertain the guests, and a great deal of fun was got out of the Great Protector himself snatching someone's hat and sitting on it to conceal it; of importance because that attitude of contempt for the drama in its strenuous and serious aspect has survived through all the impertinence and scurrility of the Restoration: through all the intermittent brilliancy of the Hanoverian epoch down to the very moment in which we are living. Says Cromwell: 'Away with Shakespeare and his description of human passions. It offends against every commandment in the Decalogue. The kind of fun I like is the harmless joke of sitting on my hat.' A joke, by the way, that has not failed to amuse an English audience ever since.

The Royalist struggle over, a small band of actors who had fought for the King again prove they are not wanting in fearlessness. They open and continue to perform a few days at the Cockpit, and then the soldiers are down on them, and they are carried off through the streets in their stage clothes to the gate-house. There they are detained for a little while, but not before they are stripped of their theatrical wardrobe and properties—their stock in trade, as it were. Evidently the Puritans are not above turning an honest penny out of these miscreants. In Randolph's *Muses' Looking-glass* we read something of this way of turning religion to account in a duologue between Mrs. Flowerdew and Mrs. Bird, Puritans who served the playhouse with their wares.

FLOWERDEW: It was a jealous prayer I heard a brother make concerning playhouses.

BIRD: For charity, what is't?

FLOWERDEW: That the Globe,
Wherein, quoth he, reigns a whole world of vice,
Had been consum'd; the Phoenix burnt to ashes;
The Fortune whipt for a blind witch; Black Fryers
He wonders how it escaped demolishing
At the time of Reformation; lastly he wishes
The Bull might cross the Thames to the Bear gardens
And there be properly baited.

BIRD:

A good prayer.

FLOWERDEW: Indeed it sometimes pricks my conscience I come to sell them pins and looking-glasses.

BIRD: I have their custom, too, for all their feathers.

'Tis fit that we which are sincere professors
Should gain by infidels.

aping him in dress and manner, and sets two hired ruffians to horse-whip the actor on his way home—not a great notion of fair play! But the incident is objectionable from another point of view: though the players are the pampered pets of the upper classes, there is the same insolent disdain of them that was the mainspring of the Puritan persecution of them by the middle classes.

On the 2nd of August 1664 Samuel Pepys casually inserts this momentous statement in his Diary—to me at least momentous: 'To the King's playhouse. . . . I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he has set up a nursery—that is, is going to build a house in Moorfields where he will have common plays acted'; and among the State papers will be found this license: 'To erect a nursery for breeding players in London and Westminster under the oversight and approbation of Sir William Davenant and Sir Thomas Killigrew'; and Pepys tells us in 1668:

I took them [his wife and the now notorious Deb] to the Nursery where none of us ever were before. The acting not so much worse because I expected as bad as could be. However, I was well pleased to see it once, being worth a man's seeing to discover the different ability and understanding of people and the different growths of people's ability by practice.

Now what that means is this, that in 1668 they were farther advanced than we are in 1908 in their understanding of the requirements of the stage. There were to be no tiros foisted on the unsuspecting spectator, no experimentalising with the patience of the audience, no trifling with the pence and shillings of a critical public by the engagement of untried actors and actresses in leading parts.

Of the Tom Killigrew who sat near our friend Samuel this theatrical epoch appears to be the most reputable part of his career. He had been page of honour to Charles the First, groom of the bedchamber to Charles the Second, and Resident at Venice during the Commonwealth, from which republic he was recalled by request of the Venetians on account of his scandalous irregularities. Pepys says of him that he heard 'that Tom Killigrew has a fee out of the King as fool or jester, and may with privilege revile or jeer anybody—the greatest person—without offence by the privilege of his place.' We understand therefore that he must have been a privileged friend of old Rowley's; he certainly was one of the very few who had the courage to talk to him openly about the neglect of his duties, which the King seems to have taken in good part. Nevertheless, when Lord Rochester, a lad of twenty-one, boxed Killigrew's ears in the presence of his Sovereign, the latter passed the thing by and he publicly walked up and down with Rochester, as Pepys thinks, 'to the King's everlasting shame.' Not so indulged to be plain-spoken as Killigrew were the servants of the King's company. If they offended with too pronounced a caricature on the stage, as, for instance, when Lacey, who was the ideal Falstaff and the original 'Bays' in *The Rehearsal*,

levelled his sarcasm too pungently against courtiers in a play by Howard called *The Silent Woman*, the King looked him up, and this although Lacey was one of Charles the Second's favourite actors, and was at the King's request continually thrust into parts allotted to others. Lacey, on his release, not unnaturally abused the poet Howard for putting the offending words into his part of Captain Otter, to which the author retaliated by striking Lacey across the face with his glove, and Lacey responded by a sharp rap over the head with his cane. But for Howard, the playwright and son of Lord Berkshire, and Jack Lacey, the player and servant of the King, there were different codes of honour, and his Majesty delivered his judgment of the matter by as bitterly unfair a sentence as any that has ever been passed on the unfortunate player, for he closed the playhouse and deprived the rest of the unoffending company of their daily bread. If therefore such justice is meted out to them from their friend and patron, how shall we expect the players to fare better at the hands of the public? On another occasion, when the painted Louise de Kerouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, who on account of her French Papist origin was abhorred by the English people, was occupying a box at the Duke's Theatre, a few of the virtuously indignant Britons who nowadays write to the *Times* rushed to the playhouse with drawn swords and flaming torches, which they thrust on the stage among the players, causing a general stampede and panic. The King avenged this insult to his favourite—not on the drunken gentlemen whose religious scruples were offended by the presence of the Romanist—but by shutting up the house till the innocent players should realise the extent of their master's displeasure. However, it must be owned that, balancing one story with another, the King was usually to be found on the side of the first informer who approached him, and he always seemed to believe the first version of the story. It is the old principle in boxing of getting in the first blow. Certain it is that when a complaint was made by Mrs. Marshall of a cowardly attempt to carry her off on the part of a fashionable hooligan of the period, called Middleton, the King prohibits gentlemen from entering the dressing-rooms of the ladies of the King's company, a custom that until then had been most unwarrantably permitted. Where the Sovereign does not take an active part in the administration of theatrical affairs, the poor player is no better off; for he falls under the equally formidable control of the Sovereign's representative, the Lord Chamberlain, and at no time is he—the actor—allowed the disposition of himself and his work. If, for instance, a player takes himself without permission from one patentee's house to another, the Lord Chamberlain seizes him and confines him to the gatehouse.

On a par with the Portsmouth incident of Charles the Second's time was the Whig and Tory contention for and against the actor Smith, who was before the public between 1663 and 1696. Smith was a man

who was personally both respected and respectable, and whose only offence, according to a contemporary, was that of being a celebrated actor, who was insulted behind the scenes by a gentleman of James the Second's Court. The King hearing of this appears, somewhat singularly for that King, to have had a correct account of the squabble, and actually took the part of the actor, forbidding the gentleman the Court. Forthwith it became the business of the gentleman to avenge his kind against the player and make a demonstration against Smith on his appearance on the stage. The actor, realising that this was an organised opposition, retired into private life on a competent fortune, and only returned to the stage eleven years after by special request. His return, according to Dr. Burney, was made a political matter. I owe James the Second's memory, however, a debt of gratitude for recognising the right side of this dispute. Indeed, he and his Queen Mary of Modena were ever to be found doing appreciative acts of courtesy towards the players. As, for instance, when Mrs. Barry played the part of Elizabeth in a play called *The Unhappy Favourite, or the Earl of Essex*, Mary of Modena sent her her wedding robe and her Coronation mantle as a mark of her admiration. The Stuarts, whatever their faults, were always quick to acknowledge art, and graceful in their recognition of it. Mrs. Barry was the actress who so aroused the admiration of that humble servant of the theatre, the prompter Downes. He has told us that in certain parts 'she forces tears from the eyes of her audience, especially those who have any sense of pity for the distressed.' He is perhaps not quite so superlative as when he speaks of Mrs. Bracegirdle, who sang so sweetly that she caused the stones of the street to fly into men's faces by her potent and magnetic charm.

The name of Mrs. Bracegirdle brings me to the murder of the actor Mountford by Captain Hill with the connivance of the dissolute Lord Mohun, but I will not go into that in detail. Mountford appears, moreover, to have been an exceptional husband to the well-known actress who afterwards became Mrs. Verbruggen, and who had wandered up and down in agony that evening trying to intercept her husband, having been warned by Mrs. Bracegirdle's friends that the murderers meant no good to him. There is a little detail of Mohun and Hill having tried to carry off Mrs. Bracegirdle against her will, but she was rescued by her friends. We will give Mohun the same benefit of the doubt that was given to him by his peers—that he was not directly helping Captain Hill. In a previous century, when Lord Dacre had been present at the killing of a poacher, Lord Dacre was executed by the House of Lords without reprieve. Thus we find that the life of a poacher who is caught in the act of robbing is of more value than that of an innocent actor whose only crime is that he was suspected by his murderers of being in love with Mrs. Bracegirdle, for whom Captain Hill had conceived a desperate affection that was not

reciprocated by her. Again, when Powell, an actor who aspires to play Betterton's parts, strikes a relative of his manager's in some quarrel at Will's coffee-house, the injured individual rushes off to the Lord Chamberlain's office to obtain redress. That official being absent, the Vice-Chamberlain orders Drury Lane to be shut up for several days because Powell had been allowed to appear without making his apology, the manager having been ignorant of the Chamberlain's order that he should do so.

In 1696, when handsome Hildebrand Horden was run through the body at the Rose Tavern in Covent Garden by Captain Burgess, who had impertinently sent a message to the actors in the adjoining room to cease making a noise, and who had been probably answered in kind by the players, Captain Burgess was very rightly confined in the gatehouse; but his friends rescued him with short clubs and pistols, and later, being tried for the murder of the player Horden, he was acquitted as *being in no way accessory to it*. We can imagine the kind of jury that would think a player's room preferable to his company; and it is probably the same sort of jury that in 1700, when Sir Andrew Slanning is killed, a murder that is in no way connected with the theatre save that he is killed on his way to or from a playhouse—it is the same jury very probably, I should say, who denounced the stage play as a pastime that led the way to murder. No more playbills were henceforth allowed to be posted in the City, 'and the grand jury of Middlesex presented the two playhouses and also the bear-garden as nuisances and riotous and disorderly assemblies.'

It must be owned, to be entirely just, that, according to a custom probably introduced by Christopher Rich, the theatres were, as is declared by a contemporary, Luttrell, 'pestered with elephants, tumblers, rope-dancers, and dancing men and dogs from France.' If, however, we blame Rich for the interpolation of such a programme, it must be nevertheless remembered that if he had recourse to it at all it was because very likely that programme filled the coffers of his treasury, and is therefore the old story of demand and supply. It is said of Rich that he gave his players more leisure and fewer days' pay than any of his predecessors. Rich appears to have been a mere theatrical speculator of the species that thinks an elephant and a tumbler want no credit for their performances, whereas the actor by his success may become a dangerous factor with the public, and might dictate a manager's policy.

Colley Cibber tells us that in 1682 a union of the two companies was projected by the King's recommendation (which perhaps amounted to a command), and this subjection of the playhouse to the Sovereign or his deputy, the Lord Chamberlain, continues through every succeeding reign, though to William of Orange's credit be it admitted that, when appealed to on behalf of Betterton and his company of players against the money-grubbing patentees, he granted the players an

audience, considering them 'as the only subjects he had not yet delivered from arbitrary power, and promised them active relief and support,' for which he granted them a special license.

But even in 1709, when the order for silence is given against the *patentees*, it presses on the *players* and punishes them. Petition and counter-petition are presented to Queen Anne and complaints are made of the interference of the Lord Chamberlain. It is not possible here to enter into detail as to the several unions, secessions, and reconstructions of the various theatrical companies and their patentees; but as an example of the Lord Chamberlain's power it may be interesting and curious to state that in 1708, owing to various disputes with the patentees concerning the actors' benefits, of which the manager took a third of the receipts, an application to the Lord Chamberlain immediately produced an order that the patentees were to repay the money to the actors, and they demurring and the order not being obeyed the theatres were closed down and the actors again thrown out of work for not receiving the moneys due to them! In the end the unfortunate players humbly petition her Majesty to allow the theatre to be reopened. Rich the while artfully managed to keep Drury Lane in his possession, and was not finally routed until an attorney called Collier managed to get possession of the theatre by an organised attack on the playhouse with the assistance of a rabble. By the time that Collier had got possession of it, Rich had managed to carry off everything within that was worth moving, and had escaped by a secret exit.

The name of Collier here puts me in mind of that other and better known Collier, without the mention of whose work no review of the stage of the seventeenth century is complete. No doubt the finding of the grand jury of 1700, in which the theatres are declared a nuisance, had been largely influenced by the appearance in 1678 of Collier's deservedly well-known *View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*. Now Collier, like all people who are biassed, is bent on proving his point, nor do I blame him for that. But he is more or less engrossed by the religious, or I should say the blasphemous, aspect of stage plays. One must cordially agree with him in his detestation of a priest of any religion being held up to ridicule on the stage, and nothing is more abhorrent than the kind of greedy, unctuous parson, or the foolish tennis-playing curate that our modern playwright delighted in portraying only a few months ago. Perhaps the most extraordinary phase of this revolting epoch in the history of dramatic literature is that by far the most objectionable and unactable plays were written by women such as Aphra Behn and Mrs. Manley. The latter had rather a sad story in her early youth, something of a similar one to that of poor unhappy Roxalana. She was deceived into wedding her guardian, who was already a married man. As for Mrs. Aphra Behn, she seems to have been one of those adventurous

ladies who would be ready to help on any intrigue which might be of account to her, whether political or amorous. It is a remarkable fact that even to-day the realistically outspoken and often hideously naturalistic novel of the publishing season is almost invariably the work of one of my sex ; but in defence of stage players and their craft it must be added that the words of Dryden, Congreve, and Vanbrugh, who all replied to Collier's *Abuse of the Stage*, were written down for the actors to speak. Actors were but paid interpreters of the author, and if an appetite had not existed for strong meat among the public, if the society and fashion of the day had not demanded this kind of fare, it would rapidly have disappeared from the stage. Dryden in his epilogue to *The Pilgrims* says this in his own extenuation :

That poets who must live by Courts or starve
Were proud so good a Government to serve,
And mixing with buffoons and fools profane
Tainted the stage with some small snip of gain ;
Thus did the thriving malady prevail,
The Court its head, the poet's but the tail.

Proof is there that as the author becomes more reticent the spectator becomes more rare, until at the end of the century opera, pantomime, tumbling, rope-dancing, are resorted to in order to attract an audience. The stage has not at any time led public taste in England. It has merely followed it. To create an understanding of the theatre by financial computation more capital is needed than the results warrant. If, therefore, Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Manley, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Otway, Mr. Vanbrugh, and the Duke of Buckingham could command an audience by the stringing together of objectionable and ugly scenes during the Restoration, it was because these authors were all men and women who associated with fashionable society that paid to see their plays, and because they knew what would draw at a moment when women perforce went in masks to the play lest they should hear something that might bring the blush of shame to their cheeks or, as the *Spectator* said : ' Some never miss the first day of a new play lest it should prove too luscious to admit of their going with countenance to the second.' Queen Anne, with a proper sense of decorum, perceived at once that the playhouses needed cleansing and sweeping as much, if not more, before the curtain as behind, and a royal order for the better regulation of auditorium and stage was issued, that no person of what quality soever presume to go behind the scenes or come upon the stage either before or during the acting of any play, that no persons go into either of the theatres without paying the prices established for their respective places.

As most of these misuses continued till many years afterwards, it may be assumed that if these commands were obeyed at all it was only for a very short while. This latter regulation about paying for their respective places is due to the usage that people were continually

passing into the theatre on every and any pretext. Pepys often states that he has gone into both playhouses in search of wife or friends and seen an act of a play for nothing ; or if a spectator did not stay the whole evening, his money would be returned to him on leaving the theatre.

Suffice it to recall that whenever power rested rather with the actor than with the mere lay patentee, who was exploiting the actor for his own convenience, prosperity and propriety appear to have followed the flag of the player, and we are shortly to find in a few years that the actors are entering into a long run of prosperity, a period, however, which, though it begins in the later days of Queen Anne, belongs rather to the Georgian era of the theatre, which I shall deal with hereafter. When the drama is in the hands of mere merchants, using the theatre as they would any other warehouse for the exploitation of saleable goods, I contend that any traffic is introduced into it that will persuade the public to part with their money, and the quality of the play, the excellence of the interpretation, are of less account than the monetary drawing power of the author and the actor : taste is neglected, vulgarity is encouraged, and the decline of the theatre is only a matter of time.

So far I have endeavoured to show that the theatrical art from all time has been the Cinderella of the arts. I have endeavoured to prove up to this point that silently—I might almost say slavishly—the player has borne the yoke of his martyrdom without remonstrance. Art is a rare flower. It needs sun and air and a knowledge of cultivation ; but knowledge without sun and air will never let it develop to its full beauty and form or colour. We talk of the freedom and *laissez faire* of the Restoration playwrights. They were poisoned by the noxious air of the Court and the proximity of evil. Shakespeare reared the flower of his genius in the open meadow of tolerant England. When he died we were already in the clutches of intolerance. Since then the public has been nursed on prejudice and fattened on superstition—superstition that it is ungodly to visit the playhouse. In the twentieth century they think we have overridden the superstition. We have materialists, agnostics, Christian scientists, spiritualists, theists ; but, roll ourselves in every blanket of faith that we will, the sickness of fanaticism is in our bones, the disease is in our system . . . a disease that has left us without sight of what is good, without taste for what is palatable in the theatre. Our taste has been poisoned by the threats of eternal punishment that have been rammed down our throats for generations. Our eyes have been blinded by the fiery flame, the Gehenna that has been painted on the canvas of our imagination for centuries. Our senses have been blunted by the often repeated doctrine that whatever is beautiful must be bad because it appeals to the senses. No State-ridden art will ever flourish, whether the stage be dictated to by a sovereign emancipated from the thralldom

of the Puritan, or by a State given back to the tyranny of the proletarian. It is all one—it is a thralldom—and true art can only flourish with freedom and with liberty. If the stage take too much liberty the public can be the first to mark its displeasure by staying away ; if it make fun of what is foolish the public can laugh and correct its faults ; if it ridicule what is sacred the public may show its displeasure by keeping its money in pocket ; but wherever and whenever there is a green shoot of tender promise let it be spared ! Let it not be cut down because it is out of place in a municipal scheme of public gardens and parks—it may become a great tree, giving shade and shelter to many generations in the centuries to come. Dryden, for all that he admits that in order to earn a living he plays up to his times, knows what a play should be. He says : ‘ A play is an imitation of nature : we know we are deceived and we desire to be so ; but no one was ever deceived but with a probability of truth—nothing is truly sublime but what is just and proper.’

I cannot help feeling that Shakespeare was the very product of his time. He could not have grown to his full strength and height had he been born even a quarter of a century later. I cannot help feeling that there will never be another Shakespeare until the disdain of the theatre has passed away, and until the British people can dissociate the idea of disrespectability from their mind, and come to think that to assume a disguise, to represent a character, to portray human emotions, and to simulate human passions, is an art that deserves to be ranked with the glorious arts of music, of painting, of sculpture, and of literature, and is not necessarily one of pure imitation.

GERTRUDE KINGSTON.

(To be concluded.)

THE NEW IRISH LAND BILL

THE substitution of yet another measure for the great Land Purchase Act of 1903 is a matter of such far-reaching importance not only to Ireland but to the United Kingdom that, before considering the Bill introduced by the Chief Secretary on the 23rd of November, it is desirable that the English reader, in particular, should remember that fresh legislation is not due to failure of the Land Act of 1903, but is due to its success. The transfer of title to agricultural land from landlord to tenant has proceeded so rapidly that, in view of the present condition of the money market, difficulty is experienced in financing the Act. The nature of the Act of 1903 must be understood. It was not a mere philanthropic project. It was a sound investment on the part of the United Kingdom on good security for the attainment of an object of great national and Imperial importance. And in order that the reader should grasp the situation it is advisable that he should glance back on the recent course of agrarian legislation in Ireland.

Since 1860 twenty-six Land Acts have been placed upon the statute book, the most notable among them being the Act of 1881 which secured to tenants fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale. The sanction for that, and for other similar Acts, lay in the assumption that, owing to excessive demand, owners of land were able to extort, and did in fact extort, exorbitant rents from the occupiers. A small minority, it was claimed, had a monopoly of an article necessary for the existence of the great majority and made an improper use of their power. On that hypothesis, the correctness of which need not be discussed, legislation for the adjustment of rents was undoubtedly necessary; but the legislation was faulty in two vital particulars. The Act of 1881 not only deprived landowners of rights and privileges inherent in ownership, to which it might be argued they had morally forfeited their claim through misuse; but it also took from them tangible property in the shape of houses and buildings, for which no compensation was given, the excuse being that, though the Act did deprive the landowners of some of their property, the property remaining to them would become so greatly enhanced in value as to render compensation unnecessary. A very short experience sufficed to

prove the speciousness of the plea. For the administration of the Act a commission was created consisting of a judicial commissioner and two other commissioners, with power to appoint sub-commissioners to value land and assess rents. No rules or guidance of any kind were given to the commissioners by the Act, or to the sub-commissioners by the Land Commission. No system was devised; no basis laid down on which rents were to be fixed, such as capacity of the soil, prices of produce, or cost of labour. Land was valued and rents were assessed apparently according to the impression made upon the mind of the individual sub-commissioner by the condition of the land as he saw it, without reference to the condition it ought to have been in if properly treated. The inevitable result was discontent all round. The effect of the Act was to leave landlords smarting under a sense of injustice, and rendered incapable of laying out a penny upon the land; and to tempt tenants to reduce their farms to the lowest possible condition before applying periodically to have a fair rent fixed. The consequence was that, though tenants gained somewhat by the transference of property to them, and greatly by the protection of judicial rents against exorbitant exactions, the injury to the industry—agriculture—was permanent and great.

It was always felt that land tenure under the system culminating in the Act of 1881 was in a transitory state, and no less than twenty-five Acts, with the object of restoring single ownership by enabling the occupiers to buy out the other partner—the landlord—were passed between 1860 and 1896. By 1900 the Ashbourne Acts, as they are called, had become inoperative. Bankrupt estates, the estates of some absentees who had no other ties in Ireland, had been sold; all, in fact, that might be classed as forced sales had been concluded. The terms of the Acts were not such as to induce resident landlords and the owners of solvent estates to part with their property, and by the end of the century land purchase in Ireland had practically ceased. It was in these circumstances that the then Chief Secretary, Mr. George Wyndham, introduced a Land Bill into the House of Commons in 1902. The measure was condemned by landlords and tenants alike; and, faced with opposition on all hands Mr. Wyndham suggested that the Bill should be submitted to a joint conference in order to remove the difficulties which threatened to destroy it, and to enable it to be referred to a Grand Committee as a non-contentious measure. This suggestion came to nothing, and eventually the Bill was dropped. A complete *impasse* was reached, and the circumstances were full of gloomy forebodings for the future of Ireland. But in the meantime a few men had been thinking, and from thinking took to talking and writing to the Press, suggesting the possibility of some sort of conference between landlords and tenants to discuss the situation. It would be an interesting study, but quite out of place here, to trace the evolution of the policy of conciliation that bore its first fruit

in the Land Conference, for that conference will be found to mark a turning point in Irish history, however gloomy the immediate outlook may be. Suffice it now to say that the project met with but little support. The Landlords' Convention would have none of it—a motion in its favour by Lord Mayo being rejected by seventy-seven to fourteen. The more prominent landlords, when approached, refused to entertain the idea. Mr. John Redmond counselled the tenants 'to disregard the unauthorised waving of white flags and continue to fight.' The only assistance the movement received was from the Chief Secretary, Mr. Wyndham, who said 'that any conference would be a step in the right direction if it brought the prospect of a settlement between the parties nearer'; and from the *Times* which, by expressing its strong disapproval of the project, convinced many Irishmen that it was of a character certain to be beneficial to their country.

In spite of all discouraging indications, and there were many, the idea of a conference took root and grew, until it became evident that the advocates of conciliation and of a friendly meeting to discuss a matter of vital importance to the whole country were voicing the opinion of a great body of both landlords and tenants. A small Landlords' Committee was formed. A poll was taken of all the landlords of Ireland, which resulted in an overwhelming majority in favour of meeting the tenants, with a view to an understanding being reached. In face of favourable expressions of public opinion throughout Ireland the Nationalist leaders modified their views. The assenting landlords were again polled to choose representatives, and eventually the Land Conference was constituted; the representatives of the landlords being Lord Mayo, Lord Dunraven, Colonel Nugent Everard, Colonel Hutcheson Poe, while the tenants were represented by Mr. John Redmond, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Mr. T. Harrington, the Lord Mayor of Dublin.

This short *résumé* indicates the manner in which the new policy took root in Ireland, grew and bore fruit in spite of strong but not unnatural opposition. It is not strange that men arrayed in opposite camps, warm from the fight, were at first suspicious of each other; but all opposition was overborne by the sound common-sense of the Irish people, an asset which can always be relied upon if given a fair chance. Realising that land purchase was at a standstill, they came to the wise conclusion that the best chance of putting an end to landlordism and the unsatisfactory system of dual ownership lay in friendly conference and compromise.

Space forbids even a *précis* of the recommendations of the Conference, but certain principles on which it acted must be mentioned. Briefly they were:—

- (1) That dual ownership ought to be abolished.

(2) That it could be abolished only by the creation of a peasant proprietorship in its place through sale and purchase.

(3) That it was in the interest of the community that the expropriated landed gentry should remain in the country.

(4) That income should be the basis of price, and that second term rents or their fair equivalent, less 10 per cent. for cost of collection, represented income.

(5) That landlords should receive such a price as would, when invested, produce income, and should be offered some inducement to sell.

(6) That the price tenants gave should be such that their annual payment of interest and sinking fund should represent a substantial reduction on their second term rents or their fair equivalent, and that they should receive some inducement to buy.

(7) That the difference between the price which the owner ought to receive and the occupier ought to give should be made good by the State.

(8) That the 'wounded soldiers' in the land war—evicted tenants—should be re-instated in their old holdings with a view to purchase, or, when that was impossible, should be provided with other but equivalent holdings.

The Conference met in the Mansion House, Dublin, in December 1902, and the report was published on the 3rd of January 1903. The report was received with acclamation by every public body and private association in the country. It was realised also throughout the United Kingdom that, in the words of Mr. Redmond in his address to the London branch of the United Irish League, 'England had now for the first time since the Union a chance, at a ridiculously small cost, of bringing the land war to an end.' The Government of the day was appealed to. The leader of the Irish Nationalist Party seized the first opportunity on the reassembling of the House of Commons to move an amendment to the King's Speech 'humbly to represent to your Majesty that it is in the highest interests of the State that advantage should be taken of the unexampled opportunity created by the Land Conference Agreement for putting an end to agrarian troubles and conflicts between classes in Ireland by giving the fullest and most generous effect to the Land Conference Report in the Irish Land Purchase proposals announced in the Speech from the Throne.' Advantage was taken of the opportunity, and in the following March Mr. Wyndham introduced his famous Land Bill framed on the report of the Land Conference.

It would be a vast mistake to look upon the Bill of 1903 as merely an instrument for assisting a certain number of occupying tenants to purchase their farms. That, though a desirable thing in itself, could not be considered a matter of urgent necessity or of great national or Imperial concern. The Bill had a far wider and deeper significance.

The Conference, subordinating all minor considerations, aimed at a remedy for a disease that for centuries had vitiated the life of Ireland. Parliament, animated by the same spirit, passed, with the consent of all parties, a great measure of healing and of peace.

The Act met with universal approval. Mr. Redmond declared that 'if successfully and reasonably worked, the Act would in a comparatively short space of time bring to an end, once and for all, the struggle of centuries, marked as it has been all through by suffering, by sacrifice, ay, and by bloodshed and by crime.' It decreed, he said, 'the absolute and complete abolition of landlordism, root and branch . . . with the consent of all English parties, and, what may seem more extraordinary still, with the unanimous consent of the Irish landlords themselves.' After referring to the fact that the Land Act provided the money for the complete transfer of the land in Ireland without imposing one shilling additional burden upon the tenants, Mr. Redmond added :

Nay, more than that, I am understating the case. It provides that immediately this transfer takes place all rent shall instantly cease, and the annual instalment which the tenants will be called upon to pay for a specified and limited number of years will be less than the reduced rents which they are now paying, by a percentage which, while naturally it will vary according to the circumstances of various estates, will in all cases where the people act with common prudence and firmness be large and substantial.

The blessings showered upon the Land Act were put on record in the name of the whole Irish party. At a meeting of the National Directorate of the United Irish League in Dublin, presided over by Mr. Redmond, the Land Act was welcomed as 'the most substantial victory gained for centuries by the Irish race for the re-conquest of the soil of Ireland by the people.' It was looked upon as heralding 'a new state of things, in which all Irish-born men, irrespective of class or creed, will have a common interest in labouring unitedly for the national rights and happiness of our country.' The Directorate recognised the national character of the Conference, and the Imperial nature of the Act. 'Amendments,' they said, 'demanded by the National Convention have been conceded in Committee to an extent to which no great Government measure in relation to Ireland has ever before been modified in deference to the demands of Irish public opinion.' They attributed the 'happy result' of the Land Act to

the exertions of a United Irish Party, under the leadership of Mr. Redmond, and of Mr. T. W. Russell's Ulster Tenants' Rights Association, and to 'the wisdom and active good-will displayed by that section of the landlord leaders who made the Land Conference possible, and the loyalty with which Mr. Wyndham and his associates in the Government of Ireland endeavoured to make good his pledge to give legislative effect to the recommendations of that Conference, as well as to the high public spirit with which the Liberal Party resisted the temptation to extract any party advantage from the situation.

The true nature of the Act was fully recognised by Parliament. In the debate on the introduction of the Bill Mr. Wyndham said :

There are two alternatives before us. We can prolong for another hundred years, for another hundred and fifty years, a tragedy which is none the less, which is indeed the more, tragic because it is thin and long-drawn out. Or, we can to-day initiate, and henceforth prosecute, a business transaction, occupying some fifteen years, based, in common with all sound and hopeful transactions, upon the self-esteem, the probity, the mutual good-will of all concerned. All interests [he added], landlord and tenant, Nationalist and Unionist, British and Irish, can hope for no tolerable issue to any view, constitutional, political, economic, which they severally may cherish until, by settling the Irish Land Question, we achieve social reconciliation in Ireland.

And Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said :

We wish to see an end put to the disastrous social and agrarian conflict which has hindered the prosperity and advancement of Ireland. We also recognise that for that purpose there may be sacrifices and efforts which ought to be made by the people, not only of Ireland but of this island, and not only for the sake of Ireland, but for the sake of ourselves, because we shall directly be advantaged, quite irrespective of anything that may happen within the circuit of Ireland itself.

These quotations will, it is to be hoped, be sufficient to remind the reader of the real character of the Act, and of the universal approbation bestowed upon it and upon the Land Conference, the foundation upon which it was built.

The Act was indeed a great Imperial measure of appeasement, designed to remove a cause of perpetual unrest, sapping the strength and vitality of the very heart of the Empire ; and but for circumstances unforeseen its purpose would have been admirably fulfilled.

Ireland is a most unfortunate country. When her hopes burn brightest something always happens to dim, if not to extinguish, the flame. The success of the Land Conference and the passage of the Act of 1903 demonstrated what Ireland when united could accomplish. A new era was opened to her, an era in which she could, utilising the services of all her sons and undisturbed by perpetual internal strife, address herself to necessary reforms, and to the peaceful development of her considerable but neglected resources. The prospect was fair, but two circumstances, over one of which she has no control, have conspired to mar it. The new spirit of conciliation that rendered the Land Conference and the Land Act possible, met with violent opposition in influential quarters. While public opinion in favour of the new policy and the new Act ran high the antagonism was veiled. Nevertheless it was working strenuously beneath the surface, and, as the first burst of enthusiasm naturally waned, it became evident that superhuman efforts were being made to stir up the mud and check the smooth flow of the stream which promised to remove from Ireland the main cause of agitation and strife. Conciliation was declared

anathema, an accursed thing, and the Land Act was denounced. Conciliation was described by one extremist as a 'wretched, rotten, sickening policy'; by another of totally different political views as calculated to 'destroy and wet-blanket every really good public cause.'

Mr. Dillon, speaking at Swinford, said, 'I wish to Heaven we had the power to obstruct the smooth working of the Act more than we did. It has worked too smoothly to my mind.' Numberless instances of this lamentable spirit can be adduced but sufficient is said to convince those who do not closely study Irish affairs what those who do have long since been forced to recognise, that a strong anti-national party, hostile to land settlement or the settlement of any other question by united action, exists within the Nationalists' ranks.

This is the 'pig-headed poison mad' fight-at-any-price party, organised and equipped, against which the unorganised and unequipped common-sense of the people has to contend. It dominates the party. Dry rot has set in, and resolutions approving of the Act and the policy of peace passed by the Nationalist Party, by the Directory of the United Irish League and by the National Convention have crumbled into dust. This policy, if mere destruction can be called a policy, was ably espoused by the *Freeman's Journal*. Day by day, month by month, year by year, that influential organ has laboured to poison the minds of the people against the Land Act. One man alone who took a prominent part in the Land Conference, Mr. William O'Brien, has openly and courageously stood his ground and has held to the resolutions of the Parliamentary Party, the Directory and the National Convention. It is necessary to mention, and even to lay some emphasis upon, this curious phase in Irish affairs because the average Englishman might naturally attribute it to some fatal consequence of the Land Conference and the Land Act. Peace is the consequence of the Act and peace is, by the reactionaries, abhorred. Many reasons within the attributes of human nature may account for this strange attitude. It may be that the young bloods dream more of executing war dances before their admiring compatriots, flourishing the scalps of their hereditary foes the landlords, than they do of the welfare of their country, or that, taking a slightly less selfish view, they think more of the glorification of party than of the well-being of Ireland; but it is sufficient and more charitable to account for it by the weird delusion that social and agrarian strife is necessary for political reform. Home Rule can be obtained only by making Ireland difficult to govern; difficulty in governing the country can be created only by fomenting social disorder and agrarian strife; therefore there must be no conciliation or settlement of the land question. That appears to be their simple syllogism, false and illogical but no doubt honestly believed. Be that as it may, the fact of an active war-whoop section, defying all resolutions of the party and bent upon

disorder, must be recognised if the circumstances of Ireland and the possible effect of legislation on those circumstances are to be understood.

This anti-conciliation crusade makes the reconciliation of differences difficult, and it is largely responsible for the financial breakdown of the Act of 1903. Disorder has depressed Irish land stock. Had Ireland been permitted to pursue her way in peace, little difficulty would have been experienced in financing the Act.

The practical effect of the war-at-any-price campaign upon land purchase has been small. It has put up prices and has slightly impeded the operations of the Act. Sales have been few and prices high where it has been vigorously preached, and where conciliation has been most in evidence sales have been more numerous and prices lower; but it has not really impeded the march of the Act. In spite of all opposition the Act has fulfilled its beneficent mission. It is not a failure; on the contrary it is a gigantic success. The sales under all preceding Land Purchase Acts from 1870 to 1903 amount to twenty-three million pounds. The sales under the Act of 1903 have reached seventy-seven millions in five years.

In view of this result it seems evident that the terms under which sales and purchase have been effected are on the whole considered reasonable by both landlords and tenants, that the Act of 1903 offers a fair solution of the land question, that any necessary amendments could easily be agreed upon in the spirit and by the methods of the Land Conference, and that if the Act could be financed, a question which has vexed and paralysed Ireland for centuries would in a few short years be for ever settled.

But under stress of financial circumstances Mr. Birrell's Bill does materially alter the existing Act. The new Bill naturally falls into three main divisions. It deals, firstly, with the method of satisfying existing agreements; secondly, with the terms and conditions under which sales are to be made for the future; and thirdly, with the means to be adopted for grappling with what is known as the congested districts problem—that is, the uneconomic conditions of certain parts of Ireland. The Government scheme was criticised in the House of Commons, as I think, unjustifiably, for gathering up all the threads of the Irish land question into their hands, and endeavouring to deal with the whole situation in all its main aspects at once. The three phases enumerated above differ, it is true, very materially, but land purchase underlies them all, and a comprehensive measure is for many reasons to be desired. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the scheme for a settlement of the congested districts question involves purely administrative proposals, about which a great difference of opinion may exist among those who, in other respects, are in accord with the views of the Government; and that to force agreement on a question of administration under threat of losing the whole

Bill would be an unjustifiable attempt at coercion upon the people who do not inhabit scheduled districts.

It is, of course, impossible to enter upon a detailed examination of a Bill not yet in print, and a cursory review of Mr. Birrell's speech must perforce suffice.

The arguments adduced by the Chief Secretary are largely founded upon the assumption that land has been selling far too dear. That land has fetched higher prices under the Act of 1903 than under the Ashbourne Acts that preceded it is of course conceded. If the terms of those Acts had continued to bring land into the market there would have been no need for a Land Conference or a Land Act. The whole object of the Conference was to devise means whereby better prices could be offered without unfair detriment to the tenants; and the value of the Conference and of the Act consists in the attainment of that end. Mr. Birrell appears to assume that prices have exceeded Land Conference terms. That may be so, though I should be sorry to pronounce an opinion about it, but certainly not to any great extent. The average price all over Ireland is 22·9, say twenty-three years' purchase of the rent. Taking second term rents only into consideration, the average price is 24·7, say twenty-four and a half years' purchase. It may be safely assumed that at least one year's recoverable arrears are included in that, and that the price for the land is in the one case twenty-two and in the other twenty-three and a half years' purchase. Tenants were, according to the Land Conference, entitled to receive on buying a substantial reduction on the rents they were paying. It was considered that the annuity payable by a purchasing tenant ought to involve a reduction on the rent of from 15 to 25 per cent.—the mean being 20 per cent. The Land Act retained the same mean, but extended the limits. The average reduction on the rent all over Ireland is 26·2 per cent. It would appear, therefore, that the reduction obtained by purchasing tenants is, on the average, more than was considered necessary by the Conference or by Parliament, and as the recommendations of the Conference and the enactments of Parliament were deemed fair by all parties in Ireland and in Parliament, that cannot be considered an unsatisfactory result. Doubts have been thrown upon the security of the State; that is really absurd. It is ample.

It may be called to the recollection of Englishmen that the Act of 1881 set up a tribunal to fix fair rents for periods of fifteen years. These became known as first term and second term rents. In fixing first term rents an average reduction of 20·7 per cent. on the original rent was made. Second term rents made an average reduction of 19·6 per cent. on the first term rents. The average further reduction on second term rents involved in the annual payment on purchase is 19·7 per cent. The purchasing tenant is, therefore, paying on an average as a terminable annuity a sum of from 50 to 60 per cent. less than his original rent.

The margin of security is pretty good ; but that is not all. The tenant has bought only the landlord's interest, and the tenant's own interest is a very valuable asset ; the State has the whole of the property as security for a loan amply secured by a moiety of it. Nor is that quite all. Annuities have been paid with absolute punctuality, and if they were not, the local Irish authorities are responsible for default. The State runs no risk.

To turn to the Bill. As to pending agreements—that is, agreements lodged, but for which advances have not been provided—it is satisfactory to find that their sanctity is recognised.

Landlords and tenants have come to agreements relying upon the good faith of Parliament, and nothing has occurred which would justify Parliament in varying the terms upon which they have been framed. The Act of 1903 contains no reservations as to the influence which fluctuations in the value of money would have upon the progress of land purchase. During the debates in Parliament assurances were given that money would be provided to complete the transfer of all the land in Ireland within a period of about fifteen years. Neither the landlords nor the tenants of Ireland are responsible for the difficulty which is experienced in financing these completed agreements. As matters now stand, the State is in arrears to the tune of fifty-two millions. 203,626 tenants have bought their holdings, but are unable to pay for them because loans for the purchase are not advanced. It must be clearly understood that these transactions are actual sales. Tenants have ceased to be tenants ; no rent is paid. In lieu of rent ex-tenants pay as a rule $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the purchase price. They would only pay $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., including interest and sinking fund, on the advance if they could only get it. These tenants are losing at least 125,000*l.* a year through the default of the State, and are not getting any nearer the liquidation of their debt. Owing to the uncertainty consequent upon incessant legislation, the loans secured on Irish land bear an exorbitant rate of interest ranging as high as 5 per cent. and even 6 per cent. Trusting in the honour of Parliament, encumbered landlords have sold in the belief that they could invest purchase money at 5 or 6 per cent. in liquidating mortgage debt, and that belief has influenced the price. Through default of the State they are unable to do so. They are paying 5 or 6 per cent. and are receiving only $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the purchase price with the most deplorable results. Mr. Birrell does not apparently realise the gravity of the case. The real disadvantage to the landlord, he said, consists in the fact that he is heavily mortgaged and has to pay a high rate of interest, but he added that he had always been in that position. It is true he had always been paying a high rate of interest, but he had been in a better position to do so. He had his income derived from rent, but rent has ceased, and the income derived from the interest paid on the purchase price is considerably less than the rent.

The Bill recognises that these pending agreements must be settled with cash if cash is demanded, but it limits cash payments to five millions a year, and offers in lieu of cash or as part payment guaranteed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. land stock at ninety-two. If cash is insisted upon it will take ten years or more to liquidate these claims. The loss to tenants will be enormous and the poorhouse doors will open for many landlords. If stock at ninety-two is taken, landlords will sustain a loss of 8 per cent. The Chief Secretary does not apparently attach much importance to that. All his argument is founded on the assumption that selling landowners have made extraordinary good bargains, far above anything contemplated by the Land Conference. That does not appear to be the case. In fact he himself admits that it is not. Mr. Birrell tells us that the average rate of purchase is twenty-four and a half years of second term rent. Taking a rent of 100*l.* as an example and assuming $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest to be paid on the purchase price pending settlement, he explains that the owner will receive 86*l.* According to Land Conference terms he should receive 90*l.* He makes a loss of 4*l.* If he takes stock at ninety-two he makes a further loss of 8*l.*, and Mr. Birrell forgot to mention that, as the average price all over Ireland of all rents is 22·9 years' purchase, the loss to a landlord may be heavier than he admits. The provisions of the Bill for liquidating accomplished sales are insufficient. A grave danger will be incurred if the completion of these existing agreements is not consummated within a reasonable period, because in the meantime an intolerable burden is being borne by landlords and by tenants. The position they are placed in is very cruel, and one that surely Parliament ought not to witness unmoved. If default does not strictly represent a definite breach of faith of actual pledges, it is at least directly contrary to the whole spirit of the assurances which were given by Parliament when the Act was under discussion, and to the whole object, meaning, and intention of the Act itself. Parliament gave a pledge by word if not by act in 1903, and it cannot honestly go back upon it.

The principal condition for purchases in the future is the substitution of a 3 per cent. stock for the present stock bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$, and the payment in stock at market prices instead of in cash. Two objections which appear unsurmountable present themselves to this proposition. A higher interest-bearing stock necessitates an increase in the purchasing occupier's annual charge; and paying the selling owner in a fluctuating stock involves fluctuating prices. Any change in the annuity rate is greatly to be deprecated. Assume—and it is a fairly accurate assumption—that one half of the tenants have already bought, and that the other half buy in the future. The annuity rate of the second half will exceed, by a quarter per cent., the annuity rate of the first half. But, it may be argued, no injustice will occur, because prices will be proportionately lowered. Prices have

automatically fixed themselves in provinces and counties, and a long and bitter conflict might take place before another standard was established—an eventuality that should be guarded against at almost any cost. But assume prices to be proportionately reduced. What would happen? No real grievance would exist, but an apparent grievance would exist quite sufficient to give the agitator his opportunity. The first half tenants would be urgently reminded that they had paid so many years' purchase more than the second half; and the second half tenants would be counselled to refuse to pay a higher annuity than the first half. In the same small country you cannot expect one set of tenants to be content in paying a higher rate of annuity for their holdings than another set of tenants who happen to have come to agreements before the 1st of November. Nor will the earlier purchasers rest easy in having given a greater number of years' purchase than their later purchasing neighbours. Such a differentiation would, in the course of time, be certain to produce dissatisfaction if not turmoil. It would be a premium on disorder. The land settlement was not a mere commercial measure for enabling B to buy land of C. It was a scheme of social reform intended to heal the old wounds which for years past have contributed to retard the progress of the country. If only for this reason, therefore, every possible cause which might lead to a re-opening of those wounds should be avoided. On the assumption that a higher interest-bearing stock must be issued, which in parenthesis I do not accept, can anything be done to avoid increasing the annual payments of the tenants? It seems possible.

No additional charge can in justice be placed upon tenants. Depreciation of guaranteed Irish land stock is largely due to disorder in Ireland, and it is hard that landlords should suffer for that; but some sacrifice may in equity be expected from them because their position contrasts favourably in two respects with that of the tenants. The Act of 1903 carried out Land Conference recommendations for landlords more accurately than it did those affecting tenants, and the money market has moved in their favour. The Land Conference considered that trustee securities would yield $3\frac{1}{2}$ or at most $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., and they were justified in that assumption in 1902. But since then the powers of trustees have been enlarged, and gilt-edged securities have so declined in value that there can be little doubt that if the Conference met to-day they would amend their report by substituting $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent. This appreciation in the income to be obtained from trustee securities is due to exactly the same causes operating on the money market as have produced the deadlock in the provision of funds for financing the Act. The landlord who sells to-day, can invest to an advantage proportionate to the disadvantage which is experienced by the Government in placing Irish land stock.

The Treasury is entitled under the terms of the Act to revise the

distribution of the grant in aid commonly called the bonus as from the 1st of November last. The bonus, I may explain for the benefit of English readers, was the sum provided as a free gift by Parliament to bridge the difference between the sum which the tenants could afford to pay and that which the landlords could afford to take. It was calculated that one hundred millions would suffice to transfer the title of agricultural land in Ireland from the owner to the occupier. Twelve millions were given as a free bonus to be distributed at the rate of 12 per cent., the rate to be revisable every five years. Of this twelve millions, rather more than $8\frac{1}{4}$ millions have been distributed or are distributable upon agreements for sale already lodged, and there remains of the bonus only about three millions for the aid of future transactions. The exact value of outstanding property cannot be accurately estimated. Mr. Wyndham put the whole amount at 100,000,000*l.* Mr. Birrell assesses it at 180,000,000*l.* It is impossible to read Mr. Wyndham's speech on the introduction of the new Bill, without coming to the conclusion that though his estimate was a little too small, Mr. Birrell's estimate is a great deal too high, and it is perfectly certain that if the Act is kept within its legitimate field of operation, the original estimate of 100,000,000*l.* will not need to be increased beyond 20,000,000*l.* or at most 30,000,000*l.* Whether that be so or not, the Chief Secretary held out hopes that an additional grant in aid will be made. It will indeed be wise of Parliament if it will make a fresh grant in aid sufficient to bring up the bonus to 12 per cent. on whatever sum is required to complete the operation of land purchase; but the rate of distribution of the bonus should be lowered. The difference between a $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. and a 3 per cent. stock must be met somehow. It can be met only in one of three ways. By increasing the tenants' annual payments, which is most inexpedient; by a prolongation of the period of amortisation, which is also undesirable; or by diversion of a sufficient proportion of the bonus, a method which does not appear open to the same objection. Landlords have certainly benefited considerably by the state of the money market, and the rate of bonus could be equitably reduced. The bonus might be divided between landlord and tenant. The Treasury might be empowered to devote to the sinking fund sufficient of the bonus to balance the increasing interest the tenant will have to pay in consequence of the issue of higher interest-bearing stock; and the rest of the bonus should be distributable among landlords. Thus the additional burden would be borne without disturbing average prices or increasing the annual payments of tenant purchasers, and consequently with less friction than is likely to occur if annuity rates are increased and prices have to come down.

Finality is the one object to be aimed at. Ireland can never be quiet until land purchase is allowed to proceed with all possible speed on fixed and approved lines. Such lines are incorporated in the Act

of 1903. That Act has proved its capacity, if financed, to deal with the problem, and its main provisions ought not to be interfered with. The condition of the money market cannot be foreseen. It may not be necessary to issue stock at 3 per cent., but if the bonus is applied in the manner suggested the variations in the market might be automatically met. Dear money means good investment for landlords and implies a lower rate of bonus. Cheap money means bad investment and demands a higher rate of bonus. In the one case more, and in the other less, of the bonus would be retained by the Treasury. Fluctuations of the market might be met without injustice by periodic adjustment of the rate of distribution. The bonus is the one element of the Act of 1903 which it is enacted may be varied without infringing the provisions of that Act.

What are called the Zones are, I gather from Mr. Birrell's speech, to be in some way interfered with. I trust not. Objection to the Zones is a mere fad. The Land Conference decided against the opinion of some of its members, myself included, that sales should be direct between landlord and tenant. That being so the object of the Zones is to expedite sales. They mean that if the annuity payable on the agreed price involves a reduction on the rent stated to be a fair reduction by the Conference the sale was to go through without re-valuation of the land. If the reduction was less than the specified limit, re-valuation would be made in the interest of the mortgagees the State, and if the reduction exceeded the limit, the case would be investigated in the interest of the remainder-man to guard against an improvident sale. It is almost ludicrous of the Chief Secretary to declare in one sentence that his one object is to push on land purchase and in another sentence to speak of abolishing the Zones. If in all cases it is incumbent upon the Estates Commissioners to take expert opinion on the value of land, to hear evidence in the first instance and appeals, a century or more will not suffice to conclude land purchase in Ireland.

A new method of applying the bonus is introduced. It is to be distributed in inverse proportion to the number of years given for the property. This sounds very fair, but is not. The encumbered owner can afford to sell cheaper than the unencumbered owner. He can find more profitable investment for his money. The proposed method of distribution imposes a penalty on prudence, and may possibly interfere with the wise provision of the Act which allows a year's arrears to be included in a purchase price. But it will benefit those among the landed gentry who are in the direst need and for that reason it may be unobjectionable. Under the Bill the charge for excess stock is very properly assumed by the State. The burden will not be serious, as the cash issue is limited to the fifty-two millions required to satisfy lodged agreements at the rate of five millions a year. Guaranteed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock is offered in lieu of cash. The

loss involved is too heavy. The price should be 95, or the difference between par and market price should be equally divided between the Treasury and the recipient of the stock. No option of cash payment obtains in future transactions. Landlords must take the new 3 per cent. stock. It will be at a discount, and the bonus is reduced from 12 to 3 per cent. The combined loss will be too great. In this case also the difference between par and market price should be shared between the landlord and the State; and an additional bonus is essential. Mr. Birrell's object is to do all he can 'to hasten the progress of land purchase.' Has he in his anxiety for greater speed pulled the wrong lever and put on the brakes? The Bill in its present condition appears admirably designed to bring land purchase in Ireland to a full stop.

Space forbids any real consideration of the congested districts problem. It differs in one important respect from what may be termed ordinary land purchase. In the latter case it is simply a question of enabling an occupying tenant to purchase the landlord's interest and thus become the owner of the fee simple of his farm. In the former case, and looking at it in its simplest form, untenanted land is required either to add to existing un-economic holdings or to be carved into small but economic holdings upon which migrants from a congested district may be settled, and in the case of untenanted land both interests lie in the owner.

It cannot be denied that the contemplated action of the State is contrary to all the teachings of political economy, and is flying right in the face of the rigid Manchester school of Free Traders who have always claimed that trade and industry should be permitted to find their own natural channels and ought not to be diverted by artificial means. But the terrible condition of the congested West fully justifies the interference of the State, even though the land acquired may be diverted from a more profitable to a less profitable use; but the operation will be expensive, and I doubt if the allocated funds will prove sufficient.

The Chief Secretary, with delightful naïveté, leaves the vexed question of migration for Ireland to decide for herself. He cannot, he says, offer police protection to migrants. But nevertheless he must settle whether land is to be compulsorily acquired solely for the relief of congestion, or may be devoted to other purposes.

Compulsory purchase is to be introduced. I have no horror of compulsion, of course on fair terms; and I would like to see it universally applied for many reasons, among them, because partial application seems likely to cause much confusion. Compulsory purchase and cash payments will be proceeding alongside of voluntary sales and payments in depreciated stock, and, to add to the confusion, two departments will be engaged in the same operation in the same locality. Therein lies the weak point in the proposals

of the Bill. The Congested Districts Board has in the matter of land purchase proved a comparative failure. They have done some good work in developing fisheries, improving stock, fostering small industries and in technical education, and all that business is to be transferred to the Board of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The Estates Commissioners have bought land more readily and cheaper than the Congested Districts Board, and the land purchase business of the Board might with advantage be transferred to them. Over a great part of the country two departments with their separate establishments will be working side by side, perhaps in harmony, perhaps in discord, at precisely the same operation—land purchase. The Estates Commissioners who understand the business are restricted in their area, and in many counties will be unable to act save by permission of the Congested Districts Board. The area of the Congested Districts Board, who do not understand the business, is enlarged, and they are invested with extraordinary powers. Three bodies are doing the work of two, and Ireland is saddled with great and unnecessary expense.

To sum up the situation. The Land Act of 1903 was a great measure conceived in an Imperial spirit designed to effect a revolution in land tenure in Ireland necessary for the well-being, not only of Ireland but of Great Britain and the whole Empire. It has proved successful beyond the dreams of the most sanguine; but its success has proved its undoing. The Treasury are unable to find money to finance the Act, without incurring a loss which the Government decline to sanction. The finance of the Act of 1903 has been severely criticised. Considering that $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Consols stood at $93\frac{1}{2}$ when the Act was passed, Mr. Wyndham was justified in assuming that sufficient money could be raised by the issue of stock bearing $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest. He was wrong, but if 'virile agitation' had not been preached in Ireland, and if sounder financial methods had been adopted by the Treasury, losses on flotation would have been comparatively small. That matter cannot be investigated in this article, but two facts are patent. Disorder has depressed Irish land stock, and the Treasury have not acted as prudent borrowers. They have neglected favourable opportunities of obtaining comparatively large sums, sums in excess of their immediate requirements, and have been forced to borrow when opportunities were unfavourable. Why his Majesty's Government have shot a new Land Act upon the country at a period that makes it impossible that it can be passed or even discussed this Session, is past all finding out. They had all the material before them, and might have put forward their proposals at least nine months ago. It would have cost a mere trifle to carry on the Act of 1903, while Irishmen had an opportunity of calmly considering a matter of such vast importance to their country. It will cost a mere trifle to carry on the Act now for a short time, and

that is probably the best solution of the difficulty before us. Finality is the one thing necessary if Ireland is to be saved from perpetual turmoil. Finality was reached by the Conference and the Act of 1903. No one will deny that the whole great peaceful revolution would be accomplished under that Act in five or six years' time if funds could be provided; and there is no reason why under the same favourable circumstances the settlement of the congested districts question should not have proceeded *pari passu* with it. It is all a question of money. True statesmanship would recognise the wisdom of charging the votes with the annual sum necessary to provide excess stock. With the payment to Ireland of arrears due to the development grant, and with better methods of finance, the annual sum required could not be over a quarter of a million for a limited number of years; and it would be a gradually declining charge. A peaceful Ireland would not be dear at the price. It seems a pity to re-open a closed question, to offer encouragement to the forces of disorder, to run the risk of throwing Ireland off the peaceful path of reform and material development which the great majority of her people desire to tread, and all for the sake of a sum that represents less than one halfpenny in the pound on the amounts annually voted by Parliament.

DUNRAVEN.



*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
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